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THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

SECOND PART

VOL. III.



THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

PART II.

S. IGNATIVS.
S. POLYCARP.

REVISED TEXTS

WITH INTRODUCTIONS, NOTES, DISSERTATIONS,
AND TRANSLATIONS.

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BY

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BISHOP OF DURHAM.

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I.

ANGLO-LATIN VERSION

OF THE

IGNATIAN EPISTLES.

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I.

ANGLO-LATIN VERSION.

THE LATIN VERSION which follows has a special interest for Englishmen, as being a product of the remarkable but premature literary revival which distinguished the thirteenth century, and as giving the Ignatian letters in the only form in which they were known in this country till several years after the invention of printing. Its connexion with Robert Grossteste has been investigated in an earlier part of this work.

The two MSS of this Latin collection, *Caiensis* and *Montacutianus*, designated L_1 and L_2 respectively, have been already described. Previous editors, even where they have printed the whole collection, have disturbed the arrangement of the epistles as found in the MSS, so as to adapt it to the special purposes which they had in view. In the present edition the arrangement is preserved; and thus the whole body of Ignatian literature is now presented, as I believe, for the first time, as it was read by the more learned of our fellow-countrymen from the middle of the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century.

The collection comprises sixteen epistles in all besides the Acts of Martyrdom; the Epistle to the Romans, which is incorporated in these Acts, being reckoned as one of the sixteen. In L_1 however, where the epistles are numbered in order¹, the Acts themselves are

¹ In L_1 the number of the epistle is always noted in the margin, and sometimes incorporated in the title as well. In L_2 the number is never given in the title (for the apparent exception of the Epistle to the Antiochenes see below,

p. 51), and probably also it was wanting in the margin. Ussher indeed has frequently left it in the margin in his collation of L_2 with the transcript of L_1 ; but it is plain that he did not pay much attention to these margins,

reckoned as one of the epistles (the twelfth), and the Epistle to the Romans as another (the thirteenth). Thus according to this reckoning there are seventeen epistles in all.

This collection falls into two parts.

(1) The *first*, which ends with the Acts of Martyrdom and the accompanying Epistle to the Romans, includes twelve epistles. This portion is a translation from a Greek original. The circumstances under which it was probably made have been already considered. It corresponds exactly in arrangement and contents with the Greek collection represented by the Medicean and Colbert mss, and must have been translated by Bishop Grossteste or his assistants from some similar Greek ms. At the close of this part is a summary of the contents. This is the main indication in the Latin mss that the first part is separate from the second.

(2) The *second* part consists of the four short epistles, which make up the correspondence of the saint with the Virgin and S. John. These epistles, as I have already stated, appear never to have existed in the Greek, and therefore cannot have formed part of Grossteste's version. How they came to be attached to this version it is impossible to say; but inasmuch as they occur in both the mss L₁ L₂, in the same form and arrangement, though these two mss are independent of each other, they must have held this position at a very early date, and it is not improbable that they were appended soon after the version was made. They were very popular in the middle ages, and appear to have been much read about this time¹; so that no collection of the Ignatian Epistles would have appeared complete without them.

The great importance of this Anglo-Latin version of the Ignatian Epistles for textual criticism has been explained in the Introduction. But notwithstanding its acknowledged value it has never yet been treated with the consideration which it deserves. I hope that I have

¹ The following is an extract from a ms in the Bodleian, *Laud. Miscell.* 210, fol. 132 b (15th century): '*This letter sayyng wrot oure lady Marye w^t here owne hand and sende hit to ignacie the martyr* The blessed virgyn marye wrote a pystyl to ygnacie the martyr in persecucion and seyde thus stonde you and doo manly in the feith; and thi spirit fuloute joy in god, and how myche Ion the evangelist

was pursuyd for prechyng of the gospel and destitute of mannus help and so myche he was relevyd be goddis help, etc. Hugo de sancto victore in prologo super apocalipsi.' In the Catalogue (p. 182) these words 'Hugo etc.' are wrongly treated as the title to the next treatise. They refer to what has gone before, and give the source of the preceding quotation.

put it in a form which will render it at length available for critical purposes.

Of the extant ms L₁ I have made an entirely new collation. That this was not superfluous the facts will show. The ms was transcribed in the first instance for Ussher, and (till I myself collated it) had only been collated twice for subsequent editions¹. Of the numberless inaccuracies of the transcript from which Ussher derived all his knowledge of this ms I have already spoken. Moreover he has not (except in a very few instances) distinguished the respective readings of the two mss which he employed. And lastly, his printed text contains several readings which are not found in either, and which (in some instances at least) have slipped in through mere inadvertence.

Of the subsequent collations the earlier was made by T. Smith for the text which accompanied his edition of Pearson's notes (A.D. 1709). After describing the ms in his preface, he adds, 'quem ego quoque ea qua potui accuratione contuli, correctis illius, cujus opera usus est D. Usserius, aberrationibus.' The result is a much better text of this Latin version than Ussher's; but for critical purposes his collation is quite inadequate. He has not recorded a quarter of the various readings of L₁. Though he has corrected some of Ussher's worst mistakes, he has sometimes given readings for which there is no authority either in the ms or in Ussher's printed text; e.g. *Smyrn.* 3 'carne ipsius et spiritu' for 'carni ipsius et spiritui,' and *Smyrn.* 6 'qualitate' for 'qualiter'; in neither instance giving any various reading, and in the latter distinctly stating that this is the rendering of the Latin translation.

The second collation to which I referred was made for Dr Jacobson's edition, and is thus described by him (*Patr. Apost.* i. p. xxxvii); 'Hujus codicis lectiones variantes humanissime ad usus meos exscripsit vir reverendus Johannes Jacobus Smith A.M., Coll. Caiensis Socius.' This collation is in many respects more correct than Ussher's transcript, and more complete than T. Smith's collation. But how far it is from being trustworthy, the following list of errors, gathered from the first six chapters of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans alone, will show.

MS.	COLLATION.
Inscr. <i>theoferus</i>	<i>Theopherus</i>
<i>carismate</i> , several times	<i>charismate</i>
<i>caritate</i>	<i>charitate</i>
<i>existenti</i>	omitted

¹ On Funk's collation, which appeared after these sheets were struck off for my first edition, see below, p. 12.

MS.	COLLATION.
<i>deo decentissime</i> , see below,	<i>condecentissime</i>
p. 13	
<i>Smirna</i>	<i>Smyrna</i>
1. <i>caritate</i>	<i>charitate</i>
<i>videre ipsum</i>	<i>videri ipsum</i>
3. <i>quando</i> (contracted)	<i>quum</i>
<i>quoniam</i> (contracted)	<i>quia</i>
<i>spiritaliter</i>	<i>spiritualiter</i>
4. <i>ant^opomorthis</i>	<i>anthropomorphis</i>
5. <i>Moisi</i>	<i>Moisis</i>
<i>deum</i> (contracted)	<i>dominum</i>
<i>michi</i>	<i>mihi</i>
<i>paⁿem q̄=passionem quæ</i>	<i>panem qui</i>
6. <i>qualiter</i> (contracted)	<i>quale</i>
<i>caritas</i>	<i>charitas</i>
<i>nichil</i>	<i>nihil</i>
<i>qualiter contrarie sunt sententie dei</i> (very much contracted)	<i>qualesque facti sumus dei</i>
<i>caritate</i>	<i>charitate</i>
<i>vidua</i>	<i>viduis</i>
<i>eucaristiam</i>	<i>eucharistiam</i>

As this collation coincides with the Caius transcript, where it goes most wrong, as for instance in *panem qui* (§ 5) and *qualesque facti sumus dei* (§ 6), I suppose the collator must have allowed himself from time to time to consult the transcript instead of endeavouring to decipher the MS itself.

These two collations moreover, inadequate as they are in themselves, were confined to the seven epistles mentioned by Eusebius. The text of the other epistles has remained in the same state in which it was left by Ussher, without any fresh examination of the MS. Thus for instance, in *Ign. Mar. 2* Ussher accidentally omitted the word 'impellor,' and the omission has been repeated by all subsequent editors, though the sense of the passage is destroyed thereby, and a reference to the MS would at once have supplied the missing word. In some respects the text has even deteriorated since Ussher's time, for later editors have introduced errors of their own. Thus in *Hero 3* a whole sentence, 'Saluta deo decens presbyterium,' is omitted in Cureton's text (*Corp. Ign. p. 146*).

Of the disappearance of the other MS L₂ I have spoken in an earlier part of this work, where also I have described Ussher's collation, which is preserved among his books and papers in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, but has been strangely overlooked by pre-

vious editors. By the kindness of the Provost and Fellows I have been allowed the use of this collation, which is indispensable for the criticism of the Latin text; and thus the readings of L_2 are given in the present edition for the first time. Hitherto they have been left to conjecture, except in the very few passages where Ussher has distinctly mentioned it by name.

This collation however only commences in the middle of the Epistle to Polycarp, § 1 '[in] orationibus vaca indesinentibus,' the earlier leaves of the transcript having been lost. For the previous portion, the whole of the Epistle to the Smyrnæans and the commencement of the Epistle to Polycarp, I have supplied the defect by a collation of Ussher's printed text of this version, which I have designated L_u . As Ussher had only the readings of these two MSS before him, it may be presumed that his printed text, wherever it differs from L_1 , gives the reading of L_2 . This rule however can only be accepted as roughly and approximately true. Large allowance must be made for inadvertences and inaccuracies. For instance, in *Smyrn.* 9 Ussher omits 'Bene habet et Deum et episcopum cognoscere,' and possibly these words may have been wanting in L_2 ; but, when we find him leaving out whole clauses elsewhere, where we are able by means of his own collation to convict him of inaccuracy, e.g. *Polyc.* § 2 'ut gubernatores ventos,' and *Ephes.* 1 'ut potiri possim discipulus esse' (not to multiply examples), the inference will appear highly precarious¹.

Where a reading of this MS is distinctly given by Ussher in this collation, it is marked L_2 simply; where it is only inferred from his silence, i.e. where he has not noted any divergence from the reading which he had before him in the transcript of L_1 , it is given as L_2 s.

In the following recension I have endeavoured to restore the text of the version to the condition in which it left the translator's hands. Thus I have not scrupled to make an alteration here and there, where the Latin text itself had obviously been corrupted in the course of transmission. Thus, for instance, I have cast out two apparent glosses, *Ephes.* 1, *Magn.* 2. Thus again in four passages, *Smyrn.* 8, *Ephes.* 3, *Magn.* 13, *Philad.* 3, I have substituted 'episcopi,' 'episcopopo,' for 'ipsi,' 'ipso,' the corruption having arisen from an easy confusion of the Latin contractions, $\overline{ip}i$, $\overline{ep}i$, $\overline{ip}o$, $\overline{ep}o$, and the Greek

¹ The first of these two omissions is supplied by Ussher in his table of *emendanda*, p. 241, but inaccurately, 'ut

gubernares ventos': the second is not mentioned at all.

text in all these cases deciding the true reading. On the same principle in *Mart.* 4 I have substituted 'ipsi' (īpī) for 'Christi' (xpī). So too I have not scrupled to alter 'assensores' into 'assessores' *Polyc.* 6, 'sollicitudine' into 'insollicitudine' *Polyc.* 7, 'potiri' into 'per potiri' *Ephes.* 1, 'salvificemini' into 'salificemini,' 'exacuens' into 'exaccenscens,' 'perfare' into 'profari' *Magn.* 10, 'suadeo' into 'suadeor' *Trall.* 3, 'præcipue' into 'præcipio' *Rom.* 4, 'fidei' into 'Dei' *Philad.* 9, 'sciant' into 'sitiant' *Ign. Mar.* 1, and (having regard to the contractions) 'deo' into 'dicit' *Tars.* 7; in all which cases the corruption was easy in the Latin text and quite impossible in the Greek. On the other hand I have not attempted to correct those errors which must be traced to the faulty Greek text which the translator had before him. For example, in *Mar. Ign.* 1 'et Sobelum' is left; for though there can be little doubt that the correct reading is *Κασσόβηλον* or *Κασσοβήλων*, it is equally clear that the Latin translator had *καὶ Σόβηλον* in his text.

In recording the variations of the mss I have not (except in special cases and for particular reasons) included readings which are corrected *prima manu*. Nor again is any account generally taken of the punctuation of the mss, which is arbitrary and valueless. The marginal glosses and notes moreover, of which a very few occur in *L*₁, and which are frequent in *L*₂, are not recorded, unless they have a bearing on the reading. Some of these, which have an interest of a different kind, are given in an earlier part of this work.

On the orthography of the mss one or two points require explanation. In *L*₁ the diphthongs, *æ*, *œ*, are systematically disregarded and written *e* (e.g. *eterne*, *penitet*); and in this same ms *ci* is universally, or all but universally, written for *ti* (e.g. *Ignacius*, *propiciacio*). In both these cases the normal spelling is silently adopted. In other instances, where *L*₁ persistently departs from the normal orthography (e.g. *misterium*, *carisma*, *ammonere*), I have contented myself with noticing the fact at the first occurrence of the word.

Much error has arisen in previous collations from inattention to the contractions. Thus for instance, *quando*, *quoniam*, *quum*, *qui*, *quæ*, *quem*, *quia*, etc. have been confused; and again, *ergo*, *igitur*; and again, *tamen*, *tantum*. In this way various readings have been erroneously multiplied. In most cases there can be no doubt as to the force of the contraction. In some few instances, where a contraction in *L*₁ is ambiguous, I have given it the interpretation which accords with the Greek text or with the reading of *L*₂.

It did not seem necessary to encumber the notes by pointing out

every instance where previous collators have misread L_1 . In one or two cases I have done so, because the error was sufficiently important to call for notice, e.g. *Trall.* 5 'scire celestia' for 'super-celestia,' *Polyc.* 7 'in oratione' for 'in resurrectione'; but these are exceptional. As I have had the collation which was made for Jacobson's edition constantly before me, the variations recorded in it and not noted by me have been deliberately rejected. Thus for instance the various readings, 'panem qui' for 'passionem quæ' *Smyrn.* 5 (see above, p. 8), 'optimum' for 'opportunum' *Trall.* 2, with many others, have disappeared.

On the other hand, some readings will appear in my text (on the authority of one or both of the mss) for the first time; and in most instances these bring the Latin into stricter accordance with the Greek than it is in the text of the printed copies. Thus for instance, 'veneremini' (ἐντρέπεσθε) for 'veneremur' *Magn.* 6, 'ipsos' (αὐτούς) for 'ipsas' *Philad.* 3, 'apponi' (προσθεῖναι) for 'opponi' *Ign. Mar.* 4, 'portus' (λιμένας) for 'Portum' *Mart.* 5, 'immunda inani gloria' (τῆς ἀκαθάρτου φιλοτιμίας) for 'mundi inani gloria' *ib.*, are read by both L_1 and L_2 . And again, in *Rom.* 7 'adjuvet; ipsi autem magis mei fiat'is', and *Mart.* 5 'da ea quæ a nobis futura separatione; justo autem fieri ipsi secundum votum accidit,' the readings of L_2 , involving in both cases a transposition, produce exact conformity to the Greek. The text, thus restored, is 'adjuvet ipsi; magis autem mei fiat'is' (βοηθείτω αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς γίνεσθε) in the one passage, and 'de ea quæ a nobis futura separatione iusti fieri; ipsi autem secundum votum accidit' (τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν μέλλοντι χωρισμῷ τοῦ δικαίου γίνεσθαι τῷ δὲ κατ' εὐχὴν ἀπέβαιεν).

The correspondence with the Virgin and S. John, forming the second part of this collection, is comparatively unimportant. It is found in a considerable number of mss besides L_1 L_2 ; sometimes by itself, sometimes in connexion with the epistles of the Long Recension. In this latter case it sometimes precedes the twelve epistles of this Recension (e.g. *Flor. Laur.* xxiii. 20, *Palat.* 150, *Oxon. Magd.* lxxvi), and sometimes follows them (e.g. *Bruxell.* 20132). The various readings are very numerous, and the order of the four epistles is different in different copies.

For the sake of exhibiting the character of the variations, I have given a collation of three Oxford mss besides the readings of L_1 L_2 , taking the *editio princeps* (Paris, 1495) as the basis of my text.

These three MSS are :

(1) *Coll. Magdal.* lxxvi. fol. 213 a (15th century); see Coxe's *Catalogue* p. 43. This correspondence precedes the twelve epistles of the Long Recension, and the four letters composing it occur in the same order as in *L₁ L₂*.

(2) *Coll. Lincoln.* ci. fol. 48 b (15th century); see Coxe's *Catalogue* p. 48. The four epistles are found by themselves, and in the following order; (i) Ignatius to Mary; (ii) Mary to Ignatius; (iii) Ignatius to John ('De tua'); (iv) Ignatius to John ('Si licitum').

(3) *Bodl. Laud. Misc.* 171, fol. 140 a (end of 13th century); see Coxe's *Catal. MSS Laud.* p. 156. The epistles stand by themselves, and the order is the same as in the last-mentioned MS.

These epistles are sometimes accompanied in the MSS by the testimony of S. Bernard and of Marcus Michael of Cortona (see Ussher p. cxliiii). This is the case in *Flor. Laur.* xxiii. 20, and in *Oxon. Magdal.* lxxvi.

The three MSS are thus designated, [m] [l] [b]. Where the *editio princeps* obviously needed correction, this is done, and its reading [p] is given at the foot.

[*Note.* These sheets were printed off for my first edition some time before the appearance of Funk's work *Die Echtheit der Ignatianischen Briefe* (1883). In an Appendix he gives a full collation of the Caius MS, and I have compared it carefully with my own for this second edition. Considering the character of the MS, the differences are fewer than might have been anticipated. On all points of difference I have consulted the MS afresh, and in most cases, though not in all, have adhered to my previous deciphering of it. I do not doubt for instance, that the MS reads *resurrectione*, not *oratione*, in *Polyc.* 7; and again Funk's reading *aeterna* (for *vera*) in *Ephes.* 7 must be an accidental error. In *Antioch.* 3 (see below, p. 52, l. 21), where he gives *te ego* for *ego*, the *te* is the last syllable of *evangeliste* in the following line.]

IGNATIUS SMYRNÆIS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, ecclesiæ Dei Patris et dilecti Jesu Christi, habenti propitiationem in omni charismate, impletæ in fide et caritate, indeficienti existenti omni charismate, Deo decentissimæ et sanctiferæ, existenti in Smyrna Asiæ; in
5 incoinquinato spiritu et verbo Dei plurimum gaudere.

I. GLORIFICO Jesum Christum Deum, qui vos sapientes fecit. Intellexi enim vos perfectos in immobili fide, quemadmodum clavifixos in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et carne et spiritu, et firmatos in caritate in sanguine Christi,
10 certificatos in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, vere existentem *de genere David secundum carnem*, filium Dei secundum voluntatem et potentiam Dei, genitum vere ex virgine, baptizatum a Johanne ut *impleatur omnis justitia* ab ipso, vere sub Pontio Pilato et Herode tetrarcha clavifixum pro nobis in
15 carne. A cujus fructu nos a divine beatissima ipsius passione,

IGNATIUS SMYRNÆIS] L_1 has no title or heading of any kind; nor, except the blank space and the illuminated initial letter I, is there any indication that a new author begins. Of the manner in which L_2 commenced no information is given.

1 Theophorus] *theoferus* L_1 . 2 charismate] *carismate* L_1 . The common form of the word is *carisma* in L_1 . 3 indeficienti] L_1 ; *indeficiente* L_u . 4 Deo decentissimæ] L_u . This is probably also the reading of L_1 , though commonly deciphered *condecentissimæ*; but there is an erasure in the first syllable, and the contractions *dō* (=deo), *cō* (=con), are liable to confusion. Smyrna] *smirna* L_1 . So L_1 always writes these words, *Smirna*, *Smirneus*. On the other hand L_2 appears to have had consistently *Smyrna*, *Smyrneus*. 6 vos] In L_1 the beginning of the word is written over what seems like the first letter of *sic*, corresponding to *οὕτως* in the Greek text. 15 nos a] L_u ; *nos* (om. a) L_1 .

ut levet signum in sæcula per resurrectionem in sanctos et fideles ipsius, et in Judæis et in gentibus, in uno corpore ecclesiæ ipsius.

II. Hæc enim omnia passus est pro nobis, ut salvemur. Et vere passus est, ut et vere resuscitavit seipsum; non quemadmodum infideles quidam dicunt secundum videri ipsum passum 5 esse, ipsi secundum videri existentes: et quemadmodum sapiunt, et accidet ipsis, existentibus incorporeis et dæmoniis.

III. Ego enim et post resurrectionem in carne ipsum vidi et credo existentem. Et quando ad eos qui circa Petrum venit, ait ipsis: *Apprehendite, palpate me, et videte quoniam non sum* 10 *dæmonium incorporeum*. Et confestim ipsum tetigerunt, et crediderunt convicti carni ipsius et spiritui. Propter hoc et mortem contempserunt; inventi autem sunt super mortem. Post resurrectionem autem comedit cum eis et bibit ut carnalis, quamvis spiritualiter unitus Patri. 15

IV. Hæc autem monefacio vobis, dilecti, sciens quoniam et vos sic habetis. Præmunio autem vos a bestiis anthropomorphis, quos non solum oportet vos non recipere sed, si possibile, neque eis obviare, solum autem orare pro ipsis, si quo modo pœniteant; quod difficile. Hujus autem habet potestatem Jesus Christus, 20 verum nostrum vivere. Si autem secundum videri hæc operata sunt a Domino nostro, et ego secundum videri ligor. Quid autem et meipsum traditum dedi morti, ad ignem, ad gladium, ad bestias? Sed prope gladium, prope Deum; intermedium bestiarum, intermedium Dei: solum in nomine Jesu Christi, ad 25 compati ipsi. Omnia sustinebo, ipso me fortificante qui perfectus homo factus est.

V. Quem quidam ignorantes abnegant, magis autem abnegati sunt ab ipso, existentes concionatores mortis magis quam

5 videri] *L_u*; *videre L_x*. 6 videri] *L_u*; *videre L_x*. 10 me] *L_u*; om. *L_x*.
 15 spiritualiter] *spiritaliter L_x*. In *L_x* these words are commonly, though not universally, written *spiritalis, spiritaliter*, etc. This seems to have been the case also with *L₂*. 17 anthropomorphis] *ant^opomorthis L_x*. 19 eis obviare] *L_u*: *obviare eis L_x*. The varying position of *eis* throws suspicion upon it, and there is nothing corresponding to it in the Greek. 22 et ego] *L_x*; *ergo et ego L_u*.
 28 quidam] *quidm L_x*; *quidem L_u*. ignorantes abnegant] *L_u*; *abnegantes ignorantes L_x*. autem] *L_u*; om. *L_x*. 29 sunt] *L_u*; om. *L_x*.

veritatis: quos non persuaserunt prophetiæ neque lex Moysi, sed neque usque nunc evangelium, neque nostræ eorum qui secundum virum passiones. Etenim de nobis idem sapiunt. Quid enim juvat me quis, si me laudat, Dominum autem meum blasphemat, non confitens ipsum carniferum? Qui autem hoc non dicit, ipsum perfecte abnegavit, existens mortifer. Nomina autem ipsorum, existentia infidelia, non visum est mihi inscribere: sed neque fiat mihi ipsorum recordari, usque quo poeniteant in passionem, quæ est nostra resurrectio.

10 VI. Nullus erret. Et supercælestia et gloria angelorum et principes visibiles et invisibiles, si non credant in sanguinem Christi, et illis iudicium est. *Qui capit, capiat*. Qualiter nullus infletur; totum enim est fides et caritas, quibus nihil præpositum est. Considerate autem aliter opinantes in gratiam Jesu Christi
15 eam quæ in nos venit, qualiter contrarii sunt sententiæ Dei. De caritate non est cura ipsis, non de vidua, non de orphano, non de tribulato, non de ligato vel soluto, non de esuriante vel sitiante. Ab eucharistia et oratione recedunt, propter non confiteri eucharistiam carnem esse salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi pro peccatis
20 nostris passam, quam benignitate Pater resuscitavit.

VII. Contradicentes ergo huic dono Dei perscrutantes moriuntur. Conferens autem esset ipsis diligere, ut resurgant. Decens est recedere a talibus, et neque seorsum de ipsis loqui neque communiter; attendere autem prophetis, præcipue vero evangelio, in quo passio nobis ostensa est et resurrectio perfecta est.

1 Moysi] *moysi* L₁. This name is commonly written *Moises* in L₁, and *Moses* in L₂. 4 Dominum] L_u; *deum* L₁. blasphemat] *blasfemat* L₁. 7 visum est] L_u; *est visum* L₁. mihi] *nichi* L₁; and so the word is always written in this MS, when not contracted. 11 visibiles et invisibiles] L_u; *invisibiles et visibiles* L₁. 12 Qualiter nullus infletur] L₁L_u. The Greek is τόπος μηδὲνα φησιούτω. The translator therefore must have read ὅπως or τὸ πῶς for τόπος, as these words are commonly rendered *qualiter*. The inflexions, *nullus infletur* for *nullum inflet*, have probably been changed in the transmission of the Latin text, the contractions facilitating such changes. 13 nihil] *nichil* L₁. So the word is commonly written in this MS. 15 contrarii] *contrarie* L_u; *contrarie* L₁. 18 eucharistia] *eucaristia* L₁. This is the common form of the word in L₁. recedunt] L_u; om. L₁. propter] L_u; *propterea* L₁. 22 Decens est] Some short word has been erased after 'est' in L₁, perhaps *ergo*=*ergo*, corresponding to the οὖν of the Greek text. 24 vero] L_u; om. L₁.

VIII. Partitiones autem fugite, ut principium malorum. Omnes episcopum sequimini, ut Jesus Christus Patrem, et presbyterium ut apostolos; diaconos autem revereamini, ut Dei mandatum. Nullus sine episcopo aliquid operetur eorum quæ conveniunt in ecclesiam. Illa firma gratiarum actio reputetur, 5 quæ sub episcopo est, vel quod utique ipse concesserit. Ubi utique apparet episcopus, illic multitudo sit; quemadmodum utique ubi est Christus Jesus, illic catholica ecclesia. Non licitum est sine episcopo neque baptizare neque agapen facere; sed quod utique ille probaverit, hoc et Deo beneplacitum; ut 10 stabile sit et firmum omne quod agitur.

IX. Rationabile est de cetero evigilare et, cum adhuc tempus habemus, in Deum pœnitere. Bene habet et Deum et episcopum cognoscere. Honorans episcopum a Deo honoratus est: qui occultans ab episcopo aliquid operatur, diabolo præstat 15 obsequium. Omnia igitur vobis in gratia superabundent; digni enim estis. Secundum enim omnia me quiescere fecistis; et vos Jesus Christus. Absentem me et præsentem dilexistis: retribuat vobis Deus, propter quem omnia sustinentes ipsum adipiscemini.

20

X. Philonem et Reum et Agathopum, qui secuti sunt me in verbum Dei, bene fecistis suscipientes ut ministros Dei Christi: qui et gratias agunt Domino pro vobis, quoniam ipsos quiescere fecistis secundum omnem modum. Nihil vobis utique deperibit. Conformis animæ vestræ spiritus meus, et vincula mea quæ non 25 despexistis neque erubuistis; neque vos erubescet perfecta fides, Jesus Christus.

XI. Oratio vestra pervenit ad ecclesiam quæ est in Antiochia Syriæ; unde ligatus Deo decentissimis vinculis omnes

1 autem] L_u ; om. L_x . 2 presbyterium] L_u ; *presbiterum* L_x . 4 aliquid] L_u ; om. L_x . 6 episcopo] *ipso* $L_u L_x$: see above, p. 9. quod] So the contraction in L_x should be read; *quam* L_u . The Greek text has *ᾧ cui*. 10 hoc et] L_x ; *hoc est* L_u . 11 stabile sit et firmum] L_u ; *stabile firmum sit* L_x . 13 Bene habet et Deum et episcopum cognoscere] L_x ; om. L_u . As there is nothing in the Greek corresponding to the first *et*, it is probably a scribe's error, repeating the last syllable of *habet*. 21 Agathopum] *agathapum* L_x . 25 Conformis] *confirmis* L_x . 29 Syriæ] *sirie* L_x . This name is generally written *Siria* in L_x . The usual form in L_2 is *Syria*.

saluto, non existens dignus inde esse, extremus ipsorum existens; secundum voluntatem [autem] Dei dignus factus sum, non ex conscientia, sed ex gratia Dei, quam oro perfectam mihi dari, ut in oratione vestra Deo potiar. Ut igitur perfectum vestri fiat
 5 opus et in terra et in cælo, decet ad honorem Dei ordinare ecclesiam vestram Deo venerabilem, in factum usque Syriam congaudere ipsis, quoniam pacem habent et acceperunt propriam magnitudinem, et restitutum est ipsis proprium corpusculum. Visum est mihi igitur Deo digna res mittere aliquem vestrorum
 10 cum epistola; ut conglorificet eam quæ secundum Deum ipsis factam tranquillitatem, et quoniam portu jam potita est oratione vestra. Perfecti existentes perfecta et sapite. Volentibus enim vobis bene facere Deus paratus est ad tribuere.

XII. Salutat vos caritas fratrum qui in Troade; unde et
 15 scribo vobis per Burrum, quem misistis mecum simul Ephesiis fratribus vestris, qui secundum omnia me quiescere fecit. Et utinam omnes ipsum imitentur, existentem exemplarium Dei ministerii. Remuneret ipsum gratia secundum omnia. Saluto Deo dignum episcopum et Deo decens presbyterium et conservos
 20 meos diaconos, et singillatim et communiter omnes, in nomine Jesu Christi, et carne ipsius et sanguine, passioneque et resurrectione, carnali et spirituali, in unitate Dei et vestri. Gratia vobis et misericordia et pax et sustinentia semper.

XIII. Saluto domos fratrum meorum cum uxoribus et filiis,
 25 et virgines vocatas viduas. Valete mihi in virtute Patris. Salutat vos Philon mecum existens. Saluto domum Thaviæ; quam oro firmari fide et caritate carnali et spirituali. Saluto Alken, desideratum mihi nomen, et Daphnum incomparabilem, et Eutecnum, et omnes secundum nomen. Valete in gratia Dei.

1 dignus inde] *L_u*; *inde dignus* *L_i*. 2 *autem*] *L_u*; om. *L_i*. 5 ordinare ecclesiam vestram] *L_u*; *vestram ordinare ecclesiam* *L_i*. 6 usque] *L_u*; *usque in* *L_i*. 7 ipsis] *L_u*; *eis* *L_i*. 10 conglorificet] *συνδοξάσῃ*; *conglorificent* *L_iL_u*. 12 sapite] *L_u*; *sapere* *L_i*, but the letters *ite* are written above. 13 bene] *L_u*; *et bene* *L_i*. *Deus*] *L_u*; *deo* *L_i*. 15 Ephesiis] *effesiis* *L_i*. 17 exemplarium] *exemplarium* *L_i*. 19 presbyterium] *L_u*; *πρεσβῆρῶν* *L_i*. This contraction is common in *L_i*, where the Greek has *πρεσβυτέριον*. 21 passioneque] *et passione* *L_u*; *et passione que* *L_i*. 23 et misericordia et pax] *L_u*; *pax et misericordia* *L_i*.

2.

IGNATIUS POLYCARPO.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, Polycarpo episcopo ecclesiæ Smyrnæorum, magis autem visitato a Deo Patre et Jesu Christo, plurimum gaudere.

I. ACCEPTANS tuam in Deo sententiam, firmatam ut supra petram immobilem, superglorifico, dignificatus tua facie 5 immaculata, qua fruar in Deo. Deprecor te in gratia, qua indutus es, apponere cursui tuo, et omnes deprecari ut salventur. Justifica locum tuum in omni cura carnali et spirituali. Unionem cura, qua nihil melius. Omnes supporta; ut et te Dominus. Omnes sustine in charitate; quemadmodum et facis. Orationi- 10 bus vaca indesinentibus. Pete intellectum ampliorem eo quem habes. Vigila, non dormientem spiritum possidens. Singulis secundum consuetudinem Dei loquere. Omnium ægritudines porta, ut perfectus athleta: ubi major labor, multum lucrum.

II. Bonos discipulos si diligas, gratia tibi non est: magis 15 deteriores in mansuetudine subiice. Non omne vulnus eodem emplastro curatur. Exacerbationes in pluviis quieta. *Prudens*

IGNATIUS POLYCARPO] L_1 has *epistola 2a ignatii smirneis . a polycarpo . troade polycarpo*, but the first *polycarpo* is erased. This is obviously a confusion of *Smyrneis a Troade*, the subscription to the previous epistle (corresponding to $\text{CMYPNΔΙΟΙC AΠO TPΩΔΔOC}$ of G), and *Epistola Ignatii Polycarpo*, the title of the present epistle. The title in L_2 is not recorded, but it would probably take the simple form which I have adopted.

I Theophorus] L_u ; *theoforus* L_1 . Polycarpo] L_u ; *polycarpo* L_1 . The name is always so spelt in L_1 , but *Polycarpus* apparently in L_2 . 6 in gratia] *in dei gratia* L_u ; *in deo gratia* L_1 . Here *deo* seems to be a transcriber's error, whose eye was caught by the neighbouring *in deo*, and in this case *dei* is a subsequent correction of *deo*. G has simply *ἐν χάριτι*. 10 et] L_u ; om. L_1 . Orationibus] L_2 ; *in orationibus* L_1 . Ussher's collation of L_2 begins at this point. 16 subiice] *subice* L_1 . The form of this verb is commonly *subicio* in this ms. 17 emplastro] L_2 ; *emplastro* L_1 . in pluviis] $L_1 L_2$ s. The translator read *ἐν βροχαῖς*; the marginal gloss in L_2 is 'in dulcibus et desuper venientibus eloquiis.' Ussher prints *inpluviis*.

fias, ut serpens, in omnibus; *et simplex, ut columba*. Propter hoc carnalis es et spiritualis, ut manifesta in tuam faciem blandiaris; invisibilia autem petas ut tibi manifestentur; ut nullo deficias, et omni charismate abundes. Tempus expetit te, ut gubernatores
 5 ventos, et ut qui in procella est portum ad Deo potiendum. Vigila, ut Dei athleta: thema incorruptio, vita æterna; de qua et tu confisus es. Secundum omnia tui refrigerium ego, et vincula mea quæ dilexisti.

III. Qui videntur digni fide esse et altera docent, non te
 10 stupefaciant: sta firmus, ut incus percussa. Magni est athletæ discerpi et vincere. Maxime autem propter Deum omnia sustinere nos oportet; ut et ipse nos sustineat. Plus studiosus fias quam es. Tempora considera; eum qui supra tempus expecta, intemporalem, invisibilem, propter nos visibilem, impalpabilem,
 15 impassibilem, propter nos passibilem, secundum omnem modum propter nos sustentem.

IV. Viduæ non neglegantur: post Dominum tu ipsarum curator esto. Nihil sine sententia tua fiat; neque tu sine Deo quid operare: quod autem operaris, sit bene stabile. Sæpius
 20 congregationes fiant: ex nomine omnes quære. Servos et ancillas ne despicias; sed neque ipsi inflentur, sed in gloriam Dei plus serviant, ut meliori libertate a Deo potiantur. Non desiderant a communi liberi fieri, ut non servi inveniantur concupiscentiæ.

25 V. Malas artes fuge: magis autem de his homiliam fac. Sorores meas alloquere, diligere Dominum et viris sufficere carne

4 abundes] *habundes* $L_1 L_2 s$. 5 ad Deo potiendum] *eis τὸ Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν*; *a deo potiendum* (*pociendum*) $L_1 L_2$. The slight correction which I have made brings the Latin into exact accordance with the Greek, from which the existing reading diverges considerably in meaning. For *Deo potiri* as a rendering of *Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν*, comp. § 7, *Rom.* 2, 4, etc. 7 tui] L_2 ; *et tui* L_1 . tui refrigerium] The Greek is σου ἀντιψυχον, which the translator possibly read σε ἀναψύχων (or perhaps ἀντιψύχων, for the verb ἀντιψύχειν occurs). Elsewhere he translates ἀντιψυχον correctly. 9 fide] L_2 ; om. L_1 . 11 sustinere nos] L_2 ; *nos sustinere* L_1 . 14 propter nos] L_2 ; om. L_1 . 17 neglegantur] *negligantur* L_1 . The word is commonly written *negligo* in this MS. 18 sententia tua] L_2 ; *tua sententia* L_1 . 19 quod autem ... stabile] $L_1 L_2$. The Greek is ὅπερ οὐδὲ πράσσεις εὐστάθει (or εὐσταθής). The translator appears to have read δὲ for οὐδὲ, and εὐσταθὲς for εὐστάθει. 25 homiliam] *omeliam* $L_1 L_2 s$. 26 Dominum] $L_2 s$; *deum* L_1 .

et spiritu. Similiter et fratribus meis annuncia in nomine Jesu Christi, diligere uxores *ut Dominus ecclesiam*. Si quis potest in castitate manere in honorem carnis Domini, in ingloriatione Domini maneat. Si gloriatur, perditur; et si videri velit plus episcopo, corruptus est. Decet autem ducentes et ductas cum 5 sententia episcopi unionem facere, ut sit secundum Deum et non secundum concupiscentiam. Omnia in honorem Dei fiant.

VI. Episcopo attendite, ut et Deus vobis. Unanimis ego cum subjectis episcopo, presbyteris, diaconis; et cum ipsis mihi pars fiat capere in Deo. Collaborate adinvicem, concertate, 10 concurrite, compatimini, condormite, consurgite, ut Dei dispensatores et assessores et ministri. Placete cui militatis; a quo et stipendia fertis. Nullus vestrum otiosus inveniatur. Baptisma vestrum maneat ut scutum, fides ut galea, caritas ut lancea, sustinentia ut omnis armatura. Deposita vestra opera; ut ac- 15 cepta vestra digna feratis. Longanimiter ferte igitur vos adinvicem in mansuetudine, ut Deus vos. Fruar vobis semper.

VII. Quia ecclesia quæ in Antiochia Syriæ pacem habet, ut ostensum est mihi, per orationem vestram, et ego lætior factus sum in insollicitudine Dei; siquidem per pati Deo potiar, in 20 inveniri me in resurrectione vestri discipulum. Decet, Polycarpe Deo beatissime, concilium congregare Deo decentissimum, et ordinare aliquem quem dilectum valde habetis et impigrum, qui

1 et fratribus] *L*₂; *fratribus* (om. et) *L*₁. in nomine Jesu Christi diligere uxores] *L*₂; *diligere uxores in nomine domini jesu christi* *L*₁. 6 Deum] *L*₁; *dominum* *L*₂s. 9 presbyteris] *presbyteris* *L*₁; and so the word is generally spelt in this MS, where the vowel does not disappear in a contraction. mihi pars] *L*₂; *pars mihi* *L*₁. 12 assessores] *πάρεδροι*; *assensores* *L*₁, and so apparently *L*₂. Ussher indeed writes *assessores* in the margin of his collation, but this seems to be his own conjecture. 13 otiosus] The Greek text has *δεσέπωρ*. The Latin rendering is taken from the marginal gloss *ἀργός*, which is found in G. 15 Deposita vestra] *L*₂; *vestra deposita* *L*₁. 18 Antiochia] *anthiochia* *L*₁. 20 in insollicitudine] *ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ*; *in sollicitudine* (*solicitudine*) *L*₁*L*₂. So § 5 'ingloriatione' for *ἀκαυχῆσις*, *Ign. Mar.* 2 'injustificationibus' for *ἀδικήμασιν*. in inveniri me in resurrectione] *in invenire me in resurrectione* *L*₂; *invenire in me in resurrectione* *L*₁. *L*₁, as well as *L*₂, has *resurrectione* (contracted *rrne* with *o* superscribed), which however has been misread *oratione* (sometimes contracted *orne* with *o* superscribed). By a strange coincidence the Greek texts here present a corresponding variation, *ἀναστᾶσει* and *αἰρήσει*. 22 concilium] *L*₁; *consilium* *L*₂. 23 valde habetis] *L*₂; *habetis valde* *L*₁.

poterit Dei cursor vocari; et hunc dignificare, ut vadens in Syriam glorificet vestram impigram caritatem in gloriam Dei. Christianus sui ipsius potestatem non habet, sed Deo vacat. Hoc opus Dei est et vestri, quando ipsi perfecti estis. Credo enim gratiæ, quoniam parati estis ad beneficentiam Deo decentem. Sciens vestrum compendium veritatis, per paucas vos literas consolatus sum.

VIII. Quia igitur omnibus ecclesiis non potui scribere propter repente navigare me a Troade in Neapolim, ut voluntas
 10 præcipit, scribes aliis ecclesiis, ut Dei sententiam possidens, in et ipsos facere; hi quidem potentes pedites mittere, hi autem epistolas per a te missos, ut glorificeris æterno opere; ut dignus existens. Saluto omnes ex nomine; et eam quæ Epitropi, cum domo tota ipsius et filiorum. Saluto Attalum dilectum meum.
 15 Saluto futurum dignificari ad eundem in Syriam: erit gratia cum ipso semper et mittente ipsum Polycarpo. Valere vos semper in Deo nostro Jesu Christo oro; in quo permaneatis in unitate Dei et visitatione. Saluto Alken, desideratum mihi nomen. Valete in Domino.

1 dignificare] *καταξίωσαι*; *dignificari* L₁L₂s. vadens in Syriam glorificet] L₂; *vadat in siriam et glorificet* L₁. 4 quando] *ὅταν*; *quoniam* L₁L₂. The difference between *qm*=*quoniam*, and *qn*=*quando*, is slight. ipsi perfecti estis] The translator probably read *αὐτοὶ ἀπαρισθῆτε* for *αὐτῷ* (or *αὐτῶ*) *ἀπαρίσθητε*. 5 quoniam parati] L₂; *quod parati* L₁. 8 omnibus ecclesiis non] L₂; *non omnibus ecclesiis* L₁. A second *non* was written after *ecclesiis* in L₁, and then erased. 10 in et ipsos facere] L₂; a gloss in L₂ fixes this as the reading. The word which stands in the place of *in* in L₁ is illegible; but it was read *idem* in the transcript which Ussher used. The exact equivalent to the Greek would be *in et ipsos idem facere*. 11 hi...hi] *hii...hii* L₁L₂s. 12 per] L₂; om. L₁. missos] *missas* L₁L₂s; but it may be suspected that L₂, which inserted *per*, also read *missos*, and that Ussher overlooked this in his collation. 14 Attalum] L₂; *athalum* L₁. 15 eundem] L₂s; *eundem* L₁. 16 ipsum] L₂; *ipso* L₁. Valere] L₂; *valete*, altered into *valere*, L₁. vos semper] L₂; *semper vos* L₁.

3.

IGNATIUS EPHESIIS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, benedictæ in magnitudine Dei Patris et plenitudine, prædestinatæ ante sæcula esse semper in gloriam permanentem, invertibilem, unitam et electam in passione vera, in voluntate Patris et Jesu Christi Dei nostri, ecclesiæ digne beatæ existenti in Epheso Asiæ; plurimum in Jesu Christo et in immaculata gratia gaudere.

I. ACCEPTANS in Deo multum dilectum tuum nomen, quod possedistis natura justa, secundum fidem et caritatem in Christo Jesu salvatore nostro: quia imitatores existentes Dei, et reaccendentes in sanguine Dei, cognatum opus integre perfecistis. Audientes enim ligatum a Syria pro communi nomine et spe, sperantem oratione vestra potiri in Roma cum bestiis pugnare, ut per potiri possim discipulus esse, videre festinastis. Plurimam enim multitudinem vestram in nomine Dei suscepi in Onesimo, qui in caritate inenarrabilis, vester autem in carne episcopus; quem oro secundum Jesum Christum vos diligere, et omnes vos ipsi in similitudine esse. Benedictus enim qui tribuit vobis dignis existentibus talem episcopum possidere.

IGNATIUS EPHESIIS] So L_1 (writing however *ignaci*us), L_2 s.

1 Theophorus] *theo*ferus L_1 . 9 nostro] add. *glorificato jesum christum deum* $L_1 L_2$ s. This is perhaps a pious gloss, which has been transferred from the margin to the text. See *Magn.* 2, for a similar instance. 10 Dei] L_2 ; *christi dei* L_1 . 12 oratione vestra] L_2 ; *vestra oratione* L_1 . 13 per potiri] *potiri* (om. *per*) $L_1 L_2$. It is clear however that the original Latin text had *per potiri* (corresponding to the Greek διὰ τοῦ ἐπιρυχεῖν), for L_2 has a marginal note '*ut per potiri sc. eo quod est pugnare cum bestiis, possim esse discipulus sc. christi.*' The *per*, contracted to a single letter, would easily disappear before the *p* in *potiri*. See an instance of the converse error in *Antioch.* 2. 15 in caritate] L_2 ; *caritate* (om. *in*) L_1 . inenarrabilis] L_2 ; add. *est* L_1 .

II. De conservo autem meo Burro, secundum Deum diacono nostro in omnibus benedicto, oro permanere ipsum in honorem vestri et episcopi. Sed et Crocus Deo dignus et vobis, quem exemplarium ejus quæ a vobis caritatis suscepi, secundum
5 omnia me quiescere fecit; ut et ipsum Pater Jesu Christi refri-
geret; cum Onesimo et Burro et Euplo et Frontone per quos vos omnes secundum caritatem vidi. Fruar vobis semper, siquidem dignus existam. Decens igitur est secundum omnem
modum glorificare Jesum Christum, qui glorificavit vos; ut in
10 una subjectione perfecti, subjecti episcopo et presbyterio, secundum omnia sitis sanctificati.

III. Non dispono vobis, ut existens aliquis. Si enim et ligor in nomine Christi, nequaquam perfectus sum in Jesu Christo. Nunc autem principium habeo addiscendi, et alloquor
15 vos, ut doctores mei: me enim oportuit a vobis suscipi fide, admonitione, sustinentia, longanimitate. Sed quia caritas non sinit me silere pro vobis, propter hoc præoccupavi rogare vos, ut concurratis sententiæ Dei. Etenim Jesus Christus, incomparabile nostrum vivere, Patris sententia, ut et episcopi secun-
20 dum terræ fines determinati Jesu Christi sententia sunt.

IV. Unde decet vos concurrere episcopi sententiæ: quod et facitis. Digne nominabile enim vestrum presbyterium Deo dignum sic concordatum est episcopo, ut chordæ citharæ. Propter hoc in consensu vestro et consona caritate Jesus Christus canitur.
25 Sed et singuli chorus facti estis; ut consoni existentes in consensu, melos Dei accipientes in unitate, cantetis in voce una per Jesum Christum Patri; ut et vos audiat, et cognoscat, per quæ bene operamini, membra existentes filii ipsius. Utile

1 Burro] *berro* L₁; *borro* L₂s. 2 permanere ipsum] L₂; *ipsum permanere* L₁.
6 Burro] *borro* L₁ L₂s. 8 dignus] L₂s; *dignos* L₁. 10 presbyterio]
presbitero L₁; *presbytero* L₂. 13 Christi] L₂; *jesu christi* L₁. 15 suscipi]
The translator must have read *ὑποληφθῆναι* for *ὑπαλειφθῆναι*. 16 admonitione]
ammonicione L₁. The word is always written *anim-* in L₁, and this is its common
orthography in L₂. 19 episcopi] *ipsi* L₁ L₂s. See p. 593 sq. 21 episcopi
sententiæ] L₂; *sententie episcopi* L₁. 22 digne] L₁; *si que* L₂. nominabile enim]
L₂; *enim nominabile* L₁. vestrum presbyterium] L₂; *presbiterium vestrum* L₁.
23 chordæ] *corde* L₁. 28 filii] *filiis* L₁ L₂. ipsius] L₂; *ejus* L₁.

igitur est vos in immaculata unitate esse, ut et Deo semper participetis.

V. Si enim ego in parvo tempore talem consuetudinem tenui ad episcopum vestrum, non humanam existentem sed spiritualem; quanto magis vos beatifico, conjunctos sic, ut ecclesia Jesu Christo et ut Jesus Christus Patri; ut omnia in unitate consona sint. Nullus erret; si quis non sit intra altare, privatur pane Dei. Si enim unius et alterius oratio tantam vim habet, quanto magis illa quæ episcopi et omnis ecclesiæ. Qui igitur non venit in idem, sic jam superbit et seipsum condemnavit. Scriptum est enim, *Superbis Deus resistit*. Festinemus igitur non resistere episcopo, ut simus Deo subjecti.

VI. Et quantum videt quis tacentem episcopum, plus ipsum timeat. Omnem enim quem mittit dominus domus in propriam dispensationem, sic oportet nos ipsum recipere, ut ipsum mittentem. Episcopum igitur manifestum quoniam ut ipsum Dominum oportet respicere. Ipse igitur quidem Onesimus superlaudat vestram divinam ordinationem: quoniam omnes secundum veritatem vivitis, et quoniam in vobis neque una hæresis habitat, sed neque auditis aliquem amplius quam Jesum Christum loquentem in veritate.

VII. Consueverunt enim quidam dolo malo nomen circumferre, sed quædam operantes indigna Deo. Quos oportet vos ut bestias declinare: sunt enim canes rabidi latenter mordentes; quos oportet vos observare, existentes difficile curabiles. Unus medicus est, carnalis et spiritualis, genitus et ingenitus, in carne factus Deus, in immortalī vita vera, et ex Maria

1 in immaculata unitate esse] *immaculata unitate esse* (om. in) L₂; *esse in immaculata unitate* L₁. 4 tenui] L₂; om. L₁. 8 privatur pane Dei] L₂; *pane dei privatur* L₁. 9 quanto] L₂; *quanta* L₁. 10 igitur] L₂; *ergo* L₁. sic] L₁ L₂s. The text used by the translator seems to have had οὗτος (*hic*): comp. *Tars.* 4. condemnnavit] *condempnavit* L₁L₂. So the word is commonly, but not always, written in both MSS. It is usual with them to insert a *p* between *m* and *n*; e.g. *dampnum, contempno*. 12 igitur] L₂; *ergo* L₁. 17 quidem] L₂; om. L₁. 18 ordinationem] L₂; *superordinationem* L₁ but the *super* is marked for erasure. 20 una] L₂; om. L₁. auditis] L₁; *audistis* L₂. 25 curabiles] L₂. The word in L₁ has been read *sanabiles*, but seems certainly to be *curabiles*.

et ex Deo, primo passibilis et tunc impassibilis, Dominus Christus noster.

VIII. Non igitur quis vos seducat: quemadmodum neque seducimini, toti existentes Dei. Quum enim neque una lis
5 complexa est in vobis, potens vos torquere, tunc secundum Deum vivitis. Peripsima vestri et castificer a vestra Ephesiorum ecclesia famosa in sæculis. Carnales spiritualia operari non possunt, neque spirituales carnalia; quemadmodum neque fides quæ infidelitatis, neque infidelitas quæ fidelitatis et fidei.
10 Quæ autem et secundum carnem operata sunt, hæc spiritualia sunt: in Jesu enim Christo omnia operata sunt.

IX. Cognovi autem transeuntes quosdam inde, habentes malam doctrinam. Quos non dimisistis seminare in vos, obstruentes aures ad non recipere seminata ab ipsis; ut existentes
15 lapides templi Patris, parati in ædificationem Dei Patris, relati in excelsa per machinam Jesu Christi, quæ est crux, fune utentes Spiritu Sancto. Fides autem vestra dux vester, caritas vero via referens in Deum. Estis igitur et conviatores, Deiferi et templiferi et Christiferi, sanctiferi, secundum omnia ornati in
20 mandatis Jesu Christi: quibus et exultans dignificatus sum per quæ scribo alloqui vobis et congaudere, quoniam secundum aliam vitam nihil diligitis nisi solum Deum.

X. Sed et pro aliis hominibus indesinenter Deum oratis. Est enim in ipsis spes pœnitentiæ, ut Deo potiantur. Monete
25 igitur ipsos saltem ex operibus a vobis erudiri. Ad iras ipsorum vos mansueti, ad magniloquia eorum vos humilia sapientes, ad blasphemias ipsorum vos orationes, ad errorem ipsorum vos firmi fide, ad agreste ipsorum vos mansueti; non festinantes imitari ipsos. Fratres ipsorum inveniamur in mansuetudine;
30 imitatores autem Dei studeamus esse. Quis plus injustum

4 seducimini] ἐξαπατᾶσθε; *seducimini* L₁L₂. 6 castificer] perhaps [judg-
ing from Ussher's imitation of the traces in the MS] L₂; *castificet* (apparently) L₁.
8 carnalia] L₂s; *carnales* L₁. 9 fidelitatis et fidei] A double rendering of
the Greek τῆς πίστεως. 10 operata sunt] reading πρᾶσσεται for πρᾶσσετε,
and so again just below. hæc spiritualia...operata sunt] L₁; om. L₂.
12 autem] L₁; *inter* L₂. 15 ædificationem] οἰκοδομήν; *ædificatione* (*edificazione*)
L₁L₂s. 18 igitur] L₂s; *ergo* L₁. 25 igitur] L₂; *ergo* L₁.

patiat, quis fraudetur, quis contemnatur? Ut non diaboli herba quis inveniatur in vobis, sed in omni castitate et temperantia maneatis in Jesu Christo, carnaliter et spiritualiter.

XI. Extrema tempora. De cetero verecundemur, et timeamus longanimitatem Dei, ut non nobis in iudicium fiat. Vel enim futuram iram timeamus vel præsentem gratiam diligamus; unum duorum: solum in Christo Jesu invenitur, in verum vivere. Sine ipso nihil vos deceat; in quo vincula circumfero, spirituales margaritas, in quibus fiat mihi resurgere oratione vestra. Qua fiat mihi semper participem esse; ut in sorte Ephesiorum inveniar Christianorum, qui et apostolis semper consenserunt in virtute Jesu Christi.

XII. Novi quis sum, et quibus scribo. Ego condemnatus, vos propitiationem habentes; ego sub periculo, vos firmati. Transitis estis eorum qui in Deum interficiuntur: Pauli discipuli, sanctificati, martyrizati, digne beati, cujus fiat mihi sub vestigiis inveniri, quando utique Deo fruar; qui in omni epistola memoriam facit vestri in Christo Jesu.

XIII. Festinate igitur crebrius convenire in gratiarum actionem Dei et in gloriam. Quando enim crebro in idipsum convenitis, destruuntur potentiæ Satanæ, et solvitur perditio ipsius in concordia vestræ fidei. Nihil est melius pace; in qua omne bellum evacuatur cælestium et terrestrium.

XIV. Quorum nullum latet vos, si perfecte in Jesum Christum habeatis fidem et caritatem: quæ sunt principium vitæ et finis, principium quidem fides, finis autem caritas. Hæc autem duo in unitate facta Deus est: alia autem omnia in bonitatem sequentia sunt. Nullus fidem repromittens peccat, neque cari-

1 contemnatur] *contempnatur* L₁ L₂s. This is the usual spelling in these MSS; see on *condemnavit*, § 5. 7 invenitur] L₁ L₂s; probably an error, which has crept into the Latin text in the course of transcription, for *inveniri*, εὐρεθῆναι. 16 martyrizati] *martirizati* L₁ L₂s. The usual spelling in L₁ is *martir*, *martirium*, etc. 17 utique] L₂; om. L₁. 18 Christo Jesu] L₁; *jesu christo* L₂. 19 igitur] L₂; *ergo* (apparently) L₁. 20 et in] L₁; *in* (om. *et*) L₂. 21 Satanæ] *sathane* L₁ L₂s. perditio] *proditio* (-cio) L₁ L₂s. The contractions for *per* and *pro* are easily confused. See *profari*, *perfari*, *Magn.* 10. 22 vestræ fidei] L₂; *fidei vestræ* L₁. 24 perfecte] L₂; *perfectam* L₁. 27 bonitatem sequentia] L₁; *bonitate sequenda* L₂s; but Ussher probably did not examine the contractions of L₂.

tatem possidens odit. *Manifesta est arbor a fructu ipsius: sic* repromittentes Christiani esse, per quæ operantur manifesti erunt. Non enim nunc repromissionis opus, sed in virtute fidei si quis inveniatur in finem.

5 XV. Melius est silere et esse, quam loquentem non esse. Bonum docere, si dicens facit. Unus igitur doctor, qui dixit, et factum est: sed et quæ silens fecit, digna Patre sunt. Qui verbum Jesu possidet, vere potest et silentium ipsius audire, ut perfectus sit; ut per quæ loquitur operetur, et per quæ silet
10 cognoscatur. Nihil latet Dominum: sed et abscondita nostra prope ipsum sunt. Omnia igitur faciamus, sic ipso in nobis habitante: ut simus ipsius templa, et ipse in nobis Deus noster: quod et est et apparebit ante faciem nostram, ex quibus juste diligimus ipsum.

15 XVI. Non erretis, fratres mei. Domus corruptores *regnum Dei non hæreditabunt*. Si igitur qui secundum carnem hæc operantur mortui sunt, quanto magis, si quis fidem Dei in mala doctrina corrumpat, pro qua Jesus Christus crucifixus est. Talis inquinatus factus in ignem inextinguibilem ibit: similiter et qui
20 audit ipsum.

XVII. Propter hoc unguentum recepit in capite suo Dominus, ut spiret ecclesiæ incorruptionem. Non ungamini fœtore doctrinæ principis sæculi hujus: non captivet vos ex præsentī vivere. Propter quid autem non omnes prudentes sumus, acci-
25 pientes Dei cognitionem, qui est Jesus Christus? Quid fatue perdimur, ignorantes charisma quod vere misit Dominus?

XVIII. Peripsima meus spiritus crucis; quæ est scandalum non credentibus, nobis autem salus et vita æterna. *Ubi sapiens, ubi conquisitor*, ubi gloriatio dictorum sapientum? Deus enim

carefully, and so noted no difference from the inaccurate transcript of L_1 , which gives *bonitate sequenda*. 1 Manifesta est arbor] L_1 ; *manifesta autem arbor*

L_2 . 2 manifesti] *manifesta* L_1 , L_2 . 11 igitur] L_2 ; *ergo* L_1 . sic] L_1 , L_2 s. It should probably be *sicut*=*ws*. The contraction for *sicut* differs very slightly from *sic*. 21 recepit in capite suo] L_2 : *in capite suo recepit* L_1 .

24 vivere] So L_1 , as I read it; *unire* L_2 , according to Ussher; but the two words, as contracted, are hardly distinguishable; and he has probably misread it. quid] L_1 ; *quod* L_2 s.

noster Jesus Christus conceptus est ex Maria secundum dispensationem Dei, ex semine quidem David, Spiritu autem Sancto: qui natus est, et baptizatus est ut passione aquam purificaret.

XIX. Et latuit principem sæculi hujus virginitas Mariæ, et partus ipsius, similiter et mors Domini; tria mysteria clamoris, 5 quæ in silentio Dei operata sunt. Qualiter igitur manifestatus est sæculis? Astrum in cælo resplenduit super omnia astra, et lumen ipsius ineffabile erat, et stuporem tribuit novitas ipsius. Reliqua vero omnia astra, simul cum sole et luna, chorus facta sunt illi astro; ipsum autem erat superferens lumen ipsius super 10 omnia. Turbatio autem erat, unde novitas quæ dissimilis ipsis; ex qua solvebatur omnis magica, et omne vinculum disparuit malitiæ, ignorantia ablata est, vetus regnum corruptum est, Deo humanitus apparente in novitatem æternæ vitæ. Principium autem assumpsit quod apud Deum perfectum. Inde omnia com- 15 mota erant propter meditari mortis dissolutionem.

XX. Si me dignificet Jesus Christus in oratione vestra et voluntas sit, in secundo libello, quem scripturus sum vobis, manifestabo vobis quam inceperam dispensationem in novum hominem Jesum Christum, in ipsius fide et in ipsius dilectione, 20 in passione ipsius et resurrectione; maxime, si Dominus mihi revelet. Quoniam qui secundum virum communiter omnes in gratia ex nomine convenitis in una fide et in Jesu Christo secundum carnem ex genere David, filio hominis et filio Dei, in obedire vos episcopo et presbyterio indiscerpta mente; unum 25 panem frangentes, quod est pharmacum immortalitatis, antidotum ejus quod est non mori sed vivere in Jesu Christo semper.

5 mysteria] *misteria* L₁L₂s. So the word is commonly written in L₁.
 12 magica] L₁L₂s. I have not ventured to substitute *magia* with other editors.
 13 ignorantia] L₂; add. *omnis* L₁. corruptum] L₂s; *corruptum* L₁. This MS commonly writes *corumpere*, *corupcio*, *incorruptibilis*, etc. 14 æternæ vitæ] L₂; *vite eterne* L₁. 17 Jesus Christus] L₂s; *christus jesus* L₁. 18 scripturus sum] L₂; *scripsi sum* L₁, the *sum* however being written beyond the line, as if an afterthought. 19 manifestabo vobis] L₁; om. L₂. 20 in ipsius dilectione] L₂; *dilectione* (om. *in ipsius*) L₁. 21 resurrectione] L₁; *in resurrectione* L₂. mihi revelet] L₂; *revelet mihi* L₁. 25 presbyterio] *psbrō* L₁; *presbitero* L₂s. 26 pharmacum] *farmatum* L₁. antidotum] *antitodum* L₁.

XXI. Unanimis vobiscum ego, et quem misistis in Dei honorem in Smyrnam; unde et scribo vobis, gratias agens Domino, diligens Polycarpum ut et vos. Mementote mei, ut vestri Jesus Christus. Orate pro ecclesia quæ in Syria; unde
 5 ligatus in Romam abducor, extremus existens eorum qui ibidem fidelium; quemadmodum dignificatus sum in honorem Dei inveniri. Valet in Deo Patre et in Jesu Christo communi spe nostra.

4.

IGNATIUS MAGNESIIS.

10 I GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, benedictæ in gratia Dei Patris in Christo Jesu salvatore nostro, in quo saluto ecclesiam existentem in Magnesia ea quæ juxta Mæandrum, et oro in Deo Patre et in Jesu Christo plurimum gaudere.

I. COGNOSCENS vestram multibonam ordinationem ejus quæ secundum Deum caritatis, exultans prælegi in fide Jesu
 15 Christi alloqui vos. Dignificatus enim nomine Deo decentissimo in quibus circumfero vinculis, canto ecclesias, in quibus unionem oro carnis et spiritus Jesu Christi, ad nos semper vivere, fidei-

1 unanimis] L_1 ; *unanimus* (apparently) L_2 . quem] So certainly L_1 L_2 .
 5 ibidem] *ibm* L_1 ; *ibi* L_2 . 7 valet] L_2 s; *valere* (apparently) L_1 . 8 nostra]
 L_1 ; add. *amen.* L_2 .

IGNATIUS MAGNESIIS] L_2 ; *epistola ignatii 4a magnesiis. qualiter honorare debent episcopum qui conformat voluntatem suam deo cujus voluntati subjecti suam debent conformare voluntatem et nichil sine eo operari sicut nec christo sine patre nichil operatus nec apostoli operati sunt. quorum una oratio. una deprecacio et non errare opinionibus et secundum christum vivere* L_1 .

9 Theophorus] L_2 ; *theoferus* L_1 . 12 in Jesu] L_2 ; *jesu* (om. *in*) L_1 . 14 quæ] L_2 s; *qui* L_1 . 15 Deo decentissimo] L_2 ; *deo decentissimum* L_1 . 17 nos]
 L_2 ; *vos* L_1 . The translator seems to have read τοῦ διαπαντὸς ἡμᾶς (for ἡμῶν) §ην. fideique] L_1 ; and this is also the reading of L_2 , which Ussher has imitated in his collation, apparently without being able to decipher it.

que et caritatis, cui nihil præfertur, principalius autem Jesu et Patris, in quo sustinentes omne nocumentum principis sæculi hujus et perfigientes Deo potimur.

II. Quia igitur dignificatus sum videre vos per Damam dignum Deo vestrum episcopum, et presbyteros dignos Bassum 5 et Apollonium, et conservum meum diaconum Zotionem; quo ego fruar, quoniam subjectus est episcopo ut gratiæ Dei, et presbyterio ut legi Jesu Christi.

III. Sed et vos decet non couti ætate episcopi, sed secundum virtutem Dei Patris omnem reverentiam ei tribuere, sicut 10 agnovi et sanctos presbyteros non assumentes apparentem juniorem ordinem, sed ut prudentes in Deo concedentes ipsi; non ipsi autem, sed Patri Jesu Christi omnium episcopo. In honorem igitur illius volentis nos decens est obedire secundum nullam hypocrisim: quia nequaquam episcopum hunc conspectum se- 15 ducit quis, sed invisibilem paralogizat. Tale autem non ad carnem sermo, sed ad Deum abscondita scientem.

IV. Decens igitur est, non solum vocari Christianos, sed et esse: quemadmodum et quidam episcopum quidem vocant, sine ipso autem omnia operantur. Tales autem non bonæ consci- 20 entia mihi esse videntur, propter non firmiter secundum præceptum congregari.

V. Quia igitur finem res habent, et proponuntur duo simul, mors et vita; et unusquisque in proprium locum iturus est: quemadmodum enim sunt numismata duo, hoc quidem Dei, hoc 25 autem mundi, et unumquodque ipsorum proprium characterem superpositum habet; infideles mundi hujus, fideles autem in caritate characterem Dei Patris per Jesum Christum; per quem nisi

4 igitur] *L*₂; *ergo* *L*₁. Damam] *dama* *L*₁ *L*₂s. Perhaps however the translator left the exact form of the original, as in *Zarbo, Mar. Ign. 1, Hero 9.*
6 Apollonium] *L*₂; *apolonium* *L*₁. Zotionem] *zononem* *L*₂; *zenonem* *L*₁.
quo] *L*₂; *quem* *L*₁. 8 presbyterio] *pr̄sb̄ro* *L*₁; *presbitero* *L*₂s. Christi] *add. glorificato deum patrem domini jesu christi* *L*₁ *L*₂s; see on *Ephes. 1.*
10 reverentiam ei] *L*₂; *ei reverentiam* *L*₁. 11 et] *L*₂; om. *L*₁. juniorem] *L*₁; *minorem* *L*₂. 14 volentis] *L*₂; *volentes* *L*₁. 15 hypocrisim] *ipocrisim* *L*₁; *ypocrisim* *L*₂. 16 invisibilem] *L*₂; *invisibile* *L*₁. paralogizat] *L*₂s; *paralogizat* *L*₁.
19 et quidam] *L*₂; *quidam* (om. et) *L*₁. quidem] *L*₂; om. *L*₁. 20 tales autem] *L*₂; *tales* (om. autem) *L*₁. 26 characterem] *caracterem* *L*₁ *L*₂s; and so again just below.

voluntarie habeamus mori in ipsius passionem, vivere ipsius non est in nobis.

VI. Quia igitur in præscriptis personis omnem multitudinem speculatus sum in fide et dilectione, moneo in concordia
 5 Dei studete omnia operari; præsidente episcopo in loco Dei, et presbyteris in loco consessionis apostolorum, et diaconis mihi dulcissimis habentibus creditam ministrationem Jesu Christi, qui ante sæcula apud Patrem erat et in fine apparuit. Omnes igitur eandem consuetudinem Dei accipientes, veneremini adinvicem;
 10 et nullus secundum carnem aspiciat proximum, sed in Jesu Christo adinvicem semper diligite. Nihil sit in vobis, quod possit vos partiri, sed uniamini episcopo et præsidentibus in typum et doctrinam incorruptionis.

VII. Quemadmodum igitur Dominus sine Patre nihil fecit,
 15 unitus existens, neque per seipsum neque per apostolos; sic neque vos sine episcopo et presbyteris aliquid operemini. Neque temptetis rationabile aliquid apparere proprie vobis: sed in idipsum una oratio, una deprecatio, unus intellectus, una spes, in caritate, in gaudio incoinquinato; quod est Christus Jesus, quo
 20 melius nihil est. Omnes ut in unum templum concurrite Dei; ut in unum altare, in unum Jesum Christum, ab uno Patre exeuntem, et in unum existentem et revertentem.

VIII. Non erretis extraneis opinionibus, neque fabulis veteribus inutilibus existentibus. Si enim usque nunc secundum
 25 Judaismum vivimus, confitemur gratiam non recepisse: divinisimi enim prophetæ secundum Christum Jesum vixerunt. Propter hoc et persecutionem passi sunt, inspirati a gratia ipsius, ad certificari impersuasos quoniam unus Deus est qui manifestavit seipsum per Jesum Christum filium ipsius; qui est ipsius Ver-

4 in fide et dilectione] written twice in L_1 . 5 studete] L_2 s; *studite* L_1 .
 7 creditam] L_2 ; L_1 adds *dis*. 9 veneremini] L_2 ; and so apparently L_1 (not *veneremur*). 10 Jesu Christo] L_2 s; *christo jesu* L_1 . 12 uniamini] L_2 ; *unanimi* L_1 .
 14 igitur] L_2 ; om. L_1 . 17 rationabile] L_2 ; *rationale* L_1 .
 19 quod] L_1 L_2 s. The translator seems to have read $\delta\varsigma$ or $\delta\delta$ for $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. 21 in unum J. C.] L_1 ; *ut in unum J. C.* L_2 . 28 certificari] *πληροφορηθῆναι*; *certificare* L_1 L_2 s.

bum æternum non a silentio progrediens, qui secundum omnia beneplacuit mittenti ipsum.

IX. Si igitur in veteribus rebus conversati in novitatem spei venerunt, non amplius sabbatizantes, sed secundum dominicam viventes, in qua et vita nostra orta est per ipsum et mortem ipsius, quod quidam negant; per quod mysterium accepimus credere, et propter hoc sustinemus, ut inveniamur discipuli Jesu Christi, solius doctoris nostri; quomodo nos poterimus vivere sine ipso? cujus et prophetæ discipuli existentes spiritu ipsum ut doctorem expectabant; et propter hoc, quem juste expectabant, præsens suscitavit ipsos ex mortuis.

X. Non igitur non sentiamus benignitatem ipsius. Si enim nos persequatur secundum quod operamur, non amplius sumus. Propter hoc discipuli ejus effecti discamus secundum Christianismum vivere. Qui enim alio nomine vocatur amplius ab hoc, non est Dei. Deponite igitur malum fermentum inveteratum et exacescens, et transponite in novum fermentum, qui est Jesus Christus. Salificemini in ipso, ut non corrumpatur aliquis in vobis, quia ab odore redarguemini. Inconveniens est Jesum Christum profari, et Judaizare. Christianismus enim non in Judaismum credidit, sed Judaismus in Christianismum: ut *omnis lingua credens in Deum congregaretur*.

XI. Hæc autem, dilecti mei, non quia cognovi aliquos ex vobis sic habentes; sed, ut minor vobis, volo præservari vos, ut non incidatis in hamos vanæ gloriæ, sed certificemini in civitate et passione et resurrectione facta in tempore ducatus Pontii Pilati; quæ facta sunt vere et firmiter a Jesu Christo spe nostra, a qua averti nulli vestrum fiat.

1 a] L_1 ; in L_2 . 4 sabbatizantes] *sabatizantes* L_1 L_2 s. 11 præsens] L_1 ; *præius* L_2 . 16 igitur] L_2 ; *ergo* L_1 . 17 exacescens] *exacuens* L_1 L_2 s. Since *exacuens* has a different meaning, I have restored *exacescens* corresponding to the Greek *ἐνοξισασθαι*, as suggested by Pearson. 18 salificemini] *ἀλισθητε*; *salvificemini* L_1 L_2 s. Pearson pointed out the true reading. 19 quia] *ἐπεὶ*; *qui* L_1 L_2 s. redarguemini] L_1 ; *redarguimini* L_2 . 20 profari] *perferi* L_1 L_2 s. See *perditio*, *proditio*, above, *Ephes.* 13. non in] L_1 ; non (om. in) L_2 . 22 congregaretur] L_2 s; *congregetur* L_1 . 24 minor] L_2 ; junior L_1 . 26 passione et] L_2 ; *passione domini* L_1 , apparently, but it is confusedly written and not certainly legible.

XII. Fruar vobis secundum omnia; siquidem dignus sim. Etsi enim ligatus sum, ad unum solutorum de vobis non sum. Novi quoniam non inflamini; Jesum enim Christum habetis in vobismetipsis. Et magis quando utique laudo vos, novi quoniam verecundamini: sicut scriptum est quoniam *Fustus sui ipsius accusator*.

XIII. Studete igitur firmari in dogmatibus Domini et apostolorum, ut *omnia quaecunque facitis prosperentur*, carne et spiritu, fide et caritate, in Filio et Patre et in Spiritu, in principio et in fine, cum digne decentissimo episcopo vestro et digne complexa spirituali corona presbyterii vestri et eorum qui secundum Deum diaconorum. Subiicimini episcopo et adinvicem, ut Jesus Christus Patri secundum carnem, et apostoli Christo et Patri et Spiritui; ut unio sit carnalis et spiritualis.

XIV. Sciens quoniam Deo pleni estis, compendiose deprecatus sum vos. Mementote mei in orationibus vestris, ut Deo fruam; et ejus quæ in Syria ecclesiæ, unde non dignus sum vocari. Superindigeo enim unita vestra in Deo oratione et caritate in dignificari eam quæ in Syria ecclesiam per ecclesiam vestram irrorari.

XV. Salutant vos Ephesii a Smyrna, unde et scribo vobis, præsentem in gloriam Dei, quemadmodum et vos: qui secundum omnia me quiescere fecerunt, simul cum Polycarpo episcopo Smyrnæorum. Sed et reliquæ ecclesiæ in honore Jesu Christi salutant vos. Valetate in concordia Dei, possidentes inseparabilem spiritum, qui est Jesus Christus.

6 accusator] L_2 ; add. *est* L_1 .
(om. *in*) L_1 ; *in spiritu sancto* L_2 .

8 ut] L_2 ; *et* L_1 . 9 in Spiritu] *spiritu*
9 in principio] L_2 ; *et in principio* L_1 .

12 episcopo] L_2 s; *ipso* L_1 . See above, p. 593 sq. 14 sit carnalis] L_2 ; *carnalis*
sit L_1 . 17 quæ] L_2 s; *qui* L_1 . dignus sum] L_2 ; *sum dignus* L_1 . 19

in dignificari] L_2 . For *in* the scribe of L_1 has first written *et*. The *in* is superposed,
without obliterating the traces of *et*. 20 irrorari] L_2 ; *irrori* L_1 .

5.

IGNATIUS PHILADELPHICIS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, ecclesiæ Dei Patris et Jesu Christi quæ est in Philadelphia Asiæ, habenti propitiationem et firmatæ in concordia Dei, et exultanti in passione Domini nostri inseparabiliter, et in resurrectione ipsius certificatæ in omni misericordia; quam saluto in sanguine Jesu Christi qui est 5
gaudium æternum et incoinquinatum; maxime si in uno simus cum episcopo et eis qui cum ipso presbyteris et diaconis manifestatis in sententia Jesu Christi, quos secundum propriam voluntatem firmavit in firmitudine Sancto ipsius Spiritu.

I. QUEM episcopum cognovi non a seipso neque per homi- 10
nes possedissee administrationem in commune convenientem, neque secundum inanem gloriam, sed in caritate Dei Patris et Domini Jesu Christi; cujus obstupui mansuetudinem, qui silens plura potest his qui vana loquuntur. Concordes enim estis mandatis, ut chordis cithara. Propter quod beatificat mea anima 15
eam quæ in Deum ipsius sententiam, cognoscens virtuosam et perfectam existentem, immobile ipsius et inirascibile in omni mansuetudine Dei viventis.

IGNATIUS PHILADELPHICIS] *ignatius philadelphisis* (sic) L₂; *epistola ignatii philadelphicis quinta* L₁.

1 Theophorus] L₂; *theoferus* L₁. 2 Philadelphia] L₂s; *philadelphia* L₁.
3 Domini nostri] L₂; *domini jesu christi* L₁. 6 simus] L₂; *sumus* L₁.
7 cum ipso] L₂; *in ipso* L₁, but there is an erasure in the first word.
9 ipsius Spiritu] L₂; *spiritu ipsius* L₁. 14 his] *hiis* L₁ L₂s. concordēs...
estis] As if the translator had read *συνευρύθμολ ἐστε* or *συνευρύθμισθε* for *συνευρύθμισται*.
15 chordis] *cordis* L₁ L₂s. 16 Deum] *θεόν*; *domini* L₂s. *Deum* must have stood in the original text of the translator, and so I read L₁; but *dñi* (= *deum*) and *dñi* (= *domini*) are hardly distinguishable; and it has hitherto been read *domini*.

II. *Filii* igitur *lucis* veritatis, fugite partitionem et malas doctrinas: ubi autem pastor est, illic ut oves sequimini. Multi enim lupi fide digni delectatione mala captivant in Deum cursores; sed in unitate vestra non habent locum.

III. Recedite a malis herbis, quas non colit Jesus Christus; propter non esse ipsos plantationem Patris. Non quoniam apud vos partitionem inveni, sed abstractionem. Quotquot enim Dei sunt et Jesu Christi, isti cum episcopo sunt; et quotquot utique pœnitentes veniunt in unitatem ecclesiæ, et isti Dei erunt, ut
10 sint secundum Jesum Christum viventes. Non erretis, fratres mei. Si quis schisma facientem sequitur, *regnum Dei non hæreditat*; si quis in aliena sententia circumambulat, iste passioni non concordat.

IV. Studete igitur una gratiarum actione uti. Una enim
15 caro Domini nostri Jesu Christi et unus calix in unionem sanguinis ipsius, unum altare, ut unus episcopus cum presbyterio et diaconis conservis meis; ut quod facitis, secundum Deum faciatis.

V. Fratres mei, valde effusus sum diligens vos, et superex-
20 ultans corroboro vos; non ego autem, sed Jesus Christus, in quo vinctus timeo magis, ut adhuc existens imperfectus. Sed oratio vestra me perficiet, ut in qua hæreditate propitiationem habuero, potiar, confugiens evangelio ut carni Jesu, et apostolis ut presbyterio ecclesiæ. Sed et prophetas diligamus, propter et ipsos in
25 evangelium annunciasse et in ipsum sperare et ipsum expectare; in quo et credentes salvati sunt in unitate Jesu Christi, existentes digne dilecti et digne admirabiles sancti, a Jesu Christo testificati et connumerati in evangelio communis spei.

VI. Si autem Judaismum interpretetur vobis, non audiatis
30 ipsum. Melius est enim a viro circumcisionem habente Christianismum audire, quam ab habente præputium Judaismum.

1 *lucis*] *L*₂; add. *et L*₁. 8 *episcopo*] *ipso L*₁ *L*₂s; see above, p. 593 sq.
11 *schisma*] *scisma L*₁ *L*₂s. 16 *ut*] *ὡς; et L*₁ *L*₂s. *presbyterio*] *psbro L*₁;
*presbitero L*₂s. 17 *secundum deum faciatis*] *L*₁; om. *L*₂. 20 *Jesus*
Christus] *L*₂s; *christus jesus L*₁. 21 *vinctus*] *L*₂; *unitus* (apparently) *L*₁.
23 *presbyterio*] *psbro L*₁; *presbiterio L*₂s. 25 *in ipsum*] *L*₂; *in christum L*₁.
27 *a*] *L*₁; add. *atque L*₂; at least so I read Ussher's writing.

Si autem utrique de Jesu Christo non loquantur, isti mihi columnæ sunt et sepulcra mortuorum, in quibus scripta sunt solum nomina hominum. Fugite igitur malas artes et insidias principis sæculi hujus; ne forte tribulati sententia ipsius infirmemini in caritate. Sed et omnes in idipsum fiatis in impartibili corde. Gratias autem ago Deo meo, quoniam bonam habens conscientiam ego sum in vobis, et non habet aliquis gloriari, neque occulte neque manifeste, quoniam gravavi aliquem in parvo vel in magno. Sed et omnibus in quibus locutus sum oro, ut non in testimonium ipsum possideant.

VII. Si enim et secundum carnem me quidam voluerunt seducere, sed spiritus non seducitur, a Deo existens: *novit enim unde venit et quo vadit*, et occulta redarguit. Clamavi in intermedio existens; locutus sum magna voce, Dei voce, Episcopo attendite et presbyterio et diaconis. Quidam autem suspicati me ut præscientem divisionem quorundam dicere hæc; testis autem mihi in quo vinctus sum, quoniam a carne humana non cognovi. Spiritus autem prædicavit, dicens hæc: Sine episcopo nihil faciatis. Carnem vestram ut templum Dei servate. Unitatem diligite: divisiones fugite. Imitatores estote Jesu Christi, ut et ipse Patris ipsius.

VIII. Ego quidem igitur proprium faciebam, ut homo in unitatem perfectus. Ubi autem divisio est et ira, Deus non habitat. Omnibus igitur pœnitentibus dimittit Dominus, si pœniteant in unitatem Dei et concilium episcopi. Credo gratiæ Jesu Christi, qui solvet a vobis omne vinculum. Deprecor autem vos nihil secundum contentionem facere, sed secundum Christi dis-

1 columnæ] *columbe* L₁. 2 et] L₂; *illi* L₁, but *illi* extends beyond the line and has been written afterwards upon an erasure. The original word may have been *et*. solum] L₂; *sola* L₁. 3 insidias principis sæculi hujus] L₂; *principis hujus sæculi insidias* L₁. 5 in impartibili] L₁; *impartibili* (om. *in*) L₂. 7 aliquis] L₂; *alias* L₁. 9 et omnibus] L₁; *omnibus* (om. *et*) L₂. in quibus] L₂; *quibus* (om. *in*) L₁. 11 quidam] L₂; *quidem* L₁. voluerunt] L₂; *voluerint* L₁. 13 et quo] *aut quo* L₁; *in quo* L₂. 15 presbyterio] *psbro* L₁; *presbyterio* L₂s. suspicati] L₁; add. *sunt* L₂. 17 quoniam] L₁; *quia* L₂s. 22 quidem igitur] L₂; *igitur quidem* L₁. 23 perfectus] L₂s; *perfectis* L₁. 24 Dominus] L₁; *deus* L₂s. 25 concilium] L₁; *consilium* L₂. 27 nihil secundum contentionem] L₂; *secundum contencionem nichil* L₁.

ciplinam. Quia audiui quosdam dicentes quoniam Si non in veteribus invenio, in evangelio non credo: et dicente me ipsis quoniam Scriptum est, responderunt mihi quoniam Præjacet. Mihi autem principium est Jesus Christus; inapproximabilia
5 principia crux ipsius et mors et resurrectio ipsius, et fides quæ per ipsum; in quibus volo in oratione vestra justificari.

IX. Boni et sacerdotes, melius autem princeps sacerdotum, cui credita sunt sancta sanctorum, cui soli credita sunt occulta Dei, qui ipse est janua Patris per quam ingrediuntur Abraham
10 et Isaac et Jacob et prophetæ et apostoli et ecclesia: omnia hæc in unitatem Dei. Præcipuum autem aliquid habet evangelium, præsentiam salvatoris Domini nostri Jesu Christi, passionem ipsius, resurrectionem. Dilecti enim prophetæ annunciarunt in ipsum; evangelium autem perfectio est incorruptionis.
15 Omnia simul bona sunt, si in caritate creditis.

X. Quia secundum orationem vestram, et secundum viscera misericordiæ quæ habetis in Christo Jesu, annunciatum est mihi pacem habere ecclesiam quæ est in Antiochia Syriæ, decens est vos, ut ecclesiam Dei, ordinare diaconum ad intercedendum illic
20 Dei intercessionem, in congaudere ipsis in idipsum factis et glorificare nomen. Beatus in Jesu Christo, qui dignificabitur tali ministratione; et vos glorificabimini. Volentibus autem vobis non est impossibile pro nomine Dei; ut et quædam propinquæ ecclesiæ miserunt episcopos, quædam autem presbyteros et
25 diaconos.

XI. De Philone autem diacono a Cilicia, viro testimonium habente, qui et nunc in verbo Dei ministrat mihi, cum Reo Agathopode viro electo, qui a Syria me sequitur abrenuncians sæculo; qui et testificantur vobis: et ego Deo gratias ago pro
30 vobis, quoniam recepistis ipsos; ut et vos Dominus. Qui autem

1 non in veteribus] L₂; in veteribus non L₁. 2 ipsis] L₂; om. L₁. 5 crux ipsius] L₂; ipsius crux L₁. 7 autem] L₁; add. et L₂. 10 et Isaac] L₂; Isaac (om. et) L₁. 11 Dei] Θεοῦ; fidei L₁ L₂s. 13 resurrectionem] L₁; et resurrectionem L₂. 21 tali] L₂; in tali L₁. 23 propinquæ ecclesiæ] L₂; ecclesie propinqua (or propinque?) L₁. Was the original reading *proxima ecclesiæ*, a literal translation of ἑγγιστα ἐκκλησία, the contractions of *propinqua* and *proxima* being easily confused? 29 pro] L₁; de L₂.

inhonoraverunt ipsos, liberentur in gratia Jesu Christi. Salutat vos caritas multorum qui in Troade; unde et scribo vobis per Burrum, missum mecum ab Ephesiis et Smyrnæis in verbum honoris. Honoret ipsos Dominus Jesus Christus, in quem sperent carne, anima, spiritu, fide, caritate, concordia. Valete in Christo Jesu, communi spe nostra. 5

6.

IGNATIUS TRALESIIS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, dilectæ Deo patri Jesu Christi ecclesiæ sanctæ existenti in Tralesiis Asiæ, electæ et Deo dignæ, pacem habenti in carne et sanguine et passione Jesu Christi spei nostræ, in ea quæ in ipsum resurrectione; 10 quam et saluto in plenitudine, in apostolico caractere, et oro plurimum gaudere.

I. INCOINQUINATAM mentem et inseparabilem in sustinentia cognovi vos habentes, non secundum usum sed secundum naturam; quemadmodum ostendit mihi Polybius episcopus 15 vester, qui advenit voluntate Dei et Jesu Christi in Smyrna; et sic mihi congavisus est vincto in Christo Jesu, ut ego omnem multitudinem vestram in ipso speculer. Recipiens igitur eam quæ secundum Deum æquanimitem per ipsum, gloriatus sum inveniens vos, ut cognovi, imitatores Dei. 20

II. Quando enim episcopo subjecti estis ut Jesu Christo, videmini mihi non secundum homines viventes sed secundum

IGNATIUS TRALESIIS] L_2 ; *epistola 6a ignatii tralesiis asiæ. quomodo multitudo subjectorum cognoscatur per episcopum bonum. et subjecti nihil agant sine episcopo, sicut nec apostoli sine christo* L_1 .

7 Theophorus] L_2 ; *theoferus* L_1 . 8 Tralesiis] So $L_1 L_2 s$. 11 caractere] *caractere* $L_1 L_2 s$. 15 Polybius] *polibius* $L_1 L_2 s$. 18 igitur] L_2 ; *ergo* L_1 . 21 Quando] L_1 ; *quum* $L_2 s$.

Jesum Christum propter vos mortuum, ut credentes in mortem ipsius mori effugiatis. Necessarium igitur est, quemadmodum facitis, sine episcopo nihil operari vos, sed subjici et presbyterio ut apostolis Jesu Christi, spei nostræ, in quo conversantes inveniamur. Oportet autem et diaconos, ministros existentes mysteriorum Jesu Christi, secundum omnem modum omnibus placere; non enim ciborum et potuum sunt ministri, sed ecclesiæ Dei ministri. Opportunum igitur eos observare accusationes, ut ignem.

10 III. Similiter et omnes reveantur diaconos ut mandatum Jesu Christi, et episcopum ut Jesum Christum, existentem filium Patris; presbyteros autem, ut concilium Dei et conjunctionem apostolorum. Sine his ecclesia non vocatur: de quibus suadeor vos sic habere. Exemplarium enim caritatis
15 vestræ accepi et habeo cum meipso in episcopo vestro; cujus ipsa compositio magna est disciplinatio, mansuetudo autem ipsius potentia; quem existimo et impios revereri: diligentes quod non parco ipsum aliqualem, potens scribere pro illo: in hoc existimer, ut existens condemnatus, velut apostolus vobis
20 præcipiam.

IV. Multa sapio in Deo; sed meipsum mensuro, ut non in gloriatione perdar. Nunc enim me oportet plus timere, et non attendere infantibus me; dicentes enim mihi flagellant me. Diligo quidem enim pati, sed non novi si dignus sum. Zelus
25 enim multis quidem non apparet, me autem plus oppugnat. Indigeo igitur mansuetudine, in qua dissolvitur princeps sæculi hujus.

V. Nonne possum vobis supercælestia scribere? sed timeo

2 mori] L_1 ; <i>morti</i> L_2 .	3 subjici et] L_2 ; <i>subici</i> (om. et) L_1 .	pres-
byterio] <i>psbro</i> L_1 ; <i>presbiterio</i> L_2 s.	8 opportunum] <i>oportunum</i> L_1 L_2 .	eos]
<i>αἰνούς</i> ; <i>vos</i> L_1 L_2 s.	10 diaconos] L_2 s; <i>diacones</i> L_1 .	13 Sine] L_1 ;
<i>cui sine</i> L_2 .	his] <i>hiis</i> L_1 L_2 s.	14 suadeor] <i>πείπειν</i> ; <i>suadeo</i> L_1 L_2 s.
The translator doubtless wrote <i>suadeor</i> , though correct diction would require <i>mihī suadetur</i> .	exemplarium] <i>exemplarium</i> L_1 L_2 s.	19 existens] L_2 ;
om. L_1 .	22 me oportet] L_2 ; <i>oportet me</i> L_1 .	26 igitur] L_2 s; <i>ergo</i>
(apparently) L_1 .	sæculi hujus] L_2 ; <i>hujus sæculi</i> L_1 .	

ne parvulis existentibus vobis damnum apponam. Et condonate mihi, ne forte non potentes capere strangulemini. Etenim ego non secundum quodcunque ligatus sum, sed potens supercælestia et loci positiones angelicas et constitutiones principatorias, visibiliaque et invisibilia, præter hoc jam et discipulus 5 sum. Multa enim nobis deficiunt, ut Deo non deficiamus.

VI. Deprecor igitur vos, non ego, sed caritas Jesu Christi, solo Christiano alimento utamini; ab aliena autem herba recedite, quæ est hæresis, quæ et inquinatis implicat Jesum Christum: quemadmodum mortiferum pharmacum dantes cum vino 10 mellito; quod qui ignorat, delectabiliter accipit, et in delectatione mala mori.

VII. Observemini igitur a talibus. Hoc autem erit vobis non inflatis, et existentibus inseparabilibus a Deo Jesu Christo et episcopo et ordinibus apostolorum. Qui intra altare est, 15 mundus est: qui vero extra altare est, non mundus est: hoc est, qui sine episcopo et presbyterio et diacono operatur aliquid, iste non mundus est in conscientia.

VIII. Non quia cognovi tale quid in vobis, sed præservo

1 damnum] *dampnum* L₁ L₂s. So the word is commonly written in L₁; see above on *Ephes.* 5. apponam] L₁; *opponam* L₂. 2 forte non] L₁; *forte* (om. *non*) L₂. 4 supercælestia] L₁ L₂. In L₁ *supercelestia* is contracted *srcelestia*, this being a common contraction of *super*. There is no authority for *scire caelestia*, which arises from misreading the contraction. The rendering of *ἐπουράνια* is not *caelestia*, but *supercælestia*, as it is given a few lines above; comp. *superindigeo*, ἐπιδέομαι, *Magn.* 14. The coincidence that some Greek texts (correctly) have ποεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια has encouraged this misreading of the Latin. principatorias] *principatias* L₂; *principianas* (apparently) L₁. Some adjective is wanted to represent the Greek ἀρχοντικός. If my conjecture *principatorias* (comp. *administrativus* = λειτουργικός, *Hero* 7) is a new coinage, this is the case also with *principationes* which is generally given as the reading of the Latin here. The former more nearly represents the original, and also better explains the phenomena of the mss. 5 præter] L₁ L₂s. Perhaps however we should read *propter*, as *præter hoc* is a wrong translation of παρὰ τοῦτο, and the two words when contracted are easily confused. jam et] L₂; *et jam* L₁. 6 nobis] *vobis* L₁ L₂s. 8 Christiano alimento] L₂; *alimento christiano* L₁. 10 quemadmodum] written twice in L₁. pharmacum] *farmacum* L₁ L₂s. 11 et in delectatione mala] L₁ L₂s. This reading is confirmed by a marginal gloss in L₂, *et in delectatione mala, supple, accipit mori*. 13 erit vobis] *erit a vobis* L₁; *vobis* (om. *erit*) L₂. 17 presbyterio] *psbro* L₁; *presbitero* L₂s. 18 mundus est] L₂; *est mundus* L₁.

vos existentes meos dilectos, prævidens insidias diaboli. Vos igitur, mansuetam patientiam resumentes, recreate vosmetipsos in fide, quod est caro Domini, et in caritate, quod est sanguis Jesu Christi. Nullus vestrum adversus proximum aliquid habeat. Non occasiones detis gentibus, ut non propter paucos insipientes ea quæ in Deo multitudo blasphemetur. *Væ enim per quem in vanitate nomen meum in aliquibus blasphematur.*

IX. Obsurdescite igitur, quando vobis sine Jesu Christo loquitur quis; qui ex genere David, qui ex Maria; qui vere natus 10 est, comedit et bibit; vere persecutionem passus est sub Pontio Pilato; vere crucifixus est et mortuus est, adspicientibus cælestibus et terrestribus et infernalibus; qui et vere resurrexit a mortuis, resuscitante ipsum Patre ipsius; qui et secundum similitudinem nos credentes ipsi sic resuscitabit Pater ipsius in 15 Christo Jesu, sine quo verum vivere non habemus.

X. Si autem, quemadmodum quidam sine Deo existentes, hoc est infideles, dicunt secundum videri passum esse ipsum, ipsi existentes secundum videri; ego quid vinctus sum? quid autem et oro cum bestiis pugnare? Gratis igitur morior: ergo 20 non reprehendor mendacii a Domino?

XI. Fugite ergo malas propagines generantes fructum mortiferum; quem si gustet quis, statim moritur. Isti enim non sunt plantatio Patris: si enim essent, apparerent utique rami crucis, et esset utique fructus ipsorum incorruptibilis, per quem 25 in passione ipsius advocat vos, existentes membra ipsius. Non potest igitur caput nasci sine membris, Deo unionem repromittente, quod est ipse.

XII. Saluto vos a Smyrna cum compræsentibus mihi ecclesiis Dei; qui secundum omnia me quiescere fecerunt carne et 30 spiritu. Deprecantur vos vincula mea, quæ pro Jesu Christo fero petens Deo frui. Permanete in concordia vestra, et ea quæ cum adinvicem oratione. Decet enim vos singulos, præcipue et presbyteros, refrigerare episcopum in honorem Patris Jesu

1 diaboli. Vos igitur] L₂; diaboli in vos. Igitur L₁. 18 ego quid] L₁; ego quidem L₂. 19 et] L₂; om. L₁. igitur] L₂s; ergo L₁. 23 si enim] L₂; si utique L₁. 24 ipsorum] L₂; illorum L₁. 31 Permanete] permanere L₁ L₂s.

Christi et apostolorum. Oro vos in caritate audire me, ut non in testimonium sim in vobis scribens. Sed et pro me orate, ea quæ a vobis caritate indigente in misericordia Dei, ad dignificari me hæreditate qua conor potiri, ut non reprobis inveniar.

XIII. Salutat vos caritas Smyrnæorum et Ephesiorum. 5 Mementote in orationibus vestris ejus quæ in Syria ecclesiæ; unde non dignus sum dici, existens extremus illorum. Valet in Jesu Christo, subjecti episcopo ut Dei mandato, similiter et presbyterio. Et singuli adinvicem diligite in impartibili corde. Castificate vestrum meum spiritum, non solum nunc, sed et 10 quando utique Deo fruar. Adhuc enim sub periculo sum: sed fidelis Pater in Jesu Christo implere meam petitionem et vestram; in quo inveniimini incoinquinati.

7.

MARIA PROSELYTA IGNATIO.

MARIA proselyta Jesu Christi Ignatio Theophoro, beatissimo episcopo ecclesiæ apostolicæ ejus quæ secundum 15 Antiochiam, in Deo Patre et Jesu dilecto gaudere et valere.

I. SEMPER tibi oramus secundum quod in ipso gaudium et sanitatem. Quia miraculis et apud nos Christus cognitus est filius esse Dei viventis, et in posterioribus temporibus in-

4 hæreditate] L_2 ; in hereditate L_1 . 7 dignus sum] L_2 ; sum dignus L_1 . 9
presbyterio] L_2 s; presbitero L_1 . 11 utique Deo] L_2 ; deo utique L_1 . 12
Jesu Christo] L_2 ; christo jesu L_1 . meam petitionem] L_2 ; petitionem
meam L_1 .

MARIA PROSELYTA IGNATIO] *epistola marie proselite chassaobolorum ad ignatium episcopum antiochie* L_2 ; *epistola marie proselite thassaobolorum ad ignacium episcopum antiochie ut mittat quosdam juvenes predicatorum ad eam et quod non diffidat de eis quia carnem (?) passionis vicerunt, sicut salomon* 12 *annorum sapientia sua placuit deo. josias rex et david rex* L_1 .

14 proselyta] *proselita* L_1 L_2 s. Theophoro] *theophero* L_2 s; *theophoro* L_1 .
17 secundum quod] L_1 ; secundum illud quod L_2 .

humanatum esse per virginem Mariam ex semine David et Abraham, secundum eas quæ de ipso ab ipso prædictæ sunt voces a prophetarum choro; hujus gratia deprecamur, dignificantes mitti nobis a tuo intellectu Marim amicum nostrum, 5 episcopum Emelapes Neapoleos ejus quæ ad Zarbo, et Eulogium et Sobelum presbyterum, ut non simus desolati præpositis divini verbi; quemadmodum et Moyses dicit, *Provideat Dominus Deus hominem qui ducat populum hunc, et non erit synagoga Domini ut oves quibus non est pastor.*

10 II. Pro eo autem quod juvenes sunt præscripti formides nihil, o beate; cognoscere enim te volo, quod sapiunt super carnem et ipsius passiones non sentiunt ipsi in seipsis, recenti juventute sacerdotii refulgentes canitie. Perscrutare autem cogitationem tuam per datum tibi a Deo per Christum spiri- 15 tum ipsius; et cognosces quod Samuel, parvus puerulus, Videns vocatus est, et choro prophetarum connumeratus presbyterum Heli transgressionis redarguit; quoniam insanientes filios Deo omnium causæ præhonoravit, et ludentes in sacerdotium et in populum luxuriantes dimisit impunitos.

20 III. Daniel autem sapiens, juvenis existens, judicavit crudeles senes quosdam, ostendens adulteros ipsos et non seniores esse, et genere Judæos existentes modo Chananæos existere. Et Jeremias, propter juventutem renuens tributam ipsi a Deo prophetiam, audit; *Non dicas quoniam Junior sum; 25 quia ad omnes quoscunque mittam te ibis, et secundum omnia quæcunque mando tibi loqueris; quia tecum ego sum.* Salomon autem sapiens, duodecim existens annorum, intellexit magnam ignorantiae mulierum de suis filiis quæstionem; ut omnis populus obstupesceret de tanta pueri sapientia, et timeret non ut

5 ad Zarbo] L₁ L₂s. I have not ventured to alter it, thinking that the translator may have retained the exact form of the original, πρὸς Ζαρβῶ, from ignorance of the correct form of the name, as in *Hero* 9; comp. *Dama* in *Magn.* 2. 6 præpositis divini verbi] L₂; *divini verbi prepositis* L₁. 9 erit] L₁; *est* L₂. synagoga] L₂; *synagoga* L₁. 14 cogitationem] L₂; and this also (not *cognitionem*) seems to be the reading of L₁, where it is contracted *cogitonē*. 18 omnium] L₂; *omni* (apparently) L₁. 24 ipsi] L₂; *sibi* L₁. 26 Salomon] *salamon* L₁ L₂s. 29 timeret] L₂; *timerent* (apparently) L₁.

puerum, sed ut perfectum virum. Ænigmata autem Æthiopum reginæ, lationem habentia quemadmodum Nili fluenta, sic solvit, ut extra seipsam fieret ipsa sic sapiens.

IV. Josias autem Dei amator, inarticulate fere adhuc loquens, redarguit malo spiritu detentos, quod falsiloqui et 5 populi seductores existunt: dæmonumque revelat deceptionem, et eos non existentes deos demonstrat, et sacratos ipsis, puer existens, interficit, delubraque ipsorum evertit, et altaria mortuis reliquiis inquinat, templaque delet, et saltus succidit, et columnas conterit, et impiorum sepulcra suffodit; ut neque signum 10 amplius malorum existat. Sic quidam zelotes erat religionis et impiorum punitor, adhuc balbutiens lingua. David autem, propheta simul et rex, salvatoris secundum carnem radix, puer ungitur a Samuele in regem. Ait enim alicubi ipse quoniam *Parvus eram inter fratres meos et junior in domo patris mei.* 15

V. Et deficiet mihi tempus, si omnes investigare voluero, qui in juventute bene placuerunt Deo, prophetia et sacerdotio et regno a Deo donati. Rememorationis autem gratia sufficiunt et hæc dicta. Sed te deprecor, ne tibi quædam 20 superba esse videar et ostentatrix. Non enim docens te, sed subrememorans meum in Deo patrem, hos apposui sermones: cognosco enim mei ipsius mensuras et non coextendo meipsam tantis vobis. Saluto tuum sanctum clerum sub tua cura pastum. Omnes apud nos fideles salutant te. Sanam esse 25 me secundum Deum ora, beate pastor.

2 reginæ] L₁; regione L₂. 6 existunt] L₁; existerent L₂. 8 ipsorum] L₂; eorum L₁.
 9 columnas] columpnas L₁ L₂s. 11 quidam] τῆς;
 quidem L₁ L₂s. 14 quoniam] L₁; quum L₂s. 20 esse videar] L₂;
 videar esse L₁. 21 in deo] L₂; in deum L₁. 23 tuum] L₁; tamen L₂.
 24 esse me] L₂; me esse L₁.

8.

IGNATIUS MARIÆ PROSELYTÆ.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, habenti propitiationem in gratia Dei Patris altissimi et Domini Jesu Christi qui pro nobis mortuus; fidelissimæ, dignæ Deo, Christum ferenti filiæ Mariæ, plurimum in Deo gaudere.

5 I. MELIUS quidem littera visus; quanto quidem, pars melior existens chori sensuum, non solum quibus tradit amicabilia honorat accipientem, sed et quibus recipit in melioribus desiderium datat. Veruntamen secundus, aiunt, portus et litterarum modus: quem velut bonam applicationem recepimus a
10 tua fide a longe, velut per ipsas videntes quod in te bonum. Bonorum enim, o omnino sapiens mulier, animæ purioribus assimilantur fontibus: illi enim transeuntes, etsi non sitiant, ipsa specie attrahunt ipsos haurire potum; tuus autem intellectus monet nos, capere iubens de his, quæ in anima tua
15 scaturiunt, divinis aquis.

II. Ego autem, o beata, non mei ipsius nunc tantum, quantum aliorum effectus, multorum contrariorum voluntatibus impellor, secundum hæc quidem fugis, secundum hæc autem carceribus, secundum hæc vero vinculis. Sed a nullo horum vertor: in
20 injustificationibus autem ipsorum magis disco, ut Jesu Christo potiar. Utinam fruam duris mihi præparatis, quia *Non dignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam revelari in nos.*

IGNATIUS MARIÆ PROSELYTÆ] L₂; *responsio ignatii marie proselite super eadem epistola . et adimplet votum scribentis. cletus papa ante clementem.* L₁.

5 quanto] L₁; *quantum* L₂. melior] In the translator's text *κρείττον* must have been incorrectly repeated after *μέρος*. 6 quibus] L₁; *quilibet* L₂.

12 sitiant] *διψᾶσι*; *sciunt* L₁ L₂. 13 specie] L₁; *spe* L₂. 14 monet] L₁; *movet* L₂. his] *hiis* L₁ L₂^s. 19 vertor] L₂; *avertor* L₁.

III. Quæ autem a te per epistolam jussa sunt gratanter implevi, in nullo dubitans eorum quæ ipsa bene habere probasti. Cognovi enim te iudicio Dei testimonium viris fecisse, sed non gratia carnali. Multum enim mihi erant et continuæ tuæ scriptibilia locorum memoriæ, quas legens neque usque 5 ad intellectum dubitavi circa rem. Non enim habebam aliquibus oculis excurrere, quorum habebam incontradicibilem a te factam demonstrationem. Conformis animæ tecum fiam ego, quoniam diligis Jesum filium Dei viventis: propter quod et ipse dicet tibi, *Ego diligentes me diligo, me autem quærentes* 10 *invenient pacem.*

IV. Supervenit autem mihi dicere quoniam verus sermo, quem audiavi de te, adhuc existente te in Roma apud beatum Papam Cletum; cui successit ad præsens digne beatus Clemens, Petri et Pauli auditor. Et nunc apposuisti ad ipsum centu- 15 pliciter; et apponas adhuc, o dilecta. Desideravi vehementer venire ad vos, ut conquiescerem vobiscum, sed *Non in homine via ipsius*: detinuit enim meum propositum, non concedens ad terminum ire, militaris custodia. Sed neque in quibus sum, operari aliquid vel pati potens ego. Propter quod, secundum 20 ejus quæ in amicis consolationis litteram reputans, saluto sanctam tuam animam, deprecans apponi robori; præsens enim labor paucus, expectata vero merces multa.

V. Fugite abnegantes passionem Christi et secundum carnem nativitatem: multi autem sunt nunc secundum hanc 25 ægrotantes ægritudinem. Alia autem admonere tibi facile, perfectæ quidem omni opere et sermone bono, potenti autem et aliis suadere in Christo. Saluta omnes similes tibi retinentes sui ipsorum salutem in Christo. Salutant te presbyteri et diaconi, et ante omnes sacer Heron. Salutat te Cas- 30 sianus peregrinus meus, et soror mea et sponsa ipsius, et

7 quorum] ὧν; quos L₁ L₂s. habebam] L₁; habeam L₂. 16 dilecta] As if the translator had read ἀγαπήνῃ for αὔτην. 20 ego. Propter quod] ego tibi. propter quod L₂; ego. quod L₁. 21 litteram] L₁; litterarum L₂. 21 sanctam tuam] L₁; tuam sanctam L₂. 22 robori] L₁ L₂s. This corresponds to the reading τὸν ῥ, as τὸν ῥος is elsewhere translated *robur* in this version, *Mart.* 1. 27 opere] L₂; tempore L₁. 30 Heron] eron L₁ L₂s.

dilectissima ipsorum. Valentem carnalem et spirituales sanitatem Dominus sanctificet semper; et videam te in Christo potentem corona.

9.

IGNATIUS TARSENSIBUS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, salvatæ in Christo ecclesiæ, dignæ laude et dignæ memoria et dignæ dilectione, existenti in Tarso; misericordia, pax, a Deo Patre et Domino Jesu Christo multiplicetur semper.

I. A SYRIA usque Romam cum bestiis pugno; non ab irrationalibus bestiis comestus (hæ enim, ut scitis, Deo volente
 10 pepercerunt Danieli), ab his autem quæ humanæ formæ, inter quas immansueta bestia latitans pungit me quotidie et vulnerat. *Sed de nullo sermonem facio durorum, neque habeo animam pretiosam mihi ipsi*, ut diligens ipsam magis quam Dominum. Propter quod paratus sum ad ignem, ad bestias,
 15 ad gladium, ad crucem: solum Jesum Christum sciens salvatorem meum et Deum, pro me mortuum. Deprecor igitur vos ego vinctus Christi, per terram et mare jactatus; *State in fide firmi*, quoniam *Iustus ex fide vivet*: estote inflexibiles, quoniam *Dominus inhabitare facit unius moris in domo*.

20 II. Novi quoniam quidam ministrorum Satanæ voluerunt vos turbare: hi quidem, quoniam Jesus opinione natus est et opinione crucifixus est et opinione mortuus est; hi autem, quoniam non est filius conditoris; hi vero, quoniam ipse est qui super omnia Deus; alii autem, quoniam nudus homo est,

IGNATIUS TARSENSIBUS] L₂; *epistola ignacii tarsensibus* L₁.

4 Theophorus] L₂; *theoferus* L₁. 6 Tarso] L₂; *tharso* L₁. 9 comestus] L₂s; *commestus* L₁. hæ] *hee* L₁. 10 his] *hiis* L₁ L₂s. 11 immansueta] L₁; *in mansueta* L₂. quotidie] *cotidie* L₁ L₂s. 13 animam] L₂; add. *meam* L₁. 17 terram et mare] L₂; *mare et terram* L₁. 20 Satanæ] *sathane* L₁ L₂s. 21 hi] *hii* L₁ L₂s; and so in the next two clauses.

alteri vero, quoniam caro hæc non resurgit et oportet voluptuosam vitam vivere et transire, hanc enim esse terminum bonorum post non multum corrumpendis. Tantorum malorum multitudo eos inebriavit. Sed vos *neque ad horam veniatis sub subjectionem* ipsorum: Pauli enim estis cives et discipuli, 5 qui a Hierosolymis et circum usque Illyricum implevit evangelium, et stigmata Christi in carne circumtulit.

III. Cujus memores, omnino cognoscitis quoniam Jesus Dominus vere natus est ex Maria, factus ex muliere, et veritate crucifixus est; *Mihi enim*, ait *non fiat gloriari nisi in* 10 *cruce Domini*: et veritate mortuus est, et resurrexit; *Si possibilis enim*, ait, *Christus, si primus ex resurrectione mortuorum*; et, *Quod mortuus est, peccato mortuus est semel, quod autem vivit, Deo vivit*. Quia quid opus vinculis, Christo non mortuo? quid opus sustentia? quid opus flagellis? Quid unquam 15 Petrus crucifixus est, Paulus et Jacobus gladio cæsi sunt? Johannes vero relegatus est in Patmo? Stephanus autem in lapidibus occisus est a Domini occisoribus Judæis? Sed nihil horum vane: veritate enim crucifixus est Dominus ab impiis.

IV. Et sic natus ex muliere filius est Dei; et crucifixus primogenitus omnis creaturæ et Deus Verbum; et ipse fecit omnia. Dicit enim Apostolus; *Unus Deus Pater ex quo omnia, et unus Dominus Jesus Christus per quem omnia*: et rursus, *Unus enim Deus, et unus mediator Dei et hominum, homo Jesus Christus*; et *In ipso creata sunt omnia quæ in cælo et in terra, visibilia et* 25 *invisibilia*; et ipse est ante omnia, et omnia in ipso consistunt.

V. Et quoniam non ipse est qui super omnia Deus Pater sed filius illius, dicit, *Ascendo ad patrem meum et patrem vestrum*,

3 corrumpendis] *φθαρησόμενους*; *corumpentis* L₁; *corrumperis* L₂. 4 neque ad horam] L₂; *ad horam neque* L₁. 5 sub subjectionem] L₁; *subjectionem* (om. sub) L₂. 6 Hierosolymis] *ierosolimis* L₂; *iherosolimis* L₁. Illyricum] *illyricum* L₁ L₂s. 8 Jesus Dominus] L₂; *dominus jesus* L₁. 14 quid] L₂; *quod* L₁. In the two following clauses L₂ has *quid*, L₁ *quid*. 15 unquam] *unquam* L₁; *unquam* L₂. 16 Petrus crucifixus] L₁; *petrus quid crucifixus* L₂. 17 Patmo] *pathmo* L₁ L₂s. Stephanus] *sthphs* L₁ and so *Hero* 3. in] L₂; om. L₁. 20 sic] L₁; om. L₂. The translator must have read *οὗτος* for *οὗτος*; comp. *Ephes.* 5. 22 Unus Deus] L₂; *deus* (om. *unus*) L₁. 24 homo] L₂; om. L₁. Jesus Christus] L₁; *christus jesus* L₂.

et Deum meum et Deum vestrum; et, Quando subjecta erunt ipsi omnia, tunc et ipse subjicietur ei qui subjecit ei omnia, ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus. Igitur est alter qui subjecit, et qui est omnia in omnibus; et alter cui subjecta sunt, qui et cum omnibus sub-
 5 *jicietur.*

VI. Et neque nudus homo, per quem et in quo facta sunt omnia; *Omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt; Quando fecit cælum, coaderam ipsi, et illic eram apud ipsum componens, et applaudebat mihi quotidie. Qualiter autem utique nudus homo audiret, Sede*
 10 *a dextris meis?* Qualiter autem et diceret, *Priusquam Abraham fieret, ego sum, et, Clarifica me claritate quam habui, antequam mundus esset, a te?* Qualis autem homo nudus diceret, *Descendi de cælo, non ut faciam voluntatem meam sed voluntatem ejus qui misit me?* De quali homine vero diceret, *Erat lux vera,*
 15 *quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit. In propria venit, et sui cum non receperunt?* Qualiter ergo talis nudus homo et ex Maria habens principium essendi, sed non Deus Verbum et Filius unigenitus? *In principio enim*
 20 *erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum;* et in aliis, *Dominus creavit me principium viarum suarum in opera sua; ante sæculum fundavit me, et ante omnes colles generat me.*

VII. Quoniam autem et resurgunt corpora nostra, dicit;
 25 *Amen dico vobis, quoniam venit hora, in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient vocem filii Dei, et qui audierint vivent. Et apostolus, Oportet enim corruptibile hoc induere incorruptionem, et mortale hoc induere immortalitatem. Et quoniam oportet temperate vivere et juste, dicit rursus; Non erretis; neque adulteri*

1 et Deum meum] L₂; *deum meum* (om. et) L₁. erunt ipsi] L₁; *ipsi*
erunt L₂. 3 Igitur] L₁; *qui igitur* L₂. 7 Quando] L₁; *quum* L₂s.
 8 ipsi] L₂; *ipsa ipsi* L₁ apparently, but the first word is confusedly written and was
 perhaps intended to be erased. 9 quotidie] L₂s; *cotidie* L₁. utique] L₁; *itaque*
 L₂. 11 me] L₂; add. *pater* L₁. 12 homo nudus] L₂; *homo si nudus* L₁.
 14 vero] *verum* (?) L₁; om. L₂. 15 mundum] L₂s; *modum* L₁. 19 et
 filius] L₁; *filius* (om. et) L₂. 22 sæculum] L₂s; *secula* L₁. 25 Amen] L₂;
 add. *quoniam* L₁. 27 enim] L₂; om. L₁. 29 vivere et juste] L₂; *et juste*
vivere L₁. dicit] λέγει; deo L₁L₂s. The Greek shows that *dicit* must have

neque molles neque masculorum concubitores neque fornicatores neque maledici neque ebriosi neque fures regnum Dei hæreditare possunt: et, Si mortui non resurgunt, neque Christus resurrexit: inanis ergo prædicatio nostra, inanis autem et fides nostra: adhuc estis in peccatis vestris. Ergo et qui dormierunt in Christo, perierunt. Si in vita hac sperantes sumus in Christo solum, miserabiliores omnibus hominibus sumus. Si mortui non resurgunt, comedamus et bibamus; cras enim morimur. Sic autem dispositi quid distabimus ab asinis et canibus, qui nihil de futuro curant, in appetitum euntes et eorum quæ post comedere? inscii enim sunt moventis intus intellectus.

VIII. Fruar vobis in Domino. Vigilate omnem unusquisque malitiam deponere, et feralem furorem, detractionem, calumniam, turpiloquium, scurrilitatem, susurrationem, inflationem, ebrietatem, luxuriam, avaritiam, inanem gloriam, invidiam, et omne his concurrens: indui Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, et carnis providentiam non fieri in concupiscentias. Presbyteri subjecti estote episcopo, diaconi episcopo et presbyteris, populus diaconis. Consimilis ego his qui custodiunt hanc bonam ordinationem; et Dominus sit cum ipsis continue.

IX. Viri, diligite sponsas vestras; uxores, conjuges vestros: pueri, parentes præhonorate; parentes, filios nutrite in disciplina et admonitione Domini. Eas quæ in virginitate honorate, ut sacras Christi; eas quæ in honestate viduas, ut altare Dei. Domini, cum moderamine servis præcipite; servi, cum Dominis ministrare. Nullus in vobis otiosus maneat; mater enim indigentiae otiositas. Hoc enim non præcipio, ut existens aliquis, etsi ligor; sed ut frater, ad memoriam revoco. Sit Dominus vobiscum.

been the original word, and the substitution *deo* doubtless arose from the contractions.

2 maledici] *λοιδοροι*; *maledicti* L_1L_2s . 4 autem et] L_2 ; *om.* L_1 .

6 vita hac] L_2 ; *hac vita* L_1 . 10 in appetitum euntes] L_2 ; *euntes in appetitum* L_1 .

13 deponere] This is certainly the reading of L_1L_2 . The translator read ἀποθέσθαι for ἀποθεσθε. So too ἐνδύσασθαι, ποιείσθαι, for ἐνδύσασθε, ποιείσθε, below.

calumniam] *calumpniam* L_1L_2s ; see above, p. 608. 15 his] *hiis* L_1L_2s .

17 concupiscentias] *ἐπιθυμίας*; *concupiscentia* L_2 ; *concupiscenciis* L_1 .

19 Consimilis] add. *enim* L_2 . In L_1 there is a blank space after *consimilis*.

his] *hiis* L_1L_2s . 20 ipsis] L_2 ; *hiis* L_1 .

x. Fruar vestris orationibus. Orate ut Jesu fruam. Commendo vobis eam quæ in Antiochia ecclesiam. Salutant vos ecclesiæ Philippensium; unde et scribo vobis. Salutat vos Philon diaconus vester, cui et gratias ego ago studiose ministranti
 5 mihi in omnibus. Salutat vos diaconus qui ex Syria sequitur me in Christo. *Salutate ad invicem in sancto osculo.* Saluto universos et universas in Christo. Valete anima et spiritu; et mei non obliviscamini. Dominus vobiscum.

10.

IGNATIUS ANTIOCHENIS.

10 I GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, Ecclesiæ habenti propitiationem a Deo, dilectæ a Christo, advenæ in Syria, et primæ Christi cognominationem accipienti, in Antiochia; in Deo Patre et Domino Jesu Christo gaudere.

1. LEVIA mihi et non onerosa vincula Dominus fecit, discenti pacem habere vos et in omni concordia carnali et spirituali
 15 conversari. *Deprecor igitur vos ego vinctus in Domino digne ambulare vocatione qua vocati estis:* observantes vos ab inductis hæresibus maligni, in deceptione et perditione persuasorum ab ipso; attendere autem apostolorum doctrinæ, et legi et prophetis credere; omnem gentilem et Judaicum abjicere errorem, et

4 ego] ἐγώ; om. L₁L₂s. Probably it was omitted from its resemblance to *ago*.
 4 studiose] written twice in L₁. ministranti mihi] L₂; mihi ministrantibus L₁.
 6 sancto osculo] L₂; osculo sancto L₁.

IGNATIUS ANTIOCHENIS] *epistola 10a ignatii antiochenis* L₁; *epistola 10 ignatii antiochenis* L₂, as it appears in Ussher's collation with L₁; but he has perhaps omitted to erase *epistola 10*.

9 Theophorus] L₂; theoforus L₁. 15 igitur vos] L₂; vos ergo L₁. ego] L₁; om. L₂. 16 vocatione] L₁; in vocatione L₂. 18 attendere] προσέχειν; attendite L₁L₂s. 19 abjicere errorem] L₂; errorem abicere L₁.

neque multitudinem deorum inducere, neque Christum negare occasione unius Dei.

II. Moyses enim fidelis servus Dei, dicens, *Dominus Deus tuus Dominus unus est*, et unum et solum prædicans Deum, confessus est confestim et Dominum nostrum dicens, *Pluit Dominus 5 super Sodomam et Gomorram ignem a Domino et sulphur*; et rursus, *Et dixit Deus, Faciamus hominem secundum imaginem nostram et secundum similitudinem: et fecit Deus hominem; secundum imaginem Dei fecit ipsum*. Et deinceps quoniam *In imagine Dei feci hominem*. Et quoniam fiet homo, ait; 10 *Prophetam vobis suscitabit Dominus ex fratribus vestris sicut me*.

III. Prophetæ autem, dicentes ut ex persona Dei, *Ego Deus primus et ego post hæc, et præter me non est Deus*, de patre omnium dicunt. Et de Domino nostro Jesu Christo, *Filius*, ait, 15 *datus est nobis, cuius principium desuper: et vocatur nomen ipsius magni consilii angelus, admirabilis, consiliarius, Deus fortis, potestativus*. Et de inhumanatione ipsius; *Ecce virgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabunt nomen ejus Emanuel*. Et de passione; *Ut ovis ad occisionem ductus est, et quasi agnus 20 coram tondente ipsum sine voce*; et, *Ego sicut agnus innocens ductus ad sacrificandum*.

IV. Et evangelistæ, dicentes unum Patrem solum verum Deum, et quæ secundum Dominum nostrum non dereliquerunt, sed scripserunt; *In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud 25 Deum, et Deus erat Verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil*. Et de inhumanatione, *Verbum*, ait, *caro factum est et habitavit in nobis*: et, *Liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham*. Apostoli autem, dicentes quoniam *Deus est*, dicebant illi 30 ipsi quoniam *Unus et mediator Dei et hominum*; et incorpora-

9 ipsum] L₂; eum L₁. 10 feci] So L₁L₂s. 11 Prophetam] L₁; per prophetam L₂; see the note on Ephes. 1. vobis suscitabit] L₂; suscitabit vobis L₁.
15 nostro] L₂; om. L₁. 16 vocatur] L₂; vocabitur L₁. 17 consilii] L₂s; concilii L₁. 24 Dominum] L₂s; deum L₁. dereliquerunt] deliquerunt L₁.
28 Verbum, ait] L₂; verbi ait verbum L₁. 31 et mediator] L₂; mediator (om. et) L₁.

tionem et passionem non erubuerunt: quid enim ait? *Homo Iesus Christus, qui dedit semetipsum pro mundi vita.*

V. Omnis igitur, qui unum annunciat Deum in interemptione divinitatis Christi, *filius est diaboli et inimicus omnis justitiæ.* Et qui confitetur Christum non ejus qui fecit mundum filium, sed alterius cujusdam incogniti præter quem prædicavit lex et prophetæ, iste organum est ipsius diaboli. Et qui inhumanationem renuit, et crucem erubescit, propter quam ligatus sum, iste est Antichristus. Et qui nudum hominem dicit Christum, maledictus est secundum prophetam, non *in Deo confidens* sed *in homine.* Propter quod et sine fructu est, proximus *agresti myricæ.*

VI. Hæc scribo vobis, o Christi juvenus, non conscius vobis habere talem sensum, sed præservans vos, ut pater proprios filios. Videte igitur in malum currentes operatores, *inimicos crucis Christi; quorum finis perditio, quorum Deus venter, et gloria in confusione ipsorum.* Videte *canes sine voce*, serpentes surrepentes, infoveatos dracones, aspides, basiliscos, scorpiones. Isti enim sunt thoes vulpes, hominis imitatores simiæ.

VII. Pauli et Petri fiatis discipuli; non perdatis depositum. Recordamini Euodii digne beati pastoris vestri, qui primus ordinatus ab apostolis in vestram prælationem. Non erubescamus patrem; fiamus proprii pueri, sed non nothi. Scitis qualiter conversatus sum vobiscum. Quæ præsens dicebam vobis, hæc et absens scribo; *Qui non amat Dominum Iesum, sit anathema. Imitatores mei estote.* Consimilis animæ vobiscum fiam, quando utique Deo potiar. *Mementote meorum vinculorum.*

VIII. Presbyteri, *pascite eum qui in vobis gregem*, usquequo

1 erubuerunt] L_2 ; erubuerunt L_1 . 2 semetipsum] L_1 ; add. *redemptionem* L_2
 from 1 Tim. ii. 6. 4 diaboli] L_2 ; sed diaboli L_1 . 9 hominem] L_2 ; om. L_1 .
 10 est] L_2 ; om. L_1 . 12 myricæ] *mirice* $L_1 L_2 s$. 13 juvenus] $L_1 L_2 s$ = *νεολάτα*.
 15 operatores inimicos] L_2 ; *inimicos operatores* L_1 . 16 et gloria] *in gloria* $L_1 L_2 s$.
 The editors read *quorum gloria*, but for this *quorum* there seems to be no authority.
 See the note on the Greek text. 19 thoes] *θῶες*; *theos* $L_1 L_2$. 21 Evodii
 digne beati] L_2 ; *digne beati evodii* L_1 . 23 proprii] L_2 ; *proximi* L_1 .
 24 conversatus] L_1 ; *conservatus* L_2 . hæc et] L_2 ; et hæc L_1 . 27 utique deo]
 L_2 ; *deo utique* L_1 .

ostendat Deus futurum principari vobis. *Ego enim jam sacrificor, et tempus resolutionis meæ instat, ut Christum lucrifaciam.* Diaconi cognoscant cujus sint dignitatis, et studeant immaculati esse, ut sint imitatores Christi. Populus subjiciatur presbyteris et diaconis. Virgines cognoscant cui consecraverunt seipsas. 5

IX. Viri diligant conjuges; recordantes quoniam una uni, non multæ uni, datæ sunt in creatione. Mulieres honorent viros, ut propriam carnem, neque ex nomine ipsos audeant vocare: castificent autem, solos viros conjuges esse existimantes, quibus et unitæ sunt secundum sententiam Dei. Parentes, filios erudite 10 disciplinam sacram. Filii, honorate parentes; *ut bene vobis sit.*

X. Domini, non superbe servis præferamini, imitantes Job dicentem; *Si autem et depravavi judicium servi mei vel ancillæ meæ, judicatis ipsis ad me. Quid enim faciam, si scrutinium mei Dominus faciat?* et quæ deinceps, scitis. Servi, non irritetis 15 dominos in ira; ut non malorum insanabilium vobismet causæ fiat.

XI. Otiosus nullus comedat, ut non negligens fiat et fornicarius. Ebrietas, ira, invidia, contumelia, clamor, blasphemia, *neque nominentur in vobis.* Viduæ non delicientur, ut non aber- 20 rent a sermone. Cæsari subijcimini, in quibus non periculosa subjectio. Principes non irritetis in amaricationem, ut non detis occasionem quærentibus adversum vos occasionem. De incantatione vel puerili desiderio vel homicidio superfluum scribere; quum hæc et gentibus prohibita sunt fieri. Hæc non ut aposto- 25 lus jubeo, sed ut conservus vester monefacio vos.

XII. Saluto sanctum presbyterium. Saluto sacros diaconos, et desideratum mihi nomen; quem videam pro me in Spiritu Sancto, cum utique Christo fruar; cujus consimilis animi fiam. Saluto subdiaconos, lectores, cantores, ostiarios, laborantes, exor- 30

8 ipsos audeant] L₂; *audeant ipsos* L₁. 10 sunt] L₂; om. L₁. 15 scitis] L₂; om. L₁. 16 causæ] L₂; *causa* L₁. 19 invidia, contumelia] L₂: *contumelia, invidia* L₁. 20 aberrant] L₂; *abhorrent* (but apparently corrected into *aberrant*) L₁. 25 quum] L₂s; *quoniam* L₁. et] L₂; om. L₁. 28 pro] L₂; *per* L₁. 29 Christo] So L₂ (but it seems to be Ussher's own emendation, as it is written in the margin in different ink); *proximo* L₁. The two words when contracted are not very different. 30 ostiarios] *hostiarios* L₁L₂s.

cistas, confessores. Saluto custodes sanctarum portarum, existentes in Christo ministros. Saluto a Christo sumptas virgines; quibus fruar in Domino Jesu. Saluto venerabilissimas viduas. Saluto populum Domini a parvo usque ad magnum, et omnes
5 sorores meas in Domino.

XIII. Saluto Cassianum, et conjugem ipsius, et filios. Salutat vos Polycarpus, digne decens episcopus, cui et cura est de vobis; cui et commendavi vos in Domino. Sed et omnis ecclesia Smyrnæorum memoriam habet vestri in orationibus in Domino.
10 Salutat vos Onesimus, Ephesiorum pastor. Salutat vos Magnesias episcopus. Salutat vos Polybius Trallæorum. Salutant vos Philon et Agathopus diaconi, consecutores mei. *Salutate ad invicem in osculo sancto.*

XIV. Hæc a Philippis scribo vobis. Sanos vos qui est solus
15 ingenitus per ante sæcula genitum custodiat spiritu et carne; et videam vos in Christi adventu. Saluto eum qui pro me futurus est principari vobis; quo fruar in Christo. Valet in Deo et Christo, illuminati Spiritu Sancto.

II.

IGNATIUS HERONI.

20 **I**GNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, a Deo honorato et desideratissimo, Christophoro, spirituali filio in fide et caritate, Heroni diacono Jesu Christi et famulo Dei, gratia, misericordia, et pax

10 Ephesiorum pastor] L_2 ; *pastor ephesiorum* L_1 . Magnesias] *magnisias* L_1L_2s . The translator has apparently taken it for a man's name, or at all events has treated it as a nominative. 11 Polybius] *polibius* L_1L_2s , and so elsewhere.

12 Agathopus] *agathophus* L_1L_2s ; but in L_1 the second *h* is marked for erasure. 14 Sanos] *ἐρωμένους*; *sanet* L_1L_2s ; comp. *Hero* 9. 16 futurus] L_2 ; *facturus* L_1 .

IGNATIUS HERONI] *ignatius eroni diacono ecclesie antiochenorum* L_2 ; *epistola ignacii eroni diacono ecclesie antiochenorum* L_1 .

19 Theophorus] L_2 ; *theopherus* L_1 . 20 Christophoro] *christoforo* L_2 ; *christofero* L_1 . Heroni] *eroni* L_1L_2s ; and so the name is written again in § 6 without the aspirate.

ab omnipotenti Deo et Jesu Christo Domino nostro, unigenito filio ipsius, *qui dedit semetipsum pro nobis et peccatis nostris, ut eriperet nos ex præsenti sæculo nequam et salvaret in regnum ipsius supercæleste.*

I. DEPRECOR te in Deo apponere cursui tuo et justificare 5 tuam dignitatem. Concordiam quæ ad sanctos cura. Infirmiores *porta; ut impleas legem Christi.* Jejuniis et orationibus vaca; sed non immoderate, ut teipsum prosternas. A vino et carnibus non omnino abstine, non enim sunt abominabilia: *Bona enim terræ comedite,* ait; et, *Manducate carnem ut olera;* et, *Vinum* 10 *lætificat cor hominis, et oleum exhilarat, et panis confirmat:* sed moderate et ordinate, ut Deo tribuente; *Quis enim comedit, vel quis bibit, sine ipso? Quoniam si quid bonum, ipsius? et si quid bonum, ab ipso.* Lectioni attende; ut non solum ipse scias leges, sed et aliis ipsas enarres, ut Dei athleta. *Nullus militans im-* 15 *plicatur vitæ negotiis; ut ei cui militat placeat. Si autem et certet quis, non coronatur, nisi legitime certaverit.* Consimilis animæ tibi ego victus.

II. Omnis qui dicit præter præcepta, etsi dignus fide sit, etsi jejundet, etsi virginitatem servet, etsi signa faciat et prophetet, 20 *lupus tibi appareat in ovis pelle,* ovium corruptionem operans. Si quis negat crucem et passionem erubescit, sit tibi sicut Antichristus et adversarius; *etsi distribuatur in cibos quæ habet pauperibus,* etsi montes transferat, etsi tradat corpus in combustionem, sit tibi abominabilis. Si quis depravat legem vel prophetas, 25 quos Christus præsens adimplevit, sit tibi ut Antichristus. Si quis hominem nudum dicit Dominum, Judæus est Christi occisor.

III. *Viduas honora, eas quæ vere viduæ;* orphanos protege: *Deus enim pater est orphanorum, et judex viduarum.* Nihil sine episcopis operare; sacerdotes enim sunt, tu autem diaconus 30

1 Christo] L₂; om. L₁. 5 cursui] L₁; cursu L₂. 6 Concordiam quæ] Ussher and later editors wrongly print *concordiamque*. 7 porta] L₁; om. L₂.
8 immoderate] L₂; immoderatis L₁. 9 sunt] L₂; sub L₁. abomina-
bilia] *abominabilia* L₁L₂s, and again § 2; so too *abominare* below §§ 4, 5.
11 exhilarat] L₂s; *exhilarat* L₁. 19 etsi dignus] L₂; *ut si dignus* L₁. 23 quæ
habet pauperibus] L₂; *pauperibus que habet* L₁. 25 legem] *leges* L₁L₂s.
27 Christi] L₁; *et christi* L₂. 29 nihil] L₂; add. *enim* L₁.

sacerdotum. Illi baptizant, sacrificant, manus imponunt; tu autem ipsis ministra, ut Stephanus sanctus in Hierosolymis Jacobo et presbyteris. Congregationes non negligas: ex nomine omnes require. *Nullus tuam juventutem contemnat; sed exemplum esto fidelium in sermone et conversatione.*

IV. Servos non erubescere; communis enim nobis et ipsis natura. Mulieres non abominare; ipsæ enim te genuerunt et enutriverunt. Diligere igitur oportet causas generationis; solum in Domino. Sine muliere autem vir non pueros faciet: honorare igitur oportet conjuges generationis. *Neque vir sine muliere, neque mulier sine viro*, nisi in protoplastis. Adæ enim corpus ex quatuor elementis; Evæ autem ex costa Adæ. Sed et gloriosus partus Domini ex sola virgine, non abominabili legali mixtione, sed Deo decente generatione: decuit enim ipsum, conditorem existentem, non consueta uti generatione sed inopinabili et peregrina, ut conditorem.

V. Superbiam fuge; *Superbis enim Deus resistit*. Falsiloquium abominare. *Perdes enim omnes loquentes mendacium*. Ab invidia te custodi: princeps enim ipsius diabolus; et successor Cain fratri invidens et ex invidia homicidium operans. Sorores meas mone sufficere conjugibus. Virgines custodi, ut Christi vasa. *Longanimis sis, ut sis in prudentia multus*. Inopes non negligas, in quibus utique abundas; *Elmosinis enim et fide purgantur peccata*.

VI. Teipsum castum serva, ut Dei habitaculum: templum Christi existis, organumque Spiritus. Nosti qualiter te enutriveri. Etsi minimus sum, zelotes mei fias: imitare meam conversationem. Non glorior mundo, sed in Domino. Heroni filio meo moneo; *Qui autem gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur*. Fruar te,

2 ministra] $L_1 L_2 s$; the translator read $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota$ for $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. in Hierosolymis] *in iherosolimis* L_1 ; *ierosolymis* (om. *in*) L_2 . Jacobo] L_2 ; *sanctis iacobo* L_1 . 4 contemnat] *contempnat* $L_1 L_2 s$; see above, p. 608. 7 mulieres] L_2 ; *mulieres enim* (?) L_1 . 11 protoplastis] *prothoplastis* $L_1 L_2 s$. 14 decente generatione] add. *sed inopinabili et peregrina* L_1 , the three last words being marked for erasure, but the *sed* being left by inadvertence. 20 Cain] *caim* L_1 ; *caym* L_2 . 22 vasa] *κειμήλια*; *stivasa* (or *stmasa*) L_1 ; *nasci* L_2 , as deciphered by Ussher. The *sti* of L_1 is a repetition of the last syllable of the preceding *Christi*. multus] L_2 ; *vultus* L_1 . Inopes non] L_1 ; *non inopes* L_2 .

puer meus desiderate; cujus custos fiat solus ingenuus Deus et Dominus Jesus Christus. Non omnibus crede, non de omnibus confide; neque utique aliquis seducat te. Multi enim sunt ministri Satanæ; et *Qui velociter credit, levis est corde.*

VII. Memento Dei, et non peccabis aliquando. Non sis dupli- 5
cibus animæ in oratione tua; beatus enim qui non dubitat. Credo enim in Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in unigenitum ipsius Filium, quoniam ostendet mihi Deus Heronem in throno meo. Appone igitur ad cursum. Annuncio tibi in Deo omnium et in Christo, præsentem et Spiritu Sancto et administratoriis 10
ordinibus: *Custodi* meum *depositum*, quod ego et Christus deposuimus tibi; et non te ipsum indignum iudices expectatis de te a Deo. Commendo tibi ecclesiam Antiochenorum. Polycarpo commendavi vos in Domino Jesu Christo.

VIII. Salutant te episcopi, Onesimus, Bitus, Damas, Poly- 15
bius, et omnes qui a Philippis in Christo; unde misi tibi. Saluta Deo decens presbyterium. Saluta sanctos condiaconos tuos; quibus ego fruar in Domino, carne et spiritu. Saluta populum Domini a parvo usque ad magnum secundum nomen; quos commendo tibi, ut Moyses Jesu post ipsum duci. Et non tibi 20
videatur grave quod dictum est. Et si non sumus tales quales illi, sed tamen oramus fieri; quia et Abraham sumus pueri. Fortificare igitur, o Heron, heroice et viriliter: tu enim *induces* amodo *et educes* populum Domini eum qui in Antiochia; et *non erit synagoga Domini sicut oves quibus non est pastor.* 25

IX. Saluta Cassianum peregrinum meum, et conjugem ipsius venerabilissimam, et dilectissimos ipsorum pueros; quibus *dabit Deus invenire misericordiam a Domino in illa die*, ejus quæ in nos administrationis gratia: quos et commendo tibi in Christo Jesu. Saluta eos qui in Laodicea fideles omnes secundum 30
nomen in Christo. Eos qui in Tarso non negligas, sed magis

4 Satanæ] *sathane* L₁L₂s. 7 nostri] L₂; *mei* L₁. 8 ipsius] L₂; *in ejus* L₁.
ostendet] *delēxi*; *ostendit* L₁L₂s. throno] L₂; *trono* L₁. 17 presbyterium]
L₂s; *psb̄rm* L₁. 19 quos] L₂; *quod* L₁. 20 tibi videatur] L₂; *videatur tibi* L₁.
23 Fortificare] L₁; *mortificare* L₂. Heron] L₂; *eroni* L₁. tu] L₂;
tui L₁. 25 synagoga] *sinagoga* L₁L₂s. 30 Laodicea] L₂s; *laodocia* L₁.
31 Tarso] L₂; *tharso* L₁.

continue ipsos visita, confirmans ipsos secundum evangelium. Marim eum qui in Neapoli ea quæ ad Zarbo episcopum saluto in Domino. Saluta autem et venerabilissimam Mariam filiam meam multimode eruditissimam, et eam quæ secundum domum
 5 ipsius ecclesiam, cui consimilis animæ fiam, exemplarium piarum mulierum. Sanum te et in omnibus approbatum Pater Christi per Unigenitum custodiat in longum vivere ad utilitatem ecclesiæ Christi. Vale in Domino, et ora ut perficiar.

12.

MARTYRIUM IGNATII.

10 **N**UPER recipiente principatum Romanorum Trajano, apostoli et evangelistæ Johannis discipulus Ignatius, vir in omnibus apostolicus, gubernabat ecclesiam Antiochenorum. Qui quondam procellas vix mitigans multarum sub Domitiano persecutionum, quemadmodum gubernator bonus, gubernaculo orationis et jejunii, continuitate doctrinæ, robore
 15 spirituali, fluctuationi adversantis se opposuit potentiæ, timens ne aliquem eorum qui pusillanimes et magis simplices prosterneret. Igitur lætabatur quidem de ecclesiæ inconcussione, quiescente ad paucum persecutione; dubitavit autem secundum seipsum, quod nondum vere in Christum caritatem atti-
 20 gerat neque perfectum discipuli ordinem. Cogitavit enim eam quæ per martyrium confessionem plus ipsum adducere ad familiaritatem Domini. Unde annis paucis adhuc perma-

1 confirmans] *L*₁; *consilians* *L*₂. 3 autem] *L*₂; om. *L*₁. venerabilissimam Mariam filiam meam] *L*₁; *mariam filiam meam venerabilissimam* *L*₂.

MARTYRIUM IGNATII] *martyrium sancti ignatii episcopi antiochie sirie* *L*₁ *L*₂, to which *L*₁ adds *epistola* 12a.

15 adversantis] *L*₁; *adversanter* (apparently) *L*₂.

19 vere in Christum] *L*₂; *in christum vere* *L*₁.

cere *L*₂.

17 quidem] *L*₂; om. *L*₁.

21 adducere] *L*₁; *abdu-*

nens ecclesiæ, et ad lucernæ modum divinæ cujusque illuminans cor per scripturarum enarrationem, sortitus est iis quæ secundum votum.

II. Trajano enim post, quarto anno imperii sui, elato de victoria illa quæ adversus Scythas et Thraces et alteras multas et diversas gentes, et existimante adhuc deficere ipsi ad omnem subjectionem Christianorum Deum venerantem congregationem, nisi dæmoniacam cogeret culturam cum omnibus subintrare gentibus; persecutionem comminans, omnes ipsos Dei cultores existentes vel sacrificare vel mori cogeabat. Tunc igitur timens pro Antiochenorum ecclesia virilis Christi miles voluntarie ductus est ad Trajanum, agentem quidem secundum illud tempus apud Antiochiam, festinantem autem ad Armeniam et Parthos. Ut autem coram facie stetit imperatoris Trajani, Trajanus dixit: Quis es, cacodæmon, nostras festinans præceptiones transcendere, cum et alteros persuadere, ut perdantur male? Ignatius dixit: Nullus Theophorum vocat cacodæmonem; recesserunt enim longe a servis Dei dæmonia. Si autem, quoniam his gravis sum, malum me adversus dæmones vocas, confiteor: Christum enim habens supercælestem regem dissolvo horum insidias. Trajanus dixit: Et quis est Theophorus? Ignatius respondit: Qui Christum habet in pectore. Trajanus dixit: Nos igitur tibi videmur non habere secundum intellectum deos, quibus utimur compugnatoribus adversus adversarios?

1 divinæ] L_1L_2s . In L_1 the greater part of the word is dotted underneath for erasure (perhaps with the intention of substituting $d\bar{i}=dei$), though it corresponds to $\theta\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon$ in the Greek text. 2 iis] $hiis L_1L_2s$. 4 post] L_1L_2s . Probably read *postea* or *post hæc* corresponding to $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ in the Greek. quarto] $quartum L_1L_2s$. As L_1 however has *anno*, it would seem that the Latin text originally corresponded to the construction in the Greek $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$. Again we should probably restore *nono* for *quarto*, the corruption being more easily explained through the Latin (iv for ix), than through the Greek. See above, p. 476. anno] L_1 ; *annum* L_2s . imperii sui] in this place L_2 ; before *anno* L_1 . 5 Scythas] *scithas* L_1 ; *scitas* L_2 . Thraces] L_2 ; *traces* L_1 . The Greek has $\Delta\alpha\kappa\omega\upsilon$. 8 nisi] L_2 ; *ut* L_1 . 15 es] $\epsilon\iota$; *est* L_1L_2s . cacodæmon] *kakodemon* L_1L_2s . 17 nullus] L_2 ; *nullum* L_1 . vocat] L_2 ; *voca* L_1 . cacodæmonem] *cakodemonem* L_1L_2s . 19 his] $hiis L_1L_2s$. 20 habens] L_2 ; *om.* L_1 . 21 Theophorus] L_2 ; *theopherus* L_1 . 22 Qui] L_2 ; *et qui* L_1 . Trajanus] L_2s ; *tiranmus* (apparently) L_1 .

Ignatius dixit: Dæmonia gentium deos appellas errans. Unus enim est Deus, qui fecit cælum et terram et mare et omnia quæ in ipsis; et unus Christus Jesus, Filius ipsius unigenitus, cujus amicitia fruar. Trajanus dixit: Crucifixum dicis sub
 5 Pontio Pilato? Ignatius dixit: Crucifigentem peccatum cum hujus inventore, et omnem condemnantem dæmoniacam malitiam sub pedibus eorum qui ipsum in corde ferunt. Trajanus dixit: Tu igitur in teipso Christum circumfers? Ignatius dixit: Etiam: scriptum est enim, *Inhabitabo in ipsis et inambulabo.*
 10 Trajanus sententiavit: Ignatium præcipimus, in seipso dicentem circumferre crucifixum, vinctum a militibus duci in magnam Romam cibum bestiarum in spectaculum futurum plebis. Hanc audiens sanctus martyr sententiam cum gaudio exclamavit: Gratias ago tibi, Domine, quoniam me perfecta ad te
 15 caritate honorare dignatus es, cum apostolo tuo Paulo vinculis colligari ferreis. Hæc dicens et cum gaudio circumponens vincula oransque prius pro ecclesia et hanc cum lacrimis commendans Domino, velut aries insignis boni gregis dux, a bestiali militari duritia raptus est, bestiis crudivorantibus ad Romam
 20 ad cibum adducendus.

III. Cum multa igitur promptitudine et gaudio, ex desiderio passionis, descendens ab Antiochia in Seleuciam illinc habebat navigationem: et applicans post multum laborem Smyrnæorum civitati, cum multo gaudio descendens de navi
 25 festinabat sanctum Polycarpum episcopum Smyrnæorum coauditorem videre; fuerant enim quondam discipuli Johannis. Apud quem adductus et spiritualibus cum ipso communicans charismatibus et vinculis glorians, deprecabatur concertare ipsius proposito maxime quidem communiter omnem ecclesiam
 30 (honorabant enim sanctum per episcopos, presbyteros, et dia-

2 et mare] L₂; mare (om. et) L₁. 6 hujus] L₂; ipsius L₁. 8 igitur] L₂; ergo L₁. Ignatius] L₂; add. autem L₁. 9 etiam] L₂; om. L₁.
 11 duci in magnam Romam] L₂; in romam duci magnam L₁. 12 futurum plebis] L₁; plebis futurum L₂. A word has been erased before futurum in L₁. 16 colligari] συνδήσας; collocari L₁L₂s. 19 crudivorantibus] L₁, as I read it, corresponding to the Greek φυοβόροις(?); cruda vorantiōus L₂s; comp. 'multibonam,' Magn. 1. 22 illinc] L₂; illuc L₁. 24 civitati] L₂; om. L₁. 29 eccle-

conos, Asiæ civitates et ecclesiæ, omnibus festinantibus ad ipsum, si quo aliquam partem charismatis accipiant spiritualis), præcipue autem sanctum Polycarpum; ut velocius per bestias disparsens mundo factus appareat faciei Christi.

IV. Et hoc sic dixit, sic testificatus est; tantum extendens 5 eam quæ circa Christum caritatem, ut cælum quidem apprehendere per bonam confessionem et per coorantium pro certamine studium, reddi autem mercedem ecclesiis obviantibus ipsi per præcedentes litteras gratias agens appositas ad ipsas, spiritualem cum oratione et admonitionibus amplexantes 10 gratiam. Igitur omnes videns amicabiliter dispositos ad ipsum, timens ne forte fraternitatis dilectio ad Dominum ipsius festinationem abscindat, bona aperta ipsi porta martyrii, talia ad ecclesiam mittit Romanorum, ut subordinata sunt.

IGNATII EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS.

IGNATIUS, qui et Theophorus, habenti propitiationem in 15 magnitudine Patris altissimi et Jesu Christi solius filii ipsius, ecclesiæ dilectæ et illuminatæ in voluntate volentis omnia quæ sunt secundum dilectionem Jesu Christi Dei nostri, quæ et præsidet in loco chori Romanorum, digna Deo, digna decencia, digna beatitudine, digna laude, digne ordinata, digne casta, 20 et præsidens in caritate, Christi habens legem, Patris nomen; quam et saluto in nomine Jesu Christi filii Patris; secundum carnem et spiritum unitis in omni mandato ipsius, impletis gratia Dei indivisim et abstractis ab omni alieno colore; plurimum in Jesu Christo Deo nostro immaculate gaudere. 25

siam honorabant enim] L_2 ; *ecclesiam honorabant, honorabant enim* L_1 . 5 testificatus] L_1 ; *testificans* L_2 . tantum] *tm (=tantum)* L_1 ; *tamen* L_2 s. 7 coorantium] L_2 ; *coronancium* L_1 . 9 ipsi] *christi (xpi)* L_1 L_2 s. 13 abscindat] L_1 ; *abscindit* L_2 . talia] L_2 ; *aliam* (apparently) L_1 ; the Greek is *ola, qualia*.

IGNATII EPISTOLA AD ROMANOS] L_2 ; *epistola ignacii terciadecima ad romanos, quanto desiderio capiat mori pro christo et quod non impediunt passionem ejus* L_1 .

16 magnitudine] L_1 ; *magnitudinem* L_2 . 19 chori] L_1 L_2 s, as if the translator had read $\chi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\upsilon$ for $\chi\omega\rho\omicron\upsilon$. 25 in Jesu] L_2 ; *in domino jesu* L_1 .

I. DEPRECANS Deum, attigi videre vestras dignas visione facies, ut et amplius petebam accipere. Ligatus enim in Christo Jesu, spero vos salutare; siquidem voluntas sit, ut dignificer in finem esse. Principium quidem enim bene dispensatum est; 5 siquidem gratia potiar, ad hæreditatem meam sine impedimento lucrari. Timeo enim caritatem vestram, ne ipsa me lædat. Vobis enim facile est quod vultis facere; mihi autem difficile est Deo potiri, siquidem vos non parcitis mihi.

II. Non enim volo vos hominibus placere, sed Deo placere; 10 quemadmodum et placetis. Neque enim ego habebo aliquando tempus tale Deo potiendi, neque vos, si taceatis, meliori operi habetis inscribi. Si enim taceatis a me, ego verbum Dei; si autem desideretis carnem meam, rursus factus sum vox. Plus autem mihi non tribuetis, quam sacrificari Deo, dum adhuc 15 sacrificatorium paratum est: ut in caritate chorus effecti cantetis Patri in Jesu Christo, quoniam episcopum Syriæ dignificavit Deus inveniri in occidentem ab oriente transmittens. Bonum occidere a mundo in Deum, ut in ipso oriar.

III. Nunquam invidistis in aliquo; alios edoculistis. Ego 20 autem volo, ut et illa firma sint quæ docentes præcepistis. Solum mihi potentiam petatis ab intra et ab extra, ut non solum dicam, sed et velim; non ut solum dicar Christianus, sed et inveniar. Si enim inveniar, et dici possum; et tunc fidelis esse, quando utique mundo non appareo. Nihil apparentia

5 gratia] add. *mea* L₂s. In L₁ *mea* is written, but dotted beneath for erasure.
 7 quod] L₂s; *quæ* L₁. 9 Deo placere] L₂; *deo* (om. *placere*) L₁. 12 habetis] L₂; *haberetis* (apparently) L₁. verbum] L₁. Ussher in the margin of this collation writes *ero* for *verbum*, and so it appears in his printed edition. But he does not mark it as the reading of L₂, and it is apparently his own emendation, corresponding to *γενήσομαι* in the corrupt Greek text. See above, p. 198, and compare the next note. 13 vox] L₁L₂s. In the margin Ussher writes *velox*, corresponding to the reading of the corrupt Greek text *τρέχων*, in exactly the same manner as before he had written *ero*. In his printed edition however he reads *vox* in the text, but puts in the margin, f. (i.e. fortasse) *velox*. 17 in occidentem] *eis δύσω*; but in occidente L₁L₂s. 19 nunquam] L₂s; *nuncquam* L₁. 24 apparentia] L₂s. L₁ has it contracted *appareñā*, with a marginal gloss 'ablative(?)'. This contraction suggests that the reading was originally *apparens*, corresponding exactly to *φαυόμενον* in the Greek.

bonum est. Deus enim noster Jesus Christus in Patre existens magis apparet. Non suasionis opus sed magnitudinis est Christianus, quando utique oditur a mundo.

IV. Scribo ecclesiis, et præcipio omnibus quoniam volens pro Deo morior, siquidem vos non prohibeatis. Deprecor vos, 5 non concordia intempestiva fiat mihi. Dimittite me bestiarum esse cibum; per quas est Deo potiri. Frumentum sum Dei, et per dentes bestiarum molar, ut mundus panis inveniar Christi. Magis blandite bestiis, ut mihi sepulcrum fiant, et nihil derelinquant eorum quæ corporis mei; ut non dormiens 10 gravis alicui inveniar. Tunc ero discipulus vere Jesu Christi, quando neque corpus meum mundus videbit. Orate Christum pro me, ut per organa ista Dei sacrificium inveniar. Non ut Petrus et Paulus præcipio vobis. Illi apostoli, ego condemnatus; illi liberi, ego usque nunc servus. Sed si patiar, manu- 15 missus fiam Jesu Christi, et resurgam liber. Et nunc disco vinctus nihil concupiscere.

V. A Syria usque Romam cum bestiis pugno, per terram et per mare, nocte et die, vinctus decem leopardis, quod est militaris ordo; qui et beneficiati deteriores fiunt. In injustifica- 20 tionibus autem ipsorum magis erudior: *sed non propter hoc iustificatus sum*. Sortiar bestiis mihi esse paratis, et oro promptas mihi inveniri; quibus et blandiar cito me devorare; non quemadmodum quosdam timentes non tetigerunt; sed et si ipsæ volentem non velint, ego vim faciam. Veniam mihi 25 habete: quid mihi confert, ego cognosco. Nunc incipio discipulus esse; nihil me zelare visibilibus et invisibilibus, ut Jesu Christo fruam. Ignis et crux, bestiarumque congregationes, dispersiones ossium, concisio membrorum, molitiones totius

4 præcipio] ἐντέλλομαι; præcipue L₁, and so probably L₂. Ussher indeed writes *præcipio* in the margin of his collation, and this may have been the reading of L₂, but it has the appearance of being his own conjecture. 10 derelinquant] L₁; derelinquat L₂. 11 gravis alicui] L₂; alicui gravis L₁. vere] L₁; verus L₂s. 15 patiar] paciar L₁; faciam L₂. 16 et pu.] καὶ; ut L₁L₂s. 22 mihi esse] L₁; esse mihi esse (with *esse* apparently twice, but certainly before *mihi*) L₂. As there is nothing in Greek corresponding to *esse*, it may have been a gloss = *edere*. 28 et crux] L₂; crux (om. et) L₁.

corporis, malæ punctiones diaboli in me veniant; solum ut Jesu Christo fruar.

VI. Nihil mihi proderunt termini mundi, neque regna sæculi hujus. Bonum mihi mori propter Jesum Christum, quam regnare super terminos terræ. Illum quæro qui pro nobis mortuus est, illum volo qui propter nos resurrexit: ille lucrum mihi adjacet. Ignoscite mihi, fratres: non impediatis me vivere, non velitis me mori, Dei volentem esse; per mundum non separetis me, neque per materiam seducatis. Dimittite me
 10 purum lumen accipere: illuc adveniens, homo ero. Sinite me imitatore[m] esse passionis Dei mei. Si quis ipsum in seipso habet, intelligat quod volo; et compatiatur mihi, sciens quæ continent me.

VII. Princeps sæculi hujus rapere me vult, et eam quæ in
 15 Deum meum sententiam corrumpere. Nullus igitur præsentium de vobis adjuvet ipsi; magis autem mei fiat, hoc est, Dei mei. Non loquimini Jesum Christum, et mundum concupiscatis. Invidia in vobis non inhabitet: neque utique ego præsens vos deprecor, credite mihi; his autem magis credite quæ
 20 scribo vobis. Vivens enim scribo vobis, desiderans mori. Meum desiderium crucifixum est; et non est in me ignis amans aliquam aquam; sed vivens et loquens est in me, intus me dicit, Veni ad Patrem. Non delector cibo corruptionis, neque delectationibus vitæ hujus. Panem Dei volo, quod est caro Jesu
 25 Christi, ejus qui ex genere David; et potum volo sanguinem ipsius, quod est caritas incorruptibilis.

VIII. Non amplius volo secundum homines vivere: hoc

3 proderunt] L_2 ; *proderint* L_1 . 6 ille] L_1L_2s . The translator has read $\delta\delta\epsilon$ for $\delta\delta\epsilon$ and taken $\tauοκε\rho\acute{o}s$ as part of the predicate. He has moreover wrongly translated $\tauοκε\rho\acute{o}s$ *lucrum*, as if it were $\tau\acute{o}k\omicron>s$: unless indeed he had $\tau\acute{o}k\omicron>s$ in his text.
 15 igitur] L_2 ; *ergo* L_1 . 16 magis autem] L_2 ; *autem magis* L_1 , thus connecting the *ipsi* with the following sentence. The transposition in L_2 (which has been overlooked in the printed texts) is important, because it brings the Latin into close accordance with the Greek, $\betaοηθε\iota\tauω\ α\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma\ μ\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\mu\omicron\iota\ γ\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon$. For similar transpositions, altering the connexion of the sentences, see below, *Mari.* §§ 5, 7.
 18 in vobis] L_2 : *vobis* (om. *in*) L_1 . præsens vos] L_1 ; *vos præsens* L_2 .
 19 credite mihi] $\pi\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\eta\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\omicron\iota$; *credere mihi* L_1L_2 . his autem magis] L_2 ;
hiis magis vero (?) L_1 . 20 vobis] L_2 ; om. L_1 .

autem erit, si vos velitis. Velite autem, ut et vos acceptemini. Per paucas litteras deprecor vos, credite mihi. Jesus autem Christus vobis manifestabit hæc, quoniam vere dico; non mendax os, in quo Pater vere locutus est. Petite pro me, ut attin-
gam. Non secundum carnem vobis scripsi, sed secundum sen- 5
tentiam Dei. Si patiar, voluistis; si reprobus efficiar, odivistis.

IX. Mementote in oratione vestra ejus quæ in Syria ecclesiæ, quæ pro me pastore Deo utitur. Solus ipsi Jesus Christus vice episcopi sit, et vestra caritas. Ego autem erubesco ex ipsis dici: non enim sum dignus, existens extremus ipsorum 10
et abortivum; sed misericordiam consecutus sum aliquis esse, si Deo fruar. Salutat vos meus spiritus, et caritas ecclesiarum quæ receperunt me in nomine Jesu Christi, ut non transeun-
tem. Etenim non advenientes mihi in via quæ secundum car-
nem, secundum civitatem me præcesserunt. 15

X. Scribo autem vobis hæc a Smyrna per Ephesios digne beatos. Est autem et simul mecum cum aliis multis et Crocus, desideratum mihi nomen. De advenientibus mecum a Syria in Romam ad gloriam Dei credo vos cognovisse: quibus et mani-
festatis prope me existentem. Omnes enim sunt digni Deo et 20
vobis: quos decens est vos secundum omnia quietare. Scripsi autem vobis hæc in ea quæ ante novem Kalendas Septembres. Valet in finem in sustinentia Jesu Christi.

v. PERFICIENS igitur, ut volebat, eos qui in Roma fra-
trum absentes per epistolam, sic ductus a Smyrna (urgebatur enim 25
a militibus Christophorus occupare honores in magna civitate, ut in conspectu plebis Romanorum bestiis feris projectus corona
justitiæ per tale certamen potiatur) attigit ad Troadem. Deinde
illinc ductus ad Neapolim, per Philippenses transivit Macedo-

7 ecclesiæ] *L*₁; *ecclesia* *L*₂. 13 receperunt] *L*₂*s*; *receperant* *L*₁. in
nomine] *L*₂; add. *domini* *L*₁. 22 Septembres] *septembrias* *L*₁; *septembris* *L*₂.
24 fratrum] *L*₂; *fr* (with a blank following) *L*₁. 26 Christophorus] *christoforus*
*L*₂; *christoferus* *L*₁. 29 Philippenses] *philipenses* *L*₁*L*₂*s*. transivit] *L*₁;
pertransivit *L*₂.

niam pedes, et terram quæ ad Epidamnuni. Cujus in juxta
 marinis nave potitus navigavit Adriacum pelagus, et illinc ascen-
 dens Tyrhenicum et transiens insulas et civitates, ostensis
 sancto Potiolis, ipse quidem exire festinavit, secundum vestigia
 5 ambulare volens apostoli Pauli: ut autem incidens violentus
 non concessit ventus, nave a prora repulsa, beatificans eam quæ
 in illo loco fratrum caritatem, sic transnavigavit. Igitur in una
 die et nocte eadem prosperis ventis utentes, nos quidem no-
 lentes abducimur, gementes de ea quæ a nobis futura separa-
 10 tione justi fieri; ipsi autem secundum votum accidit, festinanti
 citius recedere de mundo, ut attingat ad quem dilexit Domi-
 num. Navigantes igitur in portus Romanorum, debente finem
 habere immunda inani gloria, milites quidem pro tarditate offen-
 debantur, episcopus autem gaudens festinantibus obediebat.

15 VI. Illinc igitur expulsi a vocato Portu (diffamabantur
 enim jam quæ secundum sanctum martyrem), obviamus fratri-
 bus timore et gaudio repletis, gaudentibus quidem in quibus
 dignificabantur eo quod Theophori consortio, timentibus autem
 quia quidem ad mortem talis ducebatur. Quibusdam autem et
 20 annunciavit silere, ferventibus et dicentibus quietare plebem ad
 non expetere perdere justum. Quos confestim spiritu cogno-
 scens, et omnes salutans, petensque ab ipsis veram caritatem,
 pluraque iis quæ in epistola disputans, et suadens non invidere
 festinanti ad dominum, sic cum genuflexione omnium fratrum
 25 deprecans Filium Dei pro ecclesiis, pro persecutionis quietatione,
 pro fratrum adinvicem caritate, subductus est cum festinatione
 in amphitheatrum. Deinde confestim projectus secundum quon-
 dam præceptum Cæsaris, debentibus quiescere gloriationibus

1 Epidamnuni] *epidamnium* L₁L₂. 2 illinc] L₂; *illuc* L₁. 3 Ty-
 rhenicum] *tirannicum* L₁L₂. 4 Potiolis] *potiolis* L₁L₂S. 6 eam] L₂;
illam L₁. 7 fratrum caritatem] L₂; *caritatem fratrum* L₁. 10 fieri ipsi
 autem] L₂; *autem fieri ipsi* L₁, thus connecting *justi* with what follows. See above,
Rom. 7, and below, *Mart.* 7, for similar transpositions of *autem*. 16 sanctum
 martyrem] L₂; *martirem sanctum* L₁. 18 Theophori] L₂; *theoferi* L₁.
 19 quia] L₁; *quod* L₂S. quidem] L₂; om. L₁. 23 iis quæ] *hiis*
quæ L₂; *hiis* (om. *quæ*) L₁. 24 sic] L₂; add. *que* L₁. genuflexione]
 L₂S; *genuflexione* (or *-ccione*) L₁. 27 amphitheatrum] L₂S; *amphiteatrum* L₁.
 28 præceptum Cæsaris] L₂; *cesaris præceptum* L₁.

(erat enim solennis, ut putabant, dicta Romana voce tertiadecima, secundum quam studiose convenerunt), sic bestiis crudelibus ab impiis apponebatur, ut confestim sancti martyris Ignatii compleretur desiderium secundum quod scriptum est, *Desiderium iusti acceptabile*, ut sit nulli fratrum gravis per collectionem 5 reliquiarum; secundum quod præoccupans in epistola propriam concupiscit fieri fruitionem. Sola enim asperiora sanctorum ossium derelicta sunt ipsius; quæ in Antiochiam reportata sunt, et in capsâ reposita sunt, thesaurus inappreciabilis ab ea quæ in martyre gratia sanctæ ecclesiæ relicta. 10

VII. Facta autem sunt hæc die ante tredecim Kalendas Januarias, præidentibus apud Romanos Sura et Senecio secundo. Horum ipsimet conspectores effecti cum lacrimis, et domi per totam noctem vigilantes, et multum cum genuflexione et oratione deprecantes Dominum certificare infirmos nos de prius 15 factis, parum obdormitantes, hi quidem repente astantem et amplexantem nos videbant, hi autem rursus superorantem nobis videbant beatum Ignatium, quemadmodum ex labore multo advenientem, et astantem Domino in multa confidentia et ineffabili gloria. Impleti autem gaudio hæc videntes, et glorificantes 20 Deum datorem bonorum, et beatificantes sanctum, manifestavimus vobis et diem et tempus, ut secundum tempus martyrii congregati communicemus athletæ et virili Christi martyri, qui conculcavit diabolus et hujus insidias in finem prostravit; glorificantes in ipsius venerabili et sancta memoria Dominum 25 nostrum Jesum Christum, per quem et cum quo Patri gloria et potentia cum Spiritu Sancto in sancta ecclesia in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

1 solennis] L_1 ; *solempnis* L_2 . tertiadecima] *terciadecima* L_1 ; *tr̄ adetm̄ia* L_2 .
 3 martyris Ignatii] L_2 ; *ignacii martiris* L_1 . 4 compleretur] L_2 ; om. L_1 .
 8 ipsius] L_1 ; om. L_2 . sunt] L_2 ; *sicut* L_1 . 9 inappreciabilis] L_1 ; *inapprecialis* L_2 .
 11 Facta autem] L_2 ; *autem facta* L_1 . See above, *Rom. 7 and Mart. 5*.
 12 Sura] (apparently) L_1 ; *siria* L_2 s. Senecio secundo] L_1 ; *senecie secunde* L_2 .
 16 hi] *hii* L_1 L_2 s, and so again just below. 18 beatum] L_2 ; *sanctum* L_1 .
 19 advenientem] L_1 ; *venientem* L_2 . 21 et beatificantes] written twice in L_1 .
 22 et diem] L_2 ; *diem* (om. *et*) L_1 . tempus, ut] L_2 ; *sanctum et ut* L_1 .
 25 glorificantes] L_2 ; om. L_1 . 26 nostrum] L_2 ; om. L_1 .

LATIN CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

S. JOHN AND THE VIRGIN

I.

JOHANNI SANCTO SENIORI IGNATIUS ET QUI CUM EO SUNT
FRATRES.

DE tua mora dolemus graviter, allocutionibus et consolationibus tuis roborandi. Si tua absentia protendatur, multos de
5 nostris destituet. Properes igitur venire, quia credimus expedire. Sunt et hic multæ de nostris mulieribus Mariam Jesu videre cupientes et discurrere a nobis quotidie volentes, ut eam con-

After the close of the *Martyrium* is the following colophon; *Scriptis beatus ignacius smirneis a troade, policarpo a troade, tralesiis* [for which *ephesiis* is substituted in the marg.] *a smirna, magnesiis a smirna, philadelphus a troade, tralesiis a smirna, marie proselite ab antiochia, tarsensibus a philipensibus, antiochenis a philipensibus, eroni diacono a philipensibus, romanis a S.* [this ends the page, and the remainder of the word is accidentally omitted; the word is written in full *smyrna* in *L*₂], *martirium sancti ignatii cum epistola ad romanos scripta ab ipso ad populum romanorum* *L*₁. In *L*₂ *autem* is added after *scripsit*; the sentences *magnesiis...thralesiis a smirna*, and *martirium...romanorum* are omitted; and it concludes *consummatori bonorum deo gratias*. Owing to Ussher's mode of collating, the minor variations of spelling are uncertain, except that it has *smyrneis* for *smirneis*, *smyrna* for *smirna*, etc. After this colophon the four Latin epistles follow immediately, without any heading, being numbered 14, 15, 16, 17, respectively in the marg. of *L*₁.

I.

SUPERSCR. *epistola eiusdem ad iohannem evangelistam* *L*₁; *epistola* (add. *sancti* l) *ignatii ad* (add. *sanctum* bl) *iohannem evangelistam* *L*₂bl; *epistola sancti ignatii ad beatum iohannem. incipit feliciter* m.

1 Ignatius] add. *episcopus* l. eo] *ipso* *L*₁*L*₂. 4 roborandi] *roborari cupientes* bl; *robora* *L*₁*L*₂. absentia] *mora* bl. protendatur] *profedatur* m.
5 nostris] *nobis* l. Properes] *propera* *L*₁*L*₂ bl. igitur] *ergo* *L*₁*L*₂. venire] om. m. expedire] *expediri* m. 6 multæ] *multi* p. Mariam] add. *matrem* l. 7 quotidie] *cotidie* *L*₁ bl.

tingant et ubera ejus tractent, quæ Dominum Jesum aluerunt, et quædam secretiora ejus percunctentur ipsam. Sed et Salome quam diligis, filia Annæ, Hierosolimis quinque mensibus apud eam commorans, et quidam alii noti referunt eam omnium gratiarum abundam et omnium virtutum fœcundam. Et, ut 5 dicunt, in persecutionibus et afflictionibus est hilaris; in penuriis et indigentis non querula; injuriantibus grata; et molestata lætatur; miseris et afflictis coafflicta condolet, et subvenire non pigrescit. Contra vitiorum pestiferos insultus in pugna fidei disceptans enitescit. Nostræ novæ religionis est magistra; et 10 apud fideles omnium operum pietatis ministra. Humilibus quidem est devota, et devotis devotius humiliatur. Et mirum ab omnibus magnificatur; cum a scribis et Pharissæis ei detrahatur. Præterea et multi multa nobis referunt de eadem: tamen omnibus per omnia non audemus fidem concedere, nec tibi referre. 15 Sed, sicut nobis a fide dignis narratur, in Maria Jesu humanæ naturæ natura sanctitatis angelicæ sociatur. Et hæc talia exci- taverunt viscera nostra, et cogunt valde desiderare aspectum hujus (si fas sit fari) prodigii et sanctissimi monstri. Tu autem diligenti modo disponas cum desiderio nostro, et valeas. Amen. 20

2 quædam] *quæ* l. ejus] om. b. ipsam. Sed et] *ipsam. et* l; *ipsam enim et* bm. In L_1L_2 the remainder of the epistle after *percunctentur* is wanting, with the exception of the single sentence *in maria...sociatur.* 3 filia] *filiam* p. Hierosolimis] *ierosolimis* bl. quinque mensibus apud eam] *apud eam quinque mensibus* bl. 4 commorans] *commorantes* p. quidam] *quidem* p. noti] om. bl. referunt] *vociferant* l. eam] om. bm; add. *mariam* p. 5 abundam] *habundam* pb. 6 hilaris] *hylaris* pb. 7 injuriantibus] *in injuriantibus* p. grata] *leta* m. et molestata] *et molesta* p; *ad molesta* m. 9 insultus] om. blm. in pugna] *impugna* p; *impugnat* l. fidei] *fide* pbl. 10 disceptans] *disco operta tum* p. novæ] *vero* m. 11 pietatis] add. *est* m. 12 mirum] add. *in modum* l. 13 cum] add. *tamen* l. et] om. bl. 14 multa nobis] *multa alia* m. 15 per omnia] om. m. 16 dignis] *condignis* m. Maria] add. *matre* l. 17 sanctitatis angelicæ] *angelicæ sanctitatis* m. 18 viscera] *corda* l; *in sancta* p. 19 hujus] *eius* l. sit] *est sic* b; *est ita* l. 20 nostro] *meo* bl. et] om. m. Amen] om. bl; add. *explicit* m.

2.

JOHANNI SANCTO SENIORI SUUS IGNATIUS.

Si licitum est mihi apud te, ad Hierosolimæ partes volo ascendere, et videre fideles sanctos qui ibi sunt; præcipue Mariam Jesu, quam dicunt universis admirandam et cunctis desiderabilem. Quem vero non delectet videre eam et alloqui, quæ verum Deum deorum peperit, si sit nostræ fidei et religionis amicus? Similiter et illum venerabilem Jacobum qui cognominatur Justus; quem referunt Christo Jesu simillimum vita et modo conversationis, ac si ejusdem uteri frater esset gemellus; quem, dicunt, si videro, video ipsum Jesum secundum omnia corporis ejus lineamenta: præterea ceteros sanctos et sanctas. Heu, quid moror? Cur detineor? Bone præceptor, properare me jubeas, et valeas. Amen.

3.

CHRISTIFERÆ MARÆ SUUS IGNATIUS.

ME neophitum Johannisque tui discipulum confortare et consolari debueras. De Jesu enim tuo percepi mira dictu, et

2.

SUPERSCR. *ignacius iohanni evangelistæ* L₁; *alia ignatii iohanni evangelistæ* L₂; *it(erum) epistola ignatii ad iohannem evangelistam* b; *alia epistola sancti ignatii ad iohannem evangelistam* l; *idem ad eundem* m; *alia* p.

1 Johanni sancto]	sancto iohanni p.	2 mihi]	michi lp.	Hierosolimæ]
ierosolime L ₁ L ₂ b[l].	3 et] om. l.	fideles]	om. L ₁ L ₂ bl.	Mariam]
add. matrem l.	5 vero]	enim L ₁ L ₂ blm.	videre eam]	eam videre L ₁ L ₂ bl.
et] om. b.	6 quæ]	et quæ b.	verum]	om. L ₁ .
fidei et] om. L ₁ .	8 Christo Jesu]	domino christo L ₁ L ₂ .	simillimum]	add.
facie L ₁ L ₂ blm.	10 videro]	video L ₁ .	video]	videro L ₂ .
Iesum]	dominum iesum L ₁ L ₂ .	11 ejus]	sui b.	lineamenta]
12 Cur detineor]	quid detineor m: om. b.	13 me]	om. l.	et] om. m.
valeas]	add. in christo l.			

3.

SUPERSCR. *ignacius sancte marie* L₁; *alia ignatii sancte marie* L₂; *ignacius ad sanctam mariam* m; *epistola ignatii ad beatam virginem* b; *epistola sancti ignatii ad mariam christiferam* l; *ignacius beate virgini* p.

14 Christiferæ]	christofere L ₁ .	15 neophitum]	neophytum m.	que]	quem L ₁ .
confortare]	confortari L ₁ m.	16 percepi]	om. b.		

stupefactus sum ex auditu. A te autem, quæ semper ei familiaris fuisti conjuncta et secretorum ejus conscia, desidero ex animo fieri certior de auditis. Scripsi tibi et etiam alias, et rogavi de eisdem. Valeas; et tui neophiti, qui mecum sunt, ex te et per te et in te confortentur. Amen.

5

4.

IGNATIO DILECTO CONDISCIPULO HUMILIS ANCILLA DOMINI.

DE Jesu quæ a Johanne audisti et didicisti vera sunt. Illa credas, illis inhæreas, et Christianitatis susceptæ votum firmiter teneas, et mores et vitam voto conformes. Veniam autem una cum Johanne te et qui tecum sunt visere. Sta et viriliter 10 age in fide; nec te commoveat persecutionis austeritas, sed valeat et exultet spiritus tuus in Deo salutari tuo. Amen.

1 stupefactus] *stupens* b. auditu] *audito* l. semper] om. b. ei familiaris fuisti] *fuisti ei familiaris* L₁; *familiaris ei fuisti* b; *ei fuisti familiaris* L₂; *fuisti ei familiaris* m. 3 animo] *nunc* L₁L₂. de] *ex* bl. auditis] *auditu* b. alias] *aliis* L₁L₂bl. et] om. bl. 4 rogavi] add. *te* l. eisdem] *eisdem* l; *eis* b. tui] om. L₁L₂blm. 5 Amen] om. L₂m.

4.

SUPERSCR. *ignacio sancta maria* L₁; *alia sanctæ mariæ ignatio* L₂; *epistola beatæ virginis ad ignatium* b; *responsio beate mariæ sancto ignatio* l; *sanctissima maria ad beatum ignatium* m; *beata virgo ignatio* p.

6 dilecto] add. *et* bm. 7 Christi Jesu] *iesu christi* L₁. Illa] *et illa* bl. 8 illis] *et illis* l. susceptæ] *eius cepte* L₁L₂bl; om. m. firmiter] *firmum* m. 9 conformes] *confirmit* p. 10 te] om. L₁L₂bl. et] om. l. qui] *eos qui* l. 11 nec te] *nec* b; *ne* L₁. 12 tuus] om. m.

Subscr. *expliciunt epistole ignatii martiris numero decem et septem* L₁; om. L₂.

II.

SYRIAC REMAINS

OF

S. IGNATIUS.

EDITED BY W. WRIGHT, LL.D.

1. *THE THREE EPISTLES OF THE CURETONIAN ABRIDGEMENT WITH TRANSLATION*; p. 659 sq.

The MSS of this abridged Syriac Version are

- Σ_1 . *Brit. Mus. Add.* 12175 (To Polycarp).
- Σ_2 . *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14618 (Three Epistles).
- Σ_3 . *Brit. Mus. Add.* 17192 (Three Epistles).

2. *FRAGMENTS OF THE UNABRIDGED VERSION*; p. 677 sq.

Three groups of fragments, preserved in these MSS respectively ;

- S_1 . *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Syr.* 38.
- S_2 . *Brit. Mus. Add.* 14577.
- S_3 . *Brit. Mus. Add.* 17134.

3. *ANTIOCHENE ACTS OF MARTYRDOM*; p. 687 sq.

The MSS of this Version are

- A. *Brit. Mus. Add.* 7200.
- B. *Rom. Borg.* 18.
- C. *Rom. Vat. Syr.* 160.
- D. *Berolin. Sachau* 222.

All the MSS here mentioned have been described already in the general introduction.

I.

¹ ∴ നന്നായ നാണയം വെച്ചുകൊണ്ട് ഉപകരിച്ചു

കുറിപ്പ് : നാണയക്കുരുക്ക് കടം നൽകുന്ന

2. അഭിമാനം

[illegible]

¹ This general heading is taken from Σ_g .

² This heading is from Σ_1 , with the exception of the words **അഭിമാനം കല,** which are

added. Σ_g here has merely

~~ἡμεῖς~~ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς
~~Σ, ἡμεῖς~~ καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς
 καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς
 Σ, ἡμεῖς, Σ, ἡμεῖς.

[illegible]

¹ Σ_3 omits μ .

Σ₈ ၂၁၈၈၇၇.

² Σ₂ omits ന്നാലാറ.

⁵ Σ₈ משלך ו.

$$^3 \Sigma_g^- \text{ 12K}.$$

⁶ Σ_2 has merely *disale*.

[illegible]

¹ Σ₂ omits κ.ῖαα.

⁴ Σ, κιοθικ, without η.

³ Σ₂ omits **الحم**.

⁵ Σ₂ omits **מ.א.ב.**

Σ. α.π.

[illegible]

¹ Σ_2 ~~moduli~~ $\bar{\kappa}$.

۲ Σ_3 کلمہ اہمیت

² Σ, ~~κα~~κα, without α.

⁴ Σ_0 has the general colophon,

മലപ്പുറം ഉൾപ്പെടെയുള്ള

.കിരമം കറുത്തുക

THE THREE EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS BISHOP AND MARTYR¹.

I.

The Epistle of Mar Ignatius the Bishop, to Polycarp².

IGNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who himself is more visited by God the Father and by Jesus Christ our Lord; much greeting.

Forasmuch as thy mind, which is fixed in God as upon an immoveable rock, is acceptable to me, I praise God the more abundantly that I have been accounted worthy of thy countenance which I long for in God. I beseech thee then, by the grace with which thou art clothed, to add to thy course, and to pray for all men that they may be saved; and require thou things becoming with all diligence of flesh and of spirit. Be careful for concord, than which nothing is more excellent. Bear all men, as our Lord beareth thee. Be longsuffering with all men in love, as thou art (doest). Be constant in prayer. Ask for more understanding than thou hast. Be watchful, for thou possessest a spirit that sleepeth not. Speak with all men according to the will of God. Bear the infirmity of all men like a perfect athlete; for where the labour is much, much also is the gain. If thou love the good disciple only, thou hast no grace. Rather subdue those who are evil by gentleness; for³ all sores are not healed by one medicine. Allay cutting by embrocation⁴. Be wise as the serpent in everything, and innocent as the dove with respect to those things which are requisite. On this account art thou of flesh and of spirit, that thou mayest allure those things which are seen before thy face; and respecting those things

¹ This general heading is from Σ_2 .

² Σ_1 has *The Epistle of Mar Ignatius the bishop*; Σ_2 *The Epistle of Ignatius*; Σ_3 *The Epistle of Ignatius bishop of Antioch*.

³ $\Sigma_1 \Sigma_2$ omit *for*.

⁴ Literally *by softening*. The Syriac words, taken by themselves, might also mean, *minister unto the flock with gentleness*.

which are hidden from thee, ask that they may be revealed to thee, that thou mayest be lacking in nothing, and mayest abound in all gifts. The time requireth¹, as the pilot the ship, and as he who standeth in the tempest the haven, that thou shouldest be worthy of God. Be vigilant, as an athlete of God. That which is promised to us is life eternal incorruptible, of which thou also art persuaded. In everything I will be instead of thy soul, and my bonds which thou hast loved. Let not those who seem to be (*or*, who think themselves) something and teach strange doctrines, astound thee; but stand in truth, like an athlete who is smitten: for it is [the part] of a great athlete that he should be smitten and conquer. More especially for God's sake it behoveth us to endure everything, that He also may endure us. Be diligent more than thou art. Be discerning of the times. Expect Him who is above the times, Him to whom there are no times², Him who is unseen, Him who for our sakes was seen, Him who is impalpable, Him who is impassible, Him who for our sakes suffered, Him who endured every thing in every form for our sakes. Let not the widows be neglected. For our Lord's sake be thou careful of them. And let nothing be done without thy will, neither do thou anything apart from³ the will of God; nor indeed doest thou. Stand well. Let there be frequent assemblies. Ask every man by his name. Despise not slaves and handmaids. But neither let them despise; but let them serve the more, as for the glory of God, that they may be accounted worthy of the excellent freedom which is of God. Let them not desire to be set free out of the common [property], that they may not be found the slaves of lusts. Flee from evil arts; but rather discourse respecting them. Bid my sisters that they love in the Lord, and that their husbands⁴ be sufficient for them in flesh and in spirit. And again, charge my brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they love their wives as our Lord His Church. If any one be able by strength to continue in chastity to the honour of the body of our Lord, let him continue without boasting; if he boast, he is lost; if he become known apart from the bishop, he has corrupted himself. But⁵ it is becoming, to men and women who marry, that they marry by the counsel of

¹ Or it might be *required*, or *require*, if the word were differently pointed.

² According to the punctuation of the Syriac text, *consider in the times Him who is above the times; expect Him to whom there are no times*, etc.

³ Σ_2 reads *without*, the same word as before.

⁴ The reading of Σ_2 is, *Bid my sisters take their husbands in the Lord, and let their husbands etc.*

⁵ Σ_1 has *For*.

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the bishop, that the marriage may be in our Lord, and not in lust. But let every thing be for the honour of God. Look ye to the bishop, that God also may look to you. I will be instead of the souls of those who are subject to the bishop and the presbyters and the deacons; with them may I have a portion with God. Labour together with one another; make the struggle together, run together, suffer together, sleep together¹, rise together. As stewards of God, and His domestics and ministers, please Him and serve Him, from whom ye will receive wages (*or* that ye may receive wages from Him). Let none of you rebel. Let your baptism be to you as armour, and faith as a helmet, and love as a spear, and patience as a panoply. Let your treasures be your good works, that ye may receive the gift of God, as is just. Be ye long-suffering towards each other in gentleness, as God towards you. I rejoice in you at all times. The Christian has not power over himself, but is ready to be subject to God. I salute him who is accounted worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, as I charged thee².

[Here] ends the First³ [Epistle].

2.

*The Second Epistle, to the Ephesians*⁴.

IGNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to the church which is blessed in the greatness of God the Father, and perfected; to her who was set apart from eternity to be at all times for abiding and unchangeable glory, and is perfected and chosen in the token of truth⁵, by the will of the Father of Jesus Christ our God; to her who is worthy of happiness; to her who is at Ephesus in Jesus Christ in joy unblameable; much greeting.

Forasmuch as your well-beloved name is acceptable to me in God, which ye have acquired by nature by a right and just will, ⁶by faith and by love of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and ye are imitators of God, and have been fervent⁷ in the blood of God, and have speedily accomplished a work congenial to you; for⁸ when ye heard that I was

¹ Σ_2 omits the words *sleep together*.

² According to Σ_3 , as *thou didst charge us*.

³ $\Sigma_1 \Sigma_2$ omit *the First*.

⁴ So Σ_3 . For *The Second Epistle* Σ_2 reads *His Second*.

⁵ But ܠܗܘܐ is probably a corruption of ܠܗܘܐ , so that it will be *in a true passion*; see above, p. 25 sq.

⁶ Σ_2 inserts *and also*.

⁷ Σ_2 , and are fervent.

⁸ Σ_2 omits *for*.

bound [so as to be hindered] from acting¹ for the sake of the common name and hope,—and I hope through your prayers to be devoured of beasts at Rome, that by means of this, whereof I am accounted worthy, I may be endued with strength to be a disciple of God,—ye were diligent to come and see me. But forasmuch as we have received your multitude in the name of God by Onesimus, who is your bishop in love unutterable, whom I pray in Jesus Christ our Lord that ye may love, and that ye all may be in his likeness; for blessed is He who hath given you such a bishop, as ye deserve. But forasmuch as love suffereth me not to be silent respecting (from) you, on this account I have been forward to entreat you to be diligent in the will of God; for when no one lust is implanted in you which is able to torment you, lo, ye live in God. I rejoice in you, and I offer supplication on account of you Ephesians, a church renowned in all ages. For those who are carnal are not able to do spiritual things, neither the spiritual carnal things; just as neither faith [can do] those things which are foreign to faith, nor lack of faith [those things which are] of faith. For those things which ye have done in the flesh, even they are spiritual, because ye have done every thing in Jesus Christ. And ye are prepared for the building of God the Father, and ye are raised up on high by the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the Cross, and ye² are drawn by the rope, which is the Holy Spirit; and that which hoisteth you up³ is your faith, and your love is the way that leadeth up on high to God. Pray for all men, for there is hope of repentance for them, that they may be accounted worthy of God. From your works especially let them be instructed. Against their harsh words be ye conciliatory in meekness of mind and in gentleness; against their blasphemies do ye pray; and against their error arm ye yourselves with faith; and against their fierceness be ye peaceful and quiet; and be ye not astounded at them. But let us be imitators of our Lord in meekness, and of whosoever shall more especially be injured and oppressed and defrauded. The work is not of promise, but that a man be found in the strength of faith even to the end. It is better that a man be silent when he is something, than that he should be speaking when he is not; that through those things which he speaks, he may act, and through those things in which he is silent, he may be known. My spirit

¹ Or *visiting*; Σ_2 has the plural, *from actions*: but doubtless ܠܝܬܐ is a corruption of ܠܝܬܐ Syria, as in the Greek.

² Σ_2 omits *ye*.

³ Syriac, ܠܝܬܐ , feminine ܠܝܬܐ , *qui, quæ extrahit*. Cureton, and your pulley.

boweth down to the Cross, which is a stumbling-block to those who do not believe, but to you for salvation and life eternal. There was concealed from the ruler of this world the virginity of Mary, and her child-bearing¹, and the death² of our Lord, and (or even) the three mysteries of shouting, which were wrought in the quiet of God from [the time of] the star even till now. At the manifestation of the Son magic began to cease, and all bonds were loosed, and the ancient kingdom and the error of evil was destroyed. Henceforward all things were moved together, and the destruction of death was devised, and there was the commencement of that which is perfected in God.

[Here] ends the Second Epistle³.

3.

*The Third Epistle, to the Romans*⁴.

IGNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to the church which has found compassion in the greatness of the Father Most High; to her who presideth in the place of the country of the Romans; who is worthy of God, and worthy of life and blessings and praise and remembrance, and is worthy of prosperity, and presideth in love, and is perfected in the law of Christ unblameable (or unblameably); much greeting.

From of old I have prayed to God that I might be accounted worthy to behold your faces, which are worthy of God; but now, being bound in Jesus Christ, I hope to receive you and salute you, if it be the Will that I should be accounted worthy to the end. For the beginning is well disposed⁵, if I be accounted worthy to attain to the end, that I may receive my portion without hindrance amid suffering. For I am afraid of your love, lest it should injure me. But for you it is easy to do what you wish; but for me it is difficult to be accounted worthy of God, if indeed [γὰρ] ye spare me not. For there is no other time for me⁶ like this, that I should be accounted worthy of God; neither will ye, if ye be silent, be found in a better work than this. If ye leave me, I shall be a word of

¹ Both manuscripts read ܡܠܬܐܢܐ, and his birth, but there can be little doubt that the upper point has been accidentally omitted, ܡܠܬܐܢܐ, and her child-bearing.

² The word ܡܡܬܐܢܐ, and his death, is wanting in Σ₂. See p. 78 sq.

³ Σ₂ omits the Second Epistle.

⁴ Σ₃ has *The Third Epistle*; Σ₂ *The Third Epistle of the same Saint Ignatius*. The words *to the Romans* are added in our text to complete the title.

⁵ Σ₃ has *for the beginning we have well contrived, or planned*.

⁶ Σ₂ omits *for me*.

God; but if ye love my flesh, I become again a voice. Ye will not give me anything better than this, that I should be sacrificed to God while the altar is ready; that ye may be with one concord in love, and may praise God the Father in Jesus Christ our Lord, because He has accounted the bishop of Syria¹ worthy to be God's, after He has called him from the East to the West. It is good for me² that I should set from the world in God, that I may rise in Him in life. Ye have never envied any one. Ye have taught others. Only pray for strength to be given to me from within and from without, that I may not only speak, but also desire; and not that I may be called a Christian only, but also that I may be found to be [one]: for if I am found to be [one], I am also able to be called [so]. Then shall I be faithful, when I am not seen in the world. For there is nothing which is seen that is good. The work is not [a matter] of persuasion, but Christianity is great when the world hateth it. I write to all the churches, and declare to all men that I die willingly for God, if it be that ye hinder me not. I intreat you, be not [affected] towards me with love that is unseasonable. Leave me to be [the prey] of the beasts, that through them I may be accounted worthy of God. I am the wheat of God, and by the teeth of the beasts I am ground, that I may be found the pure bread of God. With provoking provoke ye the beasts, that they may be a grave for me, and may leave nothing of my body, that even when I am fallen asleep, I may not be a burden upon any one. Then am I in truth a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world seeth not even my body. Intreat our Lord for me, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God. I do not charge you like Peter and Paul, who are Apostles, but I am one condemned:³ they are free, but I am a slave even until now. But if I suffer, I am a freedman of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise in Him from the dead free. And now, being bound, I learn to desire nothing. From Syria, and even to Rome⁴, I am cast among beasts, by sea and by land, by night and by day, being bound between ten leopards, which are the band of soldiers, who, even while I do good to them, do evil the more to me. But I am the more instructed by their injury, but not on this account am I justified to myself. I rejoice in the beasts that are prepared for me, and I pray that they may be speedily

¹ Σ_2 omits *of Syria*.

² Σ_2 omits *for me*.

³ Σ_3 inserts *but*, which is erased in Σ_3 .

⁴ According to the punctuation of the Syriac text, *to desire nothing, from Syria and even to Rome. I am cast, etc.*

found for me; and I will provoke them to devour me speedily, and not as that which is afraid of some other men and does not approach them. Even should they not be willing to approach me, I will go with violence against them. Know me from myself; what is expedient for me. Let nothing envy me of things that are seen and that are not seen, that I should be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ¹. Let fire, and the cross, and the beasts that are prepared, cutting off of limbs, and scattering of bones, and crushing of the whole body, hard torments of the devil, come upon me; and only let me be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ. The pains of birth are standing over me: and my love is the Cross², and there is not in me fire of³ any other love. I do not desire the food of corruption, neither the lusts of this world. The bread of God I seek, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ, and his blood I seek [as] a drink, which is love incorruptible. My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the churches which received me as the name of Jesus Christ; for even those who were not⁴ near to the way in the flesh preceded me in every city. Now I am about to arrive (or near, so that I shall arrive)⁵ at Rome. I know many things in God, but I moderate myself, that I may not perish through boasting; for now it behoveth me to fear the more, and not to regard those who puff me up. For they who say to me such things, scourge me; for I love to suffer, but I do not know if I am worthy. For to many zeal is not seen, but with me it has war. I have need therefore of gentleness, by which the ruler of this world is destroyed. I am able to write to you heavenly things; but I fear lest I should do you an injury. Know me from myself; for I am cautious, lest ye should not be able to suffice [for them], and should be perplexed. For even I, not because I am bound, and am able to know heavenly things, and the places of the angels, and the station of the powers that are seen and that are not seen, on this account am I a disciple; for I am far short of the perfection which is worthy of God. Be ye perfectly strong in the patience of Jesus Christ our God.

[Here] ends the Third [Epistle]⁶.

¹ According to the punctuation of the Syriac text, *not seen*. *That I may be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ, let fire, etc.*

² So according to the present Syriac text; *my love is crucified* would require

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ.

³ Σ_2 reads *in* for *of*.

⁴ Σ_2 omits *not*.

⁵ Σ_2 reads *I am near, I shall arrive*, omitting *so that*.

⁶ So Σ_2 . Σ_3 has [Here] *end the Three Epistles of Ignatius bishop and martyr*.

2.

S_r.

וְכָל הַתְּחִיבִים בְּכָל הַיּוֹם וּבְכָל הַלַּיְלָה
 : וְכָל הַיּוֹם : וְכָל הַלַּיְלָה : וְכָל הַיּוֹם :
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 וְכָל הַיּוֹם : וְכָל הַלַּיְלָה :

א. כָּל הַיּוֹם וּבְכָל הַלַּיְלָה :

וְכָל הַיּוֹם : וְכָל הַלַּיְלָה : וְכָל הַיּוֹם :
 וְכָל הַלַּיְלָה : וְכָל הַיּוֹם : וְכָל הַלַּיְלָה :
 וְכָל הַיּוֹם : וְכָל הַלַּיְלָה : וְכָל הַיּוֹם :
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 וְכָל הַלַּיְלָה : וְכָל הַיּוֹם : וְכָל הַלַּיְלָה :

(Ephes. 5, 6) : וְכָל הַיּוֹם :

וְכָל הַיּוֹם : וְכָל הַלַּיְלָה : וְכָל הַיּוֹם :
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(Ephes. 13) : וְכָל הַיּוֹם :

דשכח חל דאזי מן דגדא דא פלדא דאזי
 אדחא מלמ. שמוח מן ל דג דחא דחא דא.
 דחא דחא ל דחא מלמ. דחא דחא דחא
 דחא מלמ. דחא מן אדחא דחא דחא ל

(Philad. 7) ✧

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(Philad. 10) ✧

✧ דחא דחא דחא דחא דחא דחא
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(Smyrn. 8, 9) ✧

¹ Variant at the foot of the page, in the same handwriting as the text,
 אדחא דחא דחא דחא דחא דחא דחא

[illegible][illegible]

¹ MS 1201K.7.

² Variant at the top of the page, in the same handwriting as the text, *δραϊω*.

[illegible]

¹ MS אבאבא.

² *Rom.* 4—6.

³ *Ephes.* 15.

* *Ephes.* 20.

⁵ *Magn.* 10.

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¹ B D 0000000000, C 0000000000.

² B D 0000000000.

³ A C 0000000000.

⁴ The sentence is, as Cureton has observed, grammatically incomplete, notwithstanding the agreement of the MSS.

⁵ C omits 0000.

⁶ C 0000000000 0000000000 0000000000.

⁷ C 0000000000 0000000000 0000000000.

⁸ C 0000000000.

⁹ C 0000000000.

¹⁰ C 0000000000 0000000000.

¹¹ C 0000000000 0000000000.

¹² C omits 000000, which has no equivalent in the Greek.

:¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

¹ A B ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

² B D ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

A B D ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

³ C omits ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

⁴ C omits ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

⁵ C ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

⁶ C adds ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

⁷ C ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

⁸ B ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

⁹ C ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

¹⁰ C ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

¹¹ C omits ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴

¹² C ¹³ ¹⁴

¹³ C ¹⁴

¹⁴ B D omit ¹⁵

³: ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ²ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ¹ܡܬܠܡܢܐ ܐܡܠ ܡܬܠܡܢܐ
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 .ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐ

⁵ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐ (IV)
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 ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ¹³ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ¹²ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ
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 .¹⁴ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ

¹ C ܡܬܠܡܢܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐ
 ܡܬܠܡܢܐ; B D also omit the second
ܡܬܠܡܢܐ.

² C omits this word.

³ B ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ, C
ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ.

⁴ C omits the words ܡܬܠܡܢܐ
ܡܬܠܡܢܐ, which have no equi-
 valent in the Greek.

⁵ B omits ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ.

⁶ B omits ܡܬܠܡܢܐ.

⁷ C ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ
ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ

⁸ C ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ.

⁹ C ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ.

¹⁰ C ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ.

¹¹ C has ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ, and omits
 the preceding words from ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ.

¹² C ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ.

¹³ B ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ.

¹⁴ A omits ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ
ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ; C has ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ ܡܬܠܡܢܐܝܬܐ
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1 C ከሐላ ጠላኝ ጠላኝ, and
 omits the following words as far as
ከሐላ ጠላኝ.

2 C omits ከሐላ ጠላኝ ጠላኝ.

3 B ጠላኝ.

4 C ጠላኝ.

5 C ጠላኝ ጠላኝ; D ጠላኝ.

6 C omits ጠላኝ ጠላኝ.

7 A B ጠላኝ.

8 C ጠላኝ ጠላኝ.

9 C ጠላኝ ጠላኝ.

10 C ጠላኝ.

11 C ጠላኝ.

12 This word is illegible in A.

13 B C ጠላኝ.

14 B ጠላኝ; C omits this
 clause.

15 This clause is wanting in B.

16 C ጠላኝ.

17 This word is wanting in A.

לֹא אֶחָד מֵהֶם יָדָע כִּי כֵן הָיָה.¹ לֹא
 אֶחָד מֵהֶם יָדָע כִּי כֵן הָיָה.² וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים:³ וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים.⁴ וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים.⁵ וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים.⁶ וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים.⁷ וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים.⁸ וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים.⁹ וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים.¹⁰ וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים.¹¹ וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים.¹² וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים.¹³ וְהָיָה
 שֶׁכָּל הָאֲנָשִׁים הָיוּ מְשֻׁמְּרִים.¹⁴

13.

(5)

¹ B omits. הָיָה.

² B הָיָה.

³ B הָיָה.

⁴ D adds הָיָה.

⁵ Another example of double translation.

⁶ B omits הָיָה.

⁷ C omits from הָיָה to הָיָה.

⁸ C omits הָיָה.

⁹ D הָיָה.

¹⁰ B D הָיָה.

¹¹ B has no point at הָיָה, but connects this clause with the first words of the next chapter הָיָה.

¹² C omits הָיָה.

¹³ B adds הָיָה.

¹⁴ C הָיָה.

(6) ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ 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תַּחֲסִיבִּי. בַּחֲסִיבִּי וְכִי־אֵלֶּיךָ כִּי־אֵלֶּיךָ
 תִּשְׁמָעֶנִּי. וְעַד דָּם מַעֲשֵׂה מֵן יִלָּךְ לֵךְ
 מִלִּי תִּשְׁמָעֶנִּי ¹ כִּי־אֵלֶּיךָ : כְּפִי־ךָ וְלֵךְ מַחֲבֹרֶת.
 אִם וְכִי־כִי־כִי. וְכִי־כִי־כִי. וְכִי־כִי־כִי ².
 אֵל כְּפִי ³ חֲסִיבִּי : כִּי־כִי־כִי־כִי. כִּי
 כִּי־כִי ⁴ כִּי־כִי. כִּי ⁵ כִּי־כִי־כִי. כִּי
 מַחֲבֹרֶת.

(9) וְכִי־כִי־כִי־כִי־כִי־כִי. כִּי־כִי־כִי.
 וְכִי־כִי־כִי־כִי־כִי־כִי. כִּי־כִי־כִי.
 כִּי־כִי־כִי־כִי־כִי־כִי : ⁶ כִּי־כִי־כִי. כִּי־כִי־כִי.
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 לֵךְ.

(10) בַּחֲסִיבִּי לֵךְ דָּם ¹³ מִלִּי : כִּי־כִי־כִי. כִּי־כִי־כִי.
 לֵךְ. כִּי־כִי־כִי. כִּי־כִי־כִי. ¹⁴ כִּי־כִי־כִי.

¹ B D כִּי־כִי־כִי : לֵךְ.
 Read כִּי־כִי־כִי. מִלִּי.

⁸ B D omit כִּי.

⁹ B D add כִּי־כִי־כִי.

¹⁰ C כִּי־כִי.

² C כִּי־כִי.

² B D add כִּי־כִי. One
 would have expected לֵךְ.

¹¹ B D כִּי־כִי. כִּי־כִי.

⁴ B D כִּי־כִי־כִי.

¹² B D כִּי־כִי.

⁵ C adds דָּם.

¹³ C omits דָּם.

⁶ C כִּי־כִי.

¹⁴ B כִּי.

⁷ D כִּי־כִי, without א.

III.

GREEK EPISTLES
OF THE
LONG RECENSION.

1. *INTRODUCTION*; p. 127.
2. *TEXT AND NOTES*; p. 135.

III.

GREEK EPISTLES OF THE LONG RECENSION.

I.

THE THIRTEEN Ignatian Epistles which form the *Long Recension* and which emanated, as we have seen, from a forger writing in the name of the saint in the latter half of the fourth century, are given in the following pages in the order in which they occur in the Greek manuscripts of this Recension; viz.

1. *Mary to Ignatius.*
2. *Ignatius to Mary.*
3. *Trallians.*
4. *Magesians.*
5. *Tarsians.*
6. *Philippians.*
7. *Philadelphians.*
8. *Smyrnæans.*
9. *Polycarp.*
10. *Antiochenes.*
11. *Hero.*
12. *Ephesians.*
13. *Romans.*

These epistles fall into five classes according to their real or feigned chronology. Of these classes the first, fourth, and fifth are forgeries throughout, while the second and third are interpolated from the genuine epistles.

(i) *First Class*, comprising two forged letters supposed to have been written while the saint was still at ANTIOCH ;

Mary to Ignatius.

Ignatius to Mary.

(ii) *Second Class*, the four letters actually written by the saint from SMYRNA, with interpolations and alterations :

Ephesians.

Magnesians.

Trallians.

Romans.

(iii) *Third Class*, the three letters actually written by the saint from TROAS, with interpolations and alterations as in the class immediately preceding ;

Philadelphians.

Smyrnæans.

Polycarp.

(iv) *Fourth Class*, three forged letters supposed to have been written from PHILIPPI ;

Tarsians.

Antiochenes.

Hero.

(v) *Fifth Class*, a single forged letter supposed to have been written after the saint had reached the shores of ITALY ;

Philippians.

2.

The *authorities for the text* of these epistles are not the same throughout. This difference is due partly to the imperfection of some mss at the beginning or end, but still more to the fact that the *forged* (as distinguished from the *interpolated*) epistles were also attached to the genuine letters of Ignatius. Hence the same authorities, which contain the genuine letters, for the most part contain the forged letters also ; whereas the interpolated letters are only preserved in the authorities for the Long Recension.

The authorities are as follows :

1. GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

- (1) G, containing the forged epistles ; but this ms is mutilated and ends abruptly *Tars. 7 ἀνεπίστατοι γὰρ εἰσὶν τοῦ*

κτ., so that it only gives the first two and the beginning of the third ; see above, I. p. 73 sq.

(2) g, the epistles of the Long Recension.

The several MSS are

g₁ (*Monacensis* or *Augustanus*), mutilated at the beginning and commencing with *Mar. Ign.* 2 -νάσκαλον δὲ κ.τ.λ. ; see above, I. p. 102.

g₂ (*Vaticanus*), mutilated at the beginning and commencing with *Trall.* 4 οὖν πρῶτος κ.τ.λ. ; see I. p. 103.

g₃ (*Nydpruccianus*), omitting the Epistle of Mary to Ignatius, but containing the other twelve letters whole. This MS is only known through the edition of Gesner ; see I. p. 109.

g₄ (*Constantinopolitanus*), containing all the thirteen epistles ; see I. p. 110.

g₅ (*Vatic. Reg.*), containing nearly the whole of the Epistle to the Ephesians ; see I. p. 111.

2. LATIN VERSIONS.

L, containing all the forged epistles except *Philippians* ; see I. p. 80, III. p. 5 sq.

l, omitting the letter of *Mary to Ignatius*, but containing the other twelve (the letter to *Polycarp* wanting the latter half) ; see I. p. 117.

3. ARMENIAN VERSION.

A, containing all the forged epistles ; see I. p. 84.

4. COPTIC VERSION.

C, containing (in its present mutilated state) only the end of the letter to *Hero* ; see I. p. 101, III. p. 277.

It will thus be seen that the authorities for the several parts are as follows :

(1) *Mary to Ignatius* ;

G, g (g₁ mutilated, g₄), L, A.

(2) *Ignatius to Mary, Tarsians, Antiochenes* ;

G (ending *Tars.* 7), g (g₁, g₃, g₄, g₅ beginning in *Tars.* 4), L, l, A.

(3) *Philippians* ;

g (g₁, g₂, g₃, g₄), l, A.

(4) *Hero*;g (g_1, g_2, g_3, g_4), L, l, A, C (a fragment).(5) *Trallians, Magnesians, Philadelphians, Smyrnæans, Polycarp, Ephesians, Romans*;g (g_1, g_2, g_3, g_4, g_5 for *Ephesians* only), l.

As the letters of this last group are founded on the text of the genuine Ignatius by interpolations and alterations, this latter is very frequently available as an authority. It is designated I in the critical notes.

The above authorities fall into four classes.

(i) g l, which are closely connected. The respective values of the Greek MSS (g_1, g_2, g_3, g_4, g_5) have been already discussed, and the relation of the Latin Version (l) to the Greek Text has also been considered (I. p. 102 sq.). Here it is sufficient to say that of the Greek MSS g_1 is the best, and that the Latin Version (though loose and full of blunders) was made from an older Greek text than any contained in extant MSS.

(ii) G L, which again are closely connected. On the whole this type of text is less trustworthy than the former, but it often gives the correct readings where the other is corrupt. The relation of L to G has been investigated already.

(iii) A, an independent authority, which preserves a very ancient form of the text, where this can be discerned through the distortions of a secondary translation and the corruptions of successive transmission.

(iv) C, a mere fragment, but highly valuable as far as it goes.

3.

The history of the *printed text* of the Long Recension in the original Greek commences with the publication of two editions, nearly simultaneous in time but independent of each other¹;

¹ Funk (*Die drei ersten Griechischen Ausgaben, etc.*, in *Theolog. Quartalschr.* LXI. p. 610 sq, 1879; see also *Patr. Apost.* II. p. xxx sq) endeavours to prove that Gesner's edition was derived entirely from the *Codex Augustanus* [g_1], so that g_3 has no independent value whatever. He bases his conclusion on the coincidences between the readings of g_1

and g_3 . But, when these coincidences are examined, they are found to consist almost entirely (1) of readings which must be pronounced certainly or most probably correct, (2) of readings which $g_1 g_3$ share with other authorities. Thus they do not at all substantiate his inference. One special coincidence however is brought forward, which deserves more considera-

(1) The one by Valentinus Paceus (Hartung Frid) at Dillingen in 1557; taken from the *Augsburg* (now *Munich*) MS, designated g_1 in the present edition.

(2) The other by Andrew Gesner at Zürich in a volume of miscellaneous Greek patristic works. The title-page of Ignatius is dated 1559. The Ignatian Epistles were taken from a MS belonging to Caspar von Nydprugck, designated g_3 in the present edition.

Neither of these two editions contains the letter of Mary to

tion. In *Philipp.* 7 g_3 reads νόμον for νόμων and just below ἐγέννητον for ἀγέννητον, both which readings appear in the ed. princ. of Valentinus Paceus. If this coincidence be not accidental, then Gesner's edition must have been derived not from the *Codex Augustanus* [g_1] itself (for both words are correctly written there) but from an incorrect transcript made for the ed. princ. or from the sheets of the ed. princ. itself. This hypothesis however is beset with difficulties.

(1) In the first place Gesner states explicitly that his was the earliest edition in the original Greek. Funk indeed believes that the words 'ea quae hactenus circumferebantur' refer only to the *Micro-presbyticum*, a work which has been mentioned just before by Gesner and which gave the Latin of the Ignatian Epistles; but the expression is quite comprehensive and could not have been used, if the editor had known of any previous Greek edition whatever. (2) In the second place, as Nydprugck died in September 1557 (see Funk, p. 622), and the edition of Paceus is dated November or December (μηνὶ μαϊμακτηριῶνι) of the same year, it is difficult to see how the transcript supposed to have been used for this edition can have belonged to the library of Nydprugck. The hypothesis that the sheets of the ed. princ. itself were used by Gesner is precluded by the fact that he speaks of a manuscript. (3) Lastly; several phenomena in the edition of Gesner are highly difficult to explain,

if g_3 were altogether dependent on g_1 . Thus in the very same chapter from which Funk takes his example, *Philipp.* 7, g_1 has οὐδ' ἀγνοῶ διοδόξῃ καὶ διδύμα βέννεις, while g_3 gives οὐδ' ἀγνοῶ ὅτε διὰ λοξὰ καὶ διδύμα βάλνεις. Partly from authorities since discovered we now know that the correct reading is οὐδ' ἀγνοῶ ὅτι διάλοξα καὶ διδύμα βάλνεις. Is it conceivable that g_3 by mere conjecture could have arrived so nearly at the correct reading, even with the aid of the Latin 'neque ignoro quoniam curve et lubrice incedis,' more especially as g_1 omits ὅτι? Again in *Ign. Mar.* 3 the reading of g_3 τῇν (sic) ἀνδρῶν is obviously an error for τοῖν ἀνδρῶν the correct reading; but g_1 has τοῖς ἀνδρῶν. Similar phenomena are frequent.

For these reasons I am constrained to believe that the coincidence of g_1g_3 in the reading ἐγέννητον in *Philipp.* 7 is purely accidental. And the probability of such an accidental coincidence becomes the greater when we examine the phenomena of Gesner's edition [g_3] elsewhere. I have noticed two other instances where it erroneously substitutes an ε for an α in the first syllable of ἀγέννητος, *Magn.* 7 ἐγεννήτου (p. 13), *Philad.* 4 ἐγέννητος (p. 29); and indeed, so far as my observation has gone, the word is as often incorrectly spelt as correctly. We have elsewhere instances of the converse error, e.g. *Magn.* 10 ἀχηρμάτισαν (sic) for ἐχηρμάτισαν. Thus Funk's main example proves nothing.

Ignatius, though the ms from which the former was taken preserves the greater part of it.

All the later editions of the Ignatian Epistles till the time of Ussher were founded, so far as I have observed, exclusively on the work of Paceus. The edition of Gesner seems to have been unknown to or ignored by later editors.

The earliest of these subsequent editions, founded on the work of Paceus, was that of Guil. Morel (Paris, 1558), which he followed up by a second edition a few years later (Paris, 1562). Morel was an excellent scholar and corrected numerous errors of the *editio princeps*, but at the same time he introduced some conjectural emendations of his own, which were devoid of ms authority at the time and have not been confirmed by subsequent discovery. From this time till the appearance of Ussher's work (A. D. 1644) the text remained much as Morel had left it. The most important editions in the interval were those of Vairlenius Sylvius 'ex officina Chr. Plantini' (Antwerp, 1572, 1573); of Martialis Mestruæus (Paris, 1608); and of Vedelius (Geneva, 1623). These editors however contributed little of their own to the improvement of the text. They neither consulted any new manuscript authority nor made any fresh collation of the old. Thus the text for nearly a century was based on the single Augsburg ms as inaccurately represented by the *editio princeps*, supplemented by the conjectures of Morel.

The edition of Ussher (1644), followed by that of Voss (1646), and soon afterwards by his own *Appendix Ignatiana* (1647), marks an epoch in the textual criticism of the Ignatian letters. Ussher not only restored the seven epistles of the original Ignatius by means of the Latin Version, but he also rendered important service to the text of the forged and interpolated epistles. In his earlier work (1644) he made use of Gesner's edition which had hitherto lain unnoticed, besides giving various readings of the Latin Version from three mss, *Magdal.* 78, *Balliol.* 229, and *Petav.* He also gave there for the first time the letter of Mary of Cassobola to Ignatius in Latin from his two mss [*L*₁, *L*₂], and at the same time he added the conclusion of the same in the original Greek beginning with § 5 οὐ γὰρ διδάσκουσά σε κ.τ.λ. This letter he found in an extract from the Augsburg ms given in *Catal. Cod. in Bibl. Reip. Aug. Vind.* p. 22 (1595). Voss (1646) for the first time published the whole of the letter of Mary in the original from the Medicean ms, *Laur.* lvii. 7, giving at the same time the text of the spurious and interpolated letters ascribed to Ignatius, and making use of this same ms (as far as it goes) for his text. In his *Appendix Ignatiana* (1647) Ussher, while annotating the spurious epistles, added

readings from *Laur.* vii. 21, which he calls *Florentinus*. Somewhat later Cotelier in his edition of the *Patres Apostolici* (1672) gave various readings from *Paris. Suppl. Graec.* 341 ('Claudii Iolii'), and these readings were copied by Whiston (1711), by whom, for reasons which I have explained in my general introduction (i. p. 107), it is called *Codex Thuaneus*. Whiston also added for the first time readings from the worthless *Codex Leicestrensis* (*Bodl. Auct. D. Inf.* 2. 19). With this sole exception, nothing was done from Cotelier's time onwards towards collating MSS of the pseudo-Ignatian letters until Dressel's edition of the *Patres Apostolici* (1857). Dressel (besides giving many various readings from *Laur.* vii. 21) collated the three Greek MSS, *Vatic.* 859 [*g*₂], *Ottob.* 348, *Barber.* 68, as well as the fragment in *Vatic. Reg.* 30, and the two Latin MSS, *Palat.* 150, *Regin.* 81. Of his Greek MSS, *Vatic.* 859 alone has any independent value, but it is important. Meanwhile the publication of the Armenian Version by Petermann (1849) had furnished an altogether new and important witness for the text of the six spurious epistles; but it was wholly neglected by Dressel. As a collector of materials, Dressel deserves our gratitude; but he omitted to take account of some authorities, while he was unable to estimate the relative weight of others, so that his actual text has no great value. Zahn (1876) was the first recent editor who made anything like an adequate use of the available materials. He has been followed by Funk (1881), who with improved materials has produced an improved text.

In the following pages I have not thought it necessary to reproduce the old Latin translation [*l*], being content to take its readings from others. For the Greek text I collated *g*₁ anew for my first edition. It had been known previously only through the very inaccurate *editio princeps*. An independent collation was also made by Funk, whose edition appeared before my own, though the sheets of my work had been passed through the press long before. For the readings of *g*₂ I have gone to Dressel, and for those of *g*₃ to Gesner's edition itself. The readings of *g*₄ I owe to the kindness of Bryennios, who furnished me with a collation. He performed this same kind service also to Funk¹. The readings of the Coptic fragment [*C*] of Hero were used for the first time in my first edition. The readings of the Anglo-Latin

¹ In several passages the readings assigned to *g*₄ by Funk differ from my own. Not having access to the MS itself, I have again consulted the collation of Bryennios

in these passages, and with very rare exceptions I find that I have accurately represented this collation. The exceptions are corrected in this edition.

134 GREEK EPISTLES OF THE LONG RECENSION.

Version [L] for the six spurious epistles are of course taken from my own printed text of this version (see above, p. 42 sq.). The Armenian readings [A] are derived from Petermann.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΩΙ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΚ ΚΑΣΣΟΒΟΛΩΝ.

ΜΑΡΙΑ προσήλυτος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Ἰγνατίῳ Θεοφόρῳ,
μακαριωτάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας ἀποστολικῆς τῆς

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΩΙ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΕΚ ΚΑΣΣΟΒΟΛΩΝ] *Ιγνατίῳ μαρία ἐκ κασσοβόλων* (numbered ζ in the marg.) G; ἐπιστολὴ μαρίας κασσοβόλων πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἱερομάρτυρα Ἰγνάτιον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον θεουπόλεως ἀντιόχειας g; *epistola marie proselite chassaobolorum ad ignatium episcopum antiochie* L₂ (see above, p. 42); *epistola mariae mulieris cujusdam e casbalon (casbalon) urbe ad ignatium beatum scripta* A.

1 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] GLA; χριστοῦ ἰησοῦ g (g being represented solely by g₄ in the earlier part of this epistle). 2 ἀποστολικῆς] GLA; καθολικῆς g.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΩΙ ΜΑΡΙΑ] This correspondence between Ignatius and Mary is supposed to take place while the saint is still at Antioch, though already in custody, so that his actions are fettered (*ad Mar.* 4 ἐπέχει γάρ μου τὴν πρόθεσιν...ἡ στρατιωτικὴ φρουρά). Mary writes, asking him to send officers to preside over her native Church, which is still in its infancy and not yet organized.

In his reply (*ad Mar.* 4) Ignatius speaks of the good report which he heard of her 'while she was still in Rome with the blessed Pope Anencletus.' On this account it has been held by many, alike of those who have accepted the letter as genuine (e.g. Vairlen, Halloix) and of those who condemn it as spurious (e.g. Zahn), that she is intended for the same person whom S. Paul salutes, Rom. xvi. 6 ἀσπάσασθε Μαρίαν ἣτις πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν εἰς ὑμᾶς (v. l. ἡμᾶς). This seems probable; and if so, the historical situation is not ill-conceived. This Mary is represented as a native of a Cilician town not very far from Tarsus, while the Mary of

Rom. xvi. 6 was evidently well known to S. Paul before she went to reside in Rome. For the epithet *χριστοφόρος* bestowed on her and the consequences which have flowed from it, see the note on *ad Mar.* inscr.

ΕΚ ΚΑΣΣΟΒΟΛΩΝ] Zahn is justified in assuming that this formed part of the original title of the letter as it issued from the hands of the Ignatian writer, and was not an addition of some later scribe. It appears in all the authorities, though with additions and minor variations of spelling. Moreover the designation 'Maria Cassobolita,' which appears in some copies in the title to Ignatius' reply (though no part of the original heading), can only be explained on this hypothesis; for there is nothing in the body of the letters to suggest that she belonged to Cassobela or Cassobola.

Inasmuch as no place *Cassobela* or *Cassobola* is mentioned elsewhere, critics have busied themselves in emending the name. The correction of Casaubon *Κασταβάλων* is the most obvious, and has been received with

κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν, ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Ἰησοῦ ἡγαπημένῳ,
χαίρειν καὶ ἑρρῶσθαι. πάντοτέ σοι εὐχόμεθα τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ
χαράν τε καὶ ὑγίαν.

I. Ἐπειδὴ, θαυμάσιε, καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγνω-
ρίσθη υἱὸς εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς 5

1 Ἰησοῦ] GgL; *filio suo* A.

2 ἐν αὐτῷ] GL; *ἐαντῶν* g. It is a question whether the reading of A should not be adopted, which omits all the words σοι εὐχόμεθα...ὑγίαν. The salutation would then end χαίρειν καὶ ἑρρῶσθαι πάντοτε.

4 θαυμάσιε] GgA; *miraculis* (θαύμασι) L (unless indeed we should correct *miraculis* into *mirabilis*).

5 καὶ ἐν ὑστέροις] GLA; ἐν ὑστέροις δὲ g.

6 ἐκ]

gLA; καὶ G.

7 προρρηθείσας φωνὰς] here, GL; *προρρηθείσας φωνὰς* after

general favour. Castabala, a town of some note (see Strabo xii. pp. 535, 537), was not very far from Anazarbus. They are mentioned together by Pliny *N. H.* v. 22, quoted below on § 1 τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῷ; and in Hierocl. *Synecd.* p. 706 (Wesseling) Castabala is named among the towns in Cilicia Secunda, of which Anazarbus is the metropolis; comp. *Notit. Episc.* p. 84 (ed. Parthey), Ptol. v. 8. 7. Theophilus, a bishop of Castabala, has a place in history about the time when these Ignatian Epistles were probably written (Socr. *H. E.* iii. 25, Soz. *H. E.* iv. 24); and at an earlier date one Moses, bishop of this see, appears at the Council of Nicæa (Cowper *Syrian Miscellanies* pp. 10, 27, 32). Thus the conjecture has much to recommend it. Nevertheless the coincidence of all our divers authorities here, which exhibit no variation in the consonants (for the Armenian, being derived through the Syriac, represents κ[c]BΛ[ω]N), is fatal to it; and the same may be said of its occurrence in § 1, notwithstanding the corruption in GL. The only question therefore remaining is the alternative between *Κασσοβόλων* and *Κασσοβήλων*. The weight of authority (g in both places; L here; C in the heading of *Ign. Mar.*; A in both places, for the long vowel η

would probably have been represented in the Syriac and consequently preserved in the Armenian; all these against G here and GL in § 1) is decidedly in favour of *Κασσοβόλων*, whereas the analogy of *Arbela*, *Gaugamela*, etc., might suggest *Κασσοβήλων*. Voss would read *Καταβόλων*, supposing it to be the place mentioned in the Itineraries; *Catavolo Antonin.*, *Peuting.*, *Catavolo Hierosol.* (where the MS has *Catavolomis*, but the -mis is evidently a repetition of the following mil., as Wesseling saw, and Parthey corrects the text accordingly). It appears to be a very general opinion (e.g. Leake *Asia Minor* p. 218, Ritter *Erdkunde* VIII. ii. 3, p. 1835 sq) that the place mentioned in the Itineraries is the same as Castabala. This seems very questionable. The forms in all the Itineraries represent the Greek *καταβόλῃ*, and *κατάβολος* means a place for discharging (*καταβάλλειν*) merchandise (Schol. on Thuc. i. 30; comp. *Etym. Magn.* p. 336 s. v. *ἐμπορος*). Thus it corresponds to the English 'Wharf' or the Italian 'Scaricatojo,' both which are used as proper names. It would seem therefore to have been some small station on the route, perhaps not a town at all. On the other hand the Cilician city is almost universally written

ἐννηθρωπηκέσαι διὰ παρθένου Μαρίας, ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ, κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προρρηθείσας φωνὰς παρὰ τοῦ τῶν προφητῶν χοροῦ· τούτου ἔνεκεν ἀξιοῦμεν ἀποσταλῆναι ἡμῖν παρὰ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως Μάριν τὸν
 10 ἑταῖρον ἡμῶν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἡμεδαπῆς Νέας πόλεως τῆς

χοροῦ g. 8 ἀξιοῦμεν] g; rogo A; παρακαλοῦμεν ἀξιοῦντες GL. 9 Μάριν] Gg; *marim* L; *marinum* A. 10 ἑταῖρον] GL; *dilectum* A; ἑτερον g. ἡμῶν] *nostrum* L; ὑμῶν Ggs; om. A (unless it is represented by *tuo* in *tuo* (*tui*) *digito factum episcopum*). ἡμεδαπῆς] g; ἡμελάπης (a proper name) GL; al. A. The correct reading was conjectured by Voss.

Καστάβαλα, and appears to have lain more inland; Plin. *N. H.* v. 22, Strabo xii. p. 537. In Q. Curtius however (iii. 17. 5) the MSS have 'ad oppidum Castabulum' (or 'Castabolum'). Our Cassobola or Cassobela appears to have been different from either. In the absence of all evidence we may conjecture that it was a small town or hamlet in the immediate neighbourhood of Anazarbus, as the notice in § 1 suggests. The writer of these epistles himself probably resided in Syria or Cilicia, and was generally acquainted with the topography of those parts.

I. προσήλυτος] 'a convert'; Justin *Dial.* 22 (p. 241 A) τοῖς βουλομένοις προσηλύτοις γενέσθαι κηρύξω ἐγὼ θεῖον λόγον κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 122 (p. 351 B) οὐχὶ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἀκουσόμεθα καὶ τοὺς προσηλύτους αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τοὺς προσηλύτους αὐτοῦ. So too προσήλυσις, *ib.* 28 (p. 245 C). If the Mary of S. Paul's epistle be intended here, she must have been converted some half century before the assumed date of this Ignatian letter. The expression therefore can mean nothing more than that she was not born a Christian. See Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 153 sq.

9. Μάριν] This is a Syriac name, 'mr, 'my lord'; comp. Philo in *Flacc.* 6 (1. p. 522) ἐξήχει βοή τις ἀτοπος Μάριν ἀποκαλούντων· οὕτως δὲ φασιν

τὸν Κύριον ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ Σύροις. Embellished with a classical termination, it became *Marīnos* (comp. Ammias, Ammianus, Tatias, Tatianus, etc). Hence in some texts our Maris is called Marinus, both here and in *Hero* 9. The name is common in these parts. One Marinus of Anazarbus was martyred under Diocletian. His day is given as Aug. 4 (Bolland, *Act. Sanct.* Augustus II. p. 346 sq). This may be the same Marinus who is commemorated on Aug. 12 in the old Carthaginian Calendar, and on Aug. 22 and 24 in the Hieronymian and ancient Syriac Martyrologies respectively. At the Council of Nicæa the bishops of Sebastene in Palestine and of Palmyra in Phœnicia both bear the name Marinus; and Maris of Chalcædon, who was also present, held a prominent place in the Arian controversy. Eusebius also dedicated one of his works to a person of this name, *Quæstiones ad Marimum*. For the name in Greek Christian inscriptions see Boeckh *C. I.* 9238, 9837. We meet with more than one Marinus of Neapolis in history (Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* VIII. p. 464; comp. Jacobs *Anthol. Graec.* III. 2. p. 196 sq), but our Neapolis is not meant.

10. ἐπίσκοπον κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'to be bishop of our Newtown,' and so again

πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῷ καὶ Εὐλόγιον Κασσοβόλων πρεσβύτερον,

ι Ζαρβῷ] GL; *terbium (derbium)* A; ἀναζάρβω. Κασσοβόλων] g; *caspalonis (gasbalonis)* A (from a nom. *caspalon* or *gasbalon*); καὶ σόβηλον (a proper name) GL.

Κασσοβόλων πρεσβύτερον 'to be presbyter of Cassobola.' Ignatius in reply is represented as granting the request, *ad Mar.* 3. Accordingly in a letter purporting to be written later, *Hero* 9, he speaks of Μάριν τὸν ἐν Νεαπόλει τῇ πρὸς Ζαρβῷ ἐπίσκοπον. See Zahn *I. v. A.* p. 157.

Νέας πόλεως] 'Newtown.' Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 155) objects to treating this as a proper name, on the ground that no city Neapolis in this neighbourhood is mentioned by any geographer. But whatever the difficulty may be, we have no choice open to us. He very fairly argues that the heading of Ignatius' letter in reply to Mary, as given in G, εἰς Νεάπολιν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῷ has no authority. But the expression in *Hero* 9 ἐν Νεαπόλει τῇ πρὸς Ζαρβῷ [v. l. Ἀναζάρβω] is decisive; for, if νέα were intended for a mere epithet, we should require the definite article ἐν τῇ νέᾳ πόλει, and indeed Zahn himself prints it there with a capital letter, ἐν Νεαπόλει. On the other hand the passage before us is inconclusive in itself; for in this and similar proper names the first word is frequently declined (e.g. Ἱερὰς πόλεως, Μεγάλης πόλεως). Zahn indeed says that this practice is only found in 'much older writers'; but the signatures to the decrees of the Councils show that it was common in the 4th and 5th century; e.g. Νέας πόλεως at Constantinople (Copper *Syr. Miscell.* p. 36), Παλαιῆς πόλεως at Chalcedon (Labbe *Conc.* IV. 1492, ed. Colet.).

τῆς πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῷ] 'on the river Zarbus,' as it is rendered by the Armenian translator in *Hero* 9, and as the masculine article suggests. The

reading is clearly Ζαρβῷ both here and in *Hero* 9, since in both places g stands alone against all the other authorities in substituting Ἀναζάρβω. This substitution would naturally occur to a scribe who was familiar with the name of the city but unacquainted with the name of the stream. Properly speaking the city was Ἀνάζαρβος or (more correctly) Ἀναζαρβά, while the name of the stream or springs about which it lay was Ζαρβός or Ζαρβά. The Arabic name of the place is *Ain-Zarba* (Ritter *Erdkunde von Asien* IX. 2. p. 58 sq), and in Syriac it is frequently written ܕܪܒܝܐ 'the springs of Darbi' (Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* II. Diss. de Monoph. s. v. *Anazarba*); though elsewhere, especially in translations from the Greek (see Wright's *Catalogue of Syriac MSS in the British Museum* pp. 559, 560, 829), it is ܕܪܒܝܐ or ܕܪܒܐ, *Anazarba* or *Anzarba*. The Arabic and Syriac forms seem to point to the derivation of the name, which was doubtless in any case of Oriental origin, and explain the expression πρὸς τῷ Ζαρβῷ here. The name *Zarbis* appears also as the designation of a tributary of the Tigris (Plin. *N. H.* vi. 30) now called *Zarb* or *Zab* (Ritter *Erdkunde* VI. 2. p. 521). The main river of the locality with which we are concerned was the Pyramus, but this Ζαρβός seems to have been some minor stream. No credit is due to the myths which make Zarbus or Anazarbus a man's name, the founder or the restorer of the city; e.g. Amm. Marcell. xiv. 8. 3 'Anazarbus auctoris vocabulum referens,' Joann. Malal.

Chron. p. 267 (ed. Bonn.) ἔπειμνέ τινα ἐκεῖ ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς [Νερβάς] συγκλητικὸν Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματι Ζάρβον εἰς τὸ κτίσαι αὐτήν. This last form of the story condemns itself, for the city bore the name Anazarbus long before Nerva's time; *Plin. N. H.* v. 22 'Anazarbeni qui nunc Caesarea, Augusta, Castabala,' etc. *Steph. Byz.*, s. v. Ἀναζαρβά, writes κέκληται ἀπὸ τοῦ προκειμένου ὄρους ἢ ἀπὸ Ἀναζάρβα [v. l. Ἀναζάρβου] τοῦ κτίσαντος. His statement respecting the mountain is illustrated by coins of Anazarbus belonging to the age of the Antonines, which bear the inscription ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ . ΤΩΝ . ΠΡΟΣ . ΤΩ . ΑΝΑΖΑΡΒΩ (*Mionnet* III. p. 551, *Suppl.* VII. p. 172 sq.; comp. *Ptolem.* v. 8 Καيسάρεια πρὸς Ἀναζάρβω); while one, apparently belonging to the reign of Trajan, is inscribed ΚΑΙΣΑΡ . ΥΠ . ΑΝΑΖΑΡΒ. (*Mionnet Suppl.* VII. p. 171; comp. *Eckhel Doct. Num.* III. p. 42). The expressions 'Cæsarea at' or 'under Anazarbus' would indeed be satisfied if we were to suppose that the new city of Cæsarea had been built on a lower site near the old Anazarbus. But the masculine article points to a mountain, since the name of the city is feminine, ἡ Ἀνάζαρβος (*Anthol.* III. p. 278 Ἀναζαρβού...κυδαλίμης, *Evagr. H. E.* iv. 8, *Philostorg. H. E.* iii. 15, etc). The word is differently accented, Ἀνάζαρβος or Ἀναζαρβός.

Anazarbus bore various names at different epochs. It was thrown down again and again by earthquakes (*Joann. Malal. Chron.* pp. 267, 418, *Evagr. l. c.*, *Zonaras* xiv. 5); and when rebuilt, it sometimes received a new designation. Thus after the second of these calamities under Julius Cæsar it took the name Cæsarea, by which it was known for some centuries. Malalas confuses it with another Cilician town, when

he calls it Diocæsarea, which name it never bore; and Zahn again (*I. v. A.* p. 156) is wrong in calling it 'Caesarea Augusta', for it is not so designated on the coins or elsewhere, while Augusta is mentioned as a distinct place from Anazarbus in the lists of signatures at Chalcedon (*Lab. Conc.* IV. 1480, 1485, ed. Colet.; comp. *Lequien Or. Christ.* II. p. 879, 887) and elsewhere; so that Sillig and other editors of Pliny correctly punctuate between 'Caesarea' and 'Augusta' in the passage cited above. The third earthquake happened under Nerva (*Joann. Malal. l. c.*), and it is perhaps to this incident that the expression Νεῦς πόλεως is intended to refer (*Zahn I. v. A.* p. 156); though there is no evidence that it ever took the name Neapolis. In later Greek writers it is sometimes written Ἀνάβαρξος or Ἀνάβαρξα (e. g. *Nicet. Chon.* p. 33, ed. Bonn.; *Notit. Episc.* p. 84, ed. Parthey), whence the name *Naversa* by which it was known in the crusading times.

Anazarbus was one of the principal cities of Cilicia. Its favourite epithet on the coins is ἑνδοξος (*Mionnet* III. p. 552 sq., *Suppl.* VII. p. 175 sq). *Procopius Hist. Arc.* 18 (p. 111, ed. Bonn.) speaks of it as τὴν ἐν Κίλικίᾳ ἐπιφανεστάτην Ἀνάζαρβον. Under Caracalla it became a 'metropolis' (*Mionnet* III. p. 552, *Suppl.* VII. p. 173 sq; comp. *Hierocl. Synecd.* p. 705, with Wesseling's note). It continued to strike coins as late as Gallienus. It produced at least two men of some literary repute, Dioscorides the medical writer and Asclepiades (or Asclepius) the historian, who among other works wrote an account of the antiquities of his native place (πάτρια Ἀναζάρβου, *Anthol.* III. p. 278; comp. *Müller Fragm. Hist. Graec.* III. p. 306). It had games which were visited by athletes from

ὅπως μὴ ὦμεν ἔρημοι τῶν προστατῶν τοῦ θείου λόγου· καθά-
που καὶ Μωσῆς λέγει, ἐπισκεψάσθω Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἄνθρω-
πον ὃς ὀδηγήσει τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἡ συνά-
γωγὴ Κυρίου ὡσεὶ πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν.

II. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ νέους εἶναι τοὺς προγεγραμμένους 5
δείσης μηδέν, ὦ μακάριε. γινώσκειν γάρ σε θέλω ὡς ὑπερ-

4 ἔστιν] ἐστὶ G; ἔστι g. 5 τοῦ] gs; τοὺς G. The sentence is translated
pro eo autem quod juvenes sunt in L, and et quoniam pueri sunt in A. 6 δει-
σης] G (but corr. δέσεις by a later hand); δέσεις gs; formides L. ὑπερφρο-
νοῦσιν] G; ὑπερφρονοῦσι g. 8 ἐαυτοῖς] gs; αὐτοῖς G. πολίαν] G A (?);
πολιᾷ gL. 9 ἀνάσκαλον] g₁ begins after the first letter of this word,

distant parts; see Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus* Inscr. vi. 14, p. 62 (with the note). For its later history and for its geographical situation see Ritter *Erkunde* ix. 2. p. 56 sq. The earliest bishop of Anazarbus, of whom any record is preserved, was Athanasius, whom Arius claimed as his supporter (Theodt. *H. E.* i. 4). Anazarbus was made the head of a separate province in the 5th century by Theodosius II (Ioann. Malal. *Chron.* p. 365, ed. Bonn.); and its prelates appear as metropolitans at Ephesus and Chalcedon. In 435 a synod met at Anazarbus to discuss matters relating to the Nestorian controversy (Labbe. *Conc.* iv. 523).

Εὐλόγιον] The name is not uncommon in the conciliar lists. One Eulogius, bishop of Edessa, was present at Constantinople in A.D. 381 (Cowper's *Syr. Miscell.* p. 36); and at Ephesus and Chalcedon the name appears several times.

Κασσοβόλων] Zahn retains καὶ Σόβηλον, but for many reasons this seems to me untenable. (1) The coincidence of gA is strong evidence against it. (2) No proper name Σόβηλος, so far as I have observed, is found elsewhere. (3) On the other hand Κασσοβήλων coincides with the

title of the letter in G, and this coincidence would be very strange if it were purely accidental. (4) If we read καὶ Σόβηλον, the context gives no account of this Sobelus, though the persons on either side of him, Maris and Eulogius, are both described. Zahn evidently feels this difficulty, for he writes 'vix me continui, quin proprio Marte scribe-rem πρεσβυτέρους pro πρεσβύτερον.' (5) Ignatius in his reply to Mary (§ 3) speaks of 'the two men' (τοῖν ἀνδρῶν) whose praises she had sounded, whereas this reading would make them three. Indeed Zahn seems to have been taken captive by an apparently apposite notice in *Rel. Jur. Eccl. Ant.* p. 77 (Lagarde) ἐὰν διγ-ανδρία ὑπάρχη καὶ μήπου [i. μήπω] πλήθος τυγχάνη τῶν δυναμένων ψηφί-σασθαι περὶ ἐπισκόπου ἐντὸς δεκαδύο ἀνδρῶν, εἰς τὰς πλησίον ἐκκλησίας, ὅπου τυγχάνει πεπηγυῖα, γραφέτωσαν, ὅπως ἐκείθεν ἐκλεκτοὶ τρεῖς ἄνδρες παρα-γενόμενοι δοκιμῇ δοκιμάσωσι τὸν ἄξιον ὄντα κ.τ.λ. (see *I. v. A.* p. 157, note 3). The three persons however who are mentioned in this ordinance are not intended themselves to be the clergy of the newly founded church, but only to choose the bishop (as Zahn himself sees), and it is afterwards ordered

φρονούσιν σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν ταύτης παθῶν ἀλογοῦσιν, αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς προσφάτω νεότητι ἱερωσύνης ἀστράπτουντες πολιάν. ἀνάσκαλον δὲ τῷ λογισμῷ σου διὰ τοῦ δοθέντος σοι
 10 παρὰ Θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ γνώσῃ ὡς Σαμουὴλ μικρὸν παιδάριον ὃ βλέπων ἐκλήθη, καὶ τῷ χορῷ

-νάσκαλον. τῷ λογισμῷ] g; τῶν λογισμῶν G; *cogitationem* L. In A the words are translated *considera (in mentem capere) cogitatione spiritus sancti qui datus est tibi*, etc., which seems to have read τῷ λογισμῷ, and omitted σου διὰ.

10 Θεοῦ] g; τοῦ θεοῦ G.

11 μικρὸν παιδάριον] GgL; παιδάριον ὦν [Anton. 96]; *dum puer erat* A.

that the bishop shall appoint not two but three presbyters. Thus the notice is not appropriate to the case before us. For the reason why the form *Κασσοβόλων* is preferred to *Κασσοβήλων* see above, p. 136.

2. ἐπισκεψάσθω κ.τ.λ.] A quotation from Num. xxvii. 16, 17, abridged and altered. A part of the same passage appears (though not as a direct quotation) in *Hero* 8.

5. Ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ] Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 158 sq.) suggests that some personal motives must have led our Ignatian writer to urge the claims of youth so strongly here and in the parallel passage, *Magn.* 3 (comp. *Hero* 3).

7. αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'though youthful in years and called so recently to the priesthood (προσφάτω νεότητι ἱερωσύνης), yet by their intrinsic character (αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς) they glisten, as it were, with the silver hairs of venerable age (ἀστράπτουντες πολιάν)'; comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 1 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐν παροικίᾳ μικρῷ ὑπαρχούσῃ που προβεβηκὼς τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ εὗρισκται... νεὸς δὲ ἦ ἐκεῖ, μεμαρτυρημένος ὑπὸ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ὡς ἀξίος ἐπισκοπῆς, διὰ τῆς νεότητος ἐν πραύτητι καὶ εὐταξίᾳ γῆρας ἐπιδεικνύμενος, δοκιμασθεὶς εἰ ὑπὸ τῶν πάντων οὕτως μαρτυρεῖται, καθιστάσθω ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Accordingly Ignatius, granting the request, replies, *ad Mar.* 3 ἀσμένως ἐπλήρωσα, ἐν

οὐδενὶ ἀμφιβάλλον ὦν αὐτῇ καλῶς ἔχειν δεδοκίμακας· ἔγνω γάρ σε κρίσει Θεοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῖν ἀνδροῖν πεποιήσθαι.

8. πολιάν] For the figure comp. Basil. *Comm. in Esai.* 104 (*Op.* i. p. 451) πολιὰ δέ ἐστι φρόνησις ἐν ἀνθρώποις... διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Δανιὴλ, παιδάριον ὄντα καὶ νεώτερον κατὰ τὴν αἰσθητὴν ἡλικίαν, τὴν δὲ νοητὴν πολιὰν ἐπὶ τῆς φρονήσεως ἔχοντα κ.τ.λ. For the accus. with this and similar verbs see Kühner II. p. 265 sq.

9. ἀνάσκαλον κ.τ.λ.] Euseb. Nicom. in Theodt. *H. E.* i. 5 ἀνασκαλεύσαντι τῷ πνεύματι τὸν λογισμόν, which passage favours the accusative τὸν λογισμόν here. The metaphor of ἀνασκάλλειν, ἀνασκαλεύειν, is from raking embers into a flame; e.g. Dion. Areop. *Eccl. Hier.* vii. 11 (p. 272) τοὺς ἐναποκειμένους ἐν σοὶ τοῦ θείου πυρὸς ἀνασκαλεύσω σπινθήρας.

11. Σαμουὴλ κ.τ.λ.] These same instances are produced by the pseudo-Ignatius himself in the parallel passage, *Magn.* 3; comp. also *Apost. Const.* ii. 1.

ὃ βλέπων] He is so called, 1 Sam. ix. 9, 11, 18, 1 Chron. xxix. 29, but not while he was still μικρὸν παιδάριον. The vision of his childhood however (1 Sam. iii. 4 sq.) might have justified the appellation even then.

τῶν προφητῶν ἐγκαταλεχθεὶς τὸν πρεσβύτην Ἡλεὶ παρανομίας ἐξελέγχει, ὅτι παραπλήγας υἱεὶς Θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου προτετιμῆκει, καὶ παίζοντας εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ εἰς τὸν λαὸν ἀσελγαίνοντας εἶασεν ἀτιμωρήτους.

III. Δανιὴλ δὲ ὁ σοφὸς νέος ὦν ἔκρινεν ὠμογέροντάς 5
τινας, δείξας ἐξώλεις αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι, καὶ
τῷ γένει Ἰουδαίους ὄντας τῷ τρόπῳ Χαναναίους ὑπάρχειν.
καὶ Ἰερεμίας, διὰ τὸ νέον παραιτούμενος τὴν ἐγχειριζομένην
αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ προφητείαν, ἀκούει· μὴ λέγε ὅτι Νεώ-
τερος εἰμί· διότι πρὸς πάντας οὔτ' ἐὰν ἐξαποστείλω σε 10
πορεύῃ, καὶ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν ἐντείλωμαί σοι λαλή-
σεις· ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἐγὼ εἰμι. Σολομὼν δὲ ὁ σοφός, δυο-
καίδεκα τυγχάνων ἐτῶν, συνῆκε τὸ μέγα τῆς ἀγνωσίας τῶν
γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σφετέροις τέκνοις ζήτημα, ὥς πάντα τὸν

1 ἐγκαταλεχθεὶς] g; ἐγκατελεχθεὶς Gs; ἐγκατελέχθη [Anton.]. Ἡλεὶ] G;
ἡλεὶ g₁; ἡλὶ g₄; *heli* LA. 2 ἐξελέγχει] Gg₁s; ἐλέγχει g₄; *redarguit* L.
4 εἶασεν] GLA (translating loosely, *non castigavit*); οὐκ εἶασεν g. With the latter
reading the nom. would be Σαμονήλ, but it is evidently wrong. 5 ὁ σοφός]
Gg₁LA Anton.; ὁ σοφώτατος g₄. ὠμογέροντάς] GgL; ὁμογέροντάς Anton.;
calumniantes senes A. 6 ἐξώλεις] Gg₄s Anton.; ἐξωλλίας g₁; *adulteros*
L; *impudentes et libidinosos mente* A. 8 τὸ] Gg₁ Anton.; τὸν g₄.

5. νέος ὦν] Susann. 45 παιδαρίου
νεωτέρου ᾧ ὄνομα Δανιήλ.

ὠμογέροντας] 'crudi senes', not
'crudeles senes', as it is rendered in
the Latin Version. It denotes the
'cruda viridisque senectus' of Virgil,
and is used with diverse modifica-
tions of sense; (1) 'in a green old
age', e.g. Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 791 ὠμογέ-
ροντα δέ μιν φασ' ἔμμεναι; (2) 'in the
first years of old age', Galen *Op.* vi.
p. 379 (Kühn) τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ [τοῦ
γῆρως] μέρος, ὃ τῶν ὠμογερόντων ὀνο-
μάζουσι, Dionys. Alex. in Euseb. *H.*
E. vii. 21 ὅσους ὠμογέροντας οὐς ἐκά-
λει πρότερον ὄντας ἔτρεφεν, Megasth.
Fragm. 23 (*Hist. Graec.* II. p. 419)
τεσσαροντούτεες ἀπονήσκουσιν οἱ πρεσ-
βύτατοι αὐτῶν... ὥστε τριακοντούτεες μὲν
ὠμογέροντες ἄν που εἶεν αὐτοῖσιν οἱ

ἄνδρες κ.τ.λ.; (3) 'prematurely aged',
Paul. Silent. in *Anthol.* III. p. 74
βόστρυχον ὠμογέροντα τί μέμφει;
comp. ὠμὸν γῆρας in Hom. *Od.* xv.
357. In the passage before us the
crudity is moral, not physical; the
passions of youth had not been mel-
lowed by the courses of the suns.

6. ἐξώλεις] 'abandoned', 'accurs-
ed', 'profligate', like 'perditos', an
idea of moral turpitude clinging to
the word; as e.g. Clem. Alex. *Paed.*
ii. 10 (p. 235) ταῖς ἐξώλεσιν ἡδυπα-
θείαις.

7. τῷ γένει κ.τ.λ.] From Susann.
56 εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Σπέρμα Χαναὰν καὶ οὐκ
Ἰούδα.

9. Μὴ λέγε κ.τ.λ.] From Jer. i.
7, 8, abridged.

12. δυοκαίδεκα κ.τ.λ.] So too *Magn.*

15 λαὸν ἐκστῆναι ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ τοῦ παιδὸς σοφίᾳ, καὶ φοβη-
θῆναι, οὐχ ὡς μειράκιον, ἀλλ' ὡς τέλειον ἄνδρα. τὰ δὲ
αἰνίγματα τῆς Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλίδος, φορὰν ἔχοντα ὥσπερ τὰ
τοῦ Νείλου ῥεύματα, οὕτως ἐπελύσατο ὡς ἔξω ἑαυτῆς γε-
νέσθαι τὴν οὕτως σοφίην.

20 IV. Ἰωσίας δὲ ὁ θεοφιλὴς, ἀναρθρα σχεδὸν ἔτι φθεγ-
γόμενος, ἐλέγχει τοὺς τῷ πονηρῷ πνεύματι κατόχους, ὡς
ψευδολόγοι καὶ λαοπλάνοι τυγχάνουσιν· δαιμόνων τε ἐκκα-
λύπτει τὴν ἀπάτην, καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ὄντας θεοὺς παραδειγματίζει,
καὶ τοὺς ἱερωμένους αὐτοῖς νηποινὶ κατασφάζει, βωμούς τε
25 αὐτῶν ἀνατρέπει, καὶ θυσιαστήρια νεκροῖς λευψάνοις μαιίνει,
τεμένη τε καθαιρεῖ καὶ τὰ ἄλση ἐκκόπτει καὶ τὰς στήλας
συντρίβει καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀσεβῶν τάφους ἀνορύττει, ἵνα μηδὲ
σημεῖον ἔτι τῶν πονηρῶν ὑπάρχῃ· οὕτω τις ζηλωτὴς ἦν τῆς

9 πρὸς τοῦ] Gg; παρὰ Anton.

ᾧτι] g (with Jer. i. 7); quoniam L; om.

G Anton.

10 διότι] δι' ὅτι g₁.

ἐάν] Gg₁s; ἂν g₄.

ἐξαπο-

στελλω] Jer. i. 7; ἐξαποστέλλω g₁; mitto A; ἐξαποστελῶ Gg₄s Anton.; mittam L.

11 ἐντελλωμαι] Gg₄s (with Jer. i. 7); ἐντελλομαι g₁; mando L.

λαλήσεις] g₁

(with Jer. i. 7); λαλήσης Gg₄s.

18 ἔξω] GL[A]; ἐξ g.

19 οὕτως] Gg₁;

οὕτω g₄.

21 πνεύματι] GLA; ῥεύματι g.

22 τυγχάνουσιν] G;

τυγχάνουσι g.

24 νηποινί] g; pessime A; νήπιος ὦν GL.

28 ἔτι] GL;

ἡ τί g; super (ἐπὶ) A.

ὑπάρχῃ] Gg₄s; ὑπάρχει g₁.

tis] Gg₁L[A]; τι g₄.

3, *Apost. Const.* ii. 1. The Biblical narrative does not mention his age, but simply calls him 'young and tender' (1 Chron. xxix. 1), while of himself he says, 1 Kings iii. 7, ἐγὼ παιδάριον μικρόν. In 1 Kings ii. 11 however [υἱὸς] ἐτῶν δώδεκα is added in several MSS (including A) and some versions, and the tradition was evidently early, for it appears in Eupolemus as quoted by Alexander Polyhistor in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 30. 8. See Cotelier's note on *Apost. Const.* l. c. for Solomon; and for the Jewish view of this age as a critical time in the development of the man see Farrar *Life of Christ* I. pp. 67, 68, Taylor *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* p. 112.

15. φοβηθῆναι] 1 Kings iii. 28 καὶ ἤκουσαν πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ τὸ κρίμα τοῦτο ὃ ἔκρινεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ βασιλέως.

20. ἀναρθρα κ.τ.λ.] He was eight years old when he began to reign, 2 Kings xxii. 1, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 1; but the beginning of his reform is placed twelve years later (2 Chron. xxxiv. 3). In *Magn.* 3 the language suggests that he began to extirpate the idolatries immediately on his accession, when eight years old; and this is evidently the idea here. Probably the example is carelessly borrowed from *Apost. Const.* ii. 1 Ἰωσίας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὀκτὼ ἐτῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, where however there is no incorrect statement.

εὐσεβείας καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τιμωρός, ἔτι ψελλίζων τῇ γλώττῃ. Δαυεὶδ δὲ ὁ προφήτης ὁμοῦ καὶ βασιλεὺς, ἡ τοῦ σωτηρίου κατὰ σάρκα ρίζα, μεираκίον χρίεται ὑπὸ Σαμουὴλ εἰς βασιλέα· φησὶν γάρ που αὐτὸς ὅτι μικρὸς ἤμην ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου καὶ νεώτερος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου. 5

V. Καὶ ἐπιλείψει με ὁ χρόνος, εἰ πάντας ἀνιχνεύει βουλοίμην τοὺς [ἐν] νεότητι εὐαρεστήσαντας Θεῷ, προφητείαν τε καὶ ἱερωσύνην καὶ βασιλείαν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐγχειρισθέντας· ὑπομνήσεως δὲ ἕνεκα αὐτάρκη καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα. ἀλλὰ σε ἀντιβολῶ, μή σοί τις περιττὸς εἶναι δόξῃ καὶ φανητιῶσα· 10 οὐ γὰρ διδάσκουσά σε ἀλλ' ὑπομιμνήσκουσα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐν Θεῷ πατέρα τούτους παρεθέμην τοὺς λόγους· γινώσκω γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτῆς μέτρα καὶ οὐ συμπαραεκτείνω ἑαυτὴν τοῖς τηλικούτοις ὑμῖν. ἀσπάζομαί σου τὸν ἅγιον κλῆρον καὶ τὸν φιλόχριστόν σου λαὸν τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν κηδεμονίαν ποιμαίνόμε- 15

1 γλώττῃ] g; γλώσση G.

prob. it is contracted δᾶδ).

2 Δαυεὶδ] δαυιδ g₄; δᾶδ g₁; δαβιδ Gs (but

7 ἐν] gL; om. GA (but A, as coming through the ambiguous Syriac, is valueless here).

8 ἱερωσύνην καὶ βασιλείαν]

GLA; βασιλείαν (βασιλείαν g₁) καὶ ἱερωσύνην g.

9 ἕνεκα] Gg₁; ἕνεκεν g₄.

αὐτάρκῃ] Gg₄; αὐταρκεί g₁; *sufficiunt* L; *sufficiens sit* A.

10 περιττός]

G; περιττή g.

11 ὑπομιμνήσκουσα] Gg₁; ὑπομνήσκουσα g₄.

13 ἑαυ-

τῇ] G; ἑμαυτὴν g₄.

14 ὑμῖν] Gsg₁sL; *ad te* A; ἡμῖν g₄.

καὶ τὸν

φιλόχριστόν σου λαόν] g; om. GLA.

No subscription in GgLA.

4. Μικρὸς ἤμην κ.τ.λ.] From the apocryphal Psalm cli. 1 of the LXX, which does not appear in the Hebrew.

6. ἐπιλείψει με κ.τ.λ.] The expression is taken from Heb. xi. 32.

10. φανητιῶσα] '*desirous of making a display*', '*ostentatious*', as e.g. Jul. African. in Euseb. *H. E.* i. 7 εἴτ' οὖν φανητιῶντες εἴθ' ἀπλῶς διδάσκοντες, Basil. *de Spir. Sanct.* 30 (III. p. 66), with other passages given by Cotelier. For desideratives in -άω, -ιάω, see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 80. Comp. ἐπιδεικτιῶντα in *Philipp.* 10.

21. χριστοφόρῳ] For the meaning

of this epithet see the note on *Ephes.* 9. It is applied to Timothy in *Ps-Magn.* 3, as well as to certain deacons, *Ps-Smyrn.* 12, and to Ignatius himself, *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 5. This epithet 'Christ-bearing', applied to one whose name was Mary, led to misunderstanding. The word *filiae* is omitted in some Latin copies, doubtless because it was thought inappropriate as addressed to the Lord's mother. It seems probable too that the spurious Latin correspondence between Ignatius and the Virgin Mary was suggested by this letter addressed χριστοφόρῳ Μαρία.

νον. πάντες οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν πιστοὶ προσαγορεύουσίν σε. ὑγιαίνειν με κατὰ Θεὸν προσεύχου, μακάριε ποιμήν.

2.

ΠΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΝ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἡλεημένη χάριτι Θεοῦ πατρὸς ὑψίστου καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντος, πιστοτάτῃ, ἀξιοθέῳ, χριστοφόρῳ θυγατρὶ Μαρίας, πλείστα ἐν Θεῷ χαίρειν.

I. Κρεῖττον μὲν γράμματος ὄψις, ὅσῳ περ μέρος οὖσα τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν αἰσθήσεων οὐ μόνον οἷς μεταδιδοῖ τὰ φιλικὰ τιμᾷ τὸν λαμβάνοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς ἀντιδέχεται τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς κρεῖττοσι πόθον πλουτεῖ· πλὴν δεύτερος, φασίν, λιμὴν καὶ

ΠΡΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΑΝ] πρὸς μαρίαν εἰς νεάπολιν τὴν πρὸς τῷ ζάρβω Ἰγνάτιος (numbered η in the marg.) G; τοῦ ἀγίου (add. ἱερομάρτυρος g₁g₃) Ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεουπόλεως (θεοπόλεως g₃) ἀντιοχείας (add. ἐπιστολῇ g₁g₃) πρὸς μαρίαν g (marked α in the marg. of g₁g₄); *ignatius mariae proselytae* L*; *responsio epistolae mariae beato ignatio scriptae* (or *a beato ignatio scripta*) A.

19 ἡλεημένη] ἐλεημένη (-νῃ) g₁g₃. χάριτι] GLA; ὑπὸ g. The reading χάριτι is recognised also by l, which for τῇ ἡλεημένη χάριτι has *misericordiam concessit et gratiam*. 23 μὲν] Gg₁g₄Ll; γὰρ g₃; om. A. ὅσῳ περ] Gg₁g₄L A; ἥπερ g₃; *velut* l. μέρος] Ggl; *pars melior* L* (repeating κρεῖττον); *propinqua* (ὅμορος?) A. 24 μεταδιδοῖ] μεταδίδει G. 26 φασίν] Gg₁; φασὶ g₃; *aiunt* L; φησι g₄; *dicimus* A; al. l.

23. ὅσῳ περ κ.τ.λ.] Zahn's conjecture, ὅσῳ πρῶτον μέρος κ.τ.λ., besides being unnecessary, seems hardly appropriate. The contrast is not between a higher and a lower sense, but between direct apprehension by a sense and indirect apprehension by letter. The *melior* in the Latin comes from an accidental repetition of the κρεῖττον in the previous clause.

24. οὐ μόνον κ.τ.λ.] '*it not only honours the recipient, when (by those acts whereby) it imparts friendly offices, but also itself is enriched,*

when it receives in turn the desire for greater favours'.

26. δεύτερος...λιμὴν] The whole passage has a strong resemblance to Chrysost. *Epist.* 27 (*Op.* III. p. 610) ἐβουλόμην μὲν κατ' ὄψιν συντυχεῖν τῇ εὐλαβείᾳ τῇ σῇ...ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔνι...ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἀναγκαίως ἤλθομεν πλοῦν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμάτων παραψυχὴν ἑαυτοῖς χαρίζομενοι. The common form of the Greek proverb for a *pis aller* is not δεύτερος λιμὴν, as here, but δεύτερος πλοῦς, as in Chrysostom; e.g. Plato *Phileb.* 19 C, *Phaed.* 99 D,

ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων τρόπος· ὃν ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸν ὄρμον δεδέγμεθα παρὰ τῆς σῆς πίστεως πόρρωθεν, ὥσπερ δι' αὐτῶν ἰδόντες τὸ ἐν σοὶ καλόν. αἱ γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧ πάνσοφε γύναι, ψυχαὶ ταῖς καθαρωτέραις ἐοίκασι πηγαῖς· ἐκείναι τε γὰρ τοὺς παριόντας, καὶ μὴ διψῶσιν, αὐτῷ τῷ εἶδει ἐφέλ- 5
κονται αὐτοὺς ἀρύσασθαι τοῦ ποτοῦ· ἢ τε σὴ σύνεσις παρεγγυᾷ, μετασχεῖν ἡμᾶς παρακελευομένη τῶν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου βλυζόντων θείων ναμάτων.

II. Ἐγὼ δέ, ὧ μακαρία, οὐκ ἔμμαντοῦ νῦν τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἄλλων γενόμενος, ταῖς πολλῶν τῶν ἐναντίων γνώμαις 10
ἐλαύνομαι, τὰ μὲν φυγαῖς, τὰ δὲ φρουραῖς, τὰ δὲ δεσμοῖς· ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐπιστρέφομαι· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον μαθητεύομαι, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ὀναίμην τῶν δεινῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων· ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἄξια 15
τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἵσ-
ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι [εἰς ἡμᾶς].

2 δι' αὐτῶν] G; *per ipsas* (i.e. *litteras*) L; δι' ἐαντῶν g; *in eo* l; *e propinquo* A.
3 ἰδόντες] GLA; εἰδότες g. 4 καθαρωτέραις] GL; καθαρωτάταις gl; al. A.
5 αὐτῷ] GL; *sui* l; om. g; al. A. 6 ποτοῦ] so accentuated correctly in g.
The edd. generally (not Zahn or Funk) read *πότου* with g.
8 ναμάτων] g; *effusio* A; *liquoribus* l; *aquis* L; πομάτων G. 9 ἔμμαντοῦ]
ἐμμαντῷ g₁; ἐμμαντὸν G. 10 ὅσον] ὅσων G. πολλῶν] GgL[l]; dub. A.
There is no authority for *πολλαῖς*. 16 εἰς ἡμᾶς] GLl (with Rom. viii. 18); om.
gA. 19 κρίσει] κρίσως G. 20 τοῖν] Gg₄; τῇν (sic) g₃; τοῖς g₁. 21 ἦσαν]

Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ii. 9, *Polit.* iii. 13, and so frequently.

2. δι' αὐτῶν] sc. τῶν γραμμάτων. The reading δι' ἐαντῶν is rendered 'with our own eyes', but it would not be altogether a natural expression with this meaning.

7. παρεγγυᾷ] 'is a pledge, a voucher'.

12. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Rom. 5. So the following words ὀναίμην κ.τ.λ. are adapted from the context of the same passage, ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων, but the substitution of δεινῶν for θηρίων shows that this letter is supposed to

be written by Ignatius before his condemnation; see *Mar. Ign.* inscr.

14. οὐκ ἄξια κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. viii. 18, quoted also *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 9, where the words are put into the mouth of Ignatius.

20. τοῖν ἀνδρῶν] Maris and Eulogius; see *Mar. Ign.* i with the note.

21. ἦσαν] For this verb ἦδω (= ἀνδάνω), which is rare in the active, see Veitch *Greek Verbs* p. 264 sq.

γραφικῶν χωρίων] 'passages of scripture': see *Mar. Ign.* 2, 3, 4. The expression seems to have puzzled the Latin translators, the one rendering it by the unintelligible words 'scrip-

III. Τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς κελευσθέντα ἀσμένως ἐπλήρωσα, ἐν οὐδενὶ ἀμφιβάλλων ὦν αὐτὴ καλῶς ἔχειν δεδοκίμακας. ἔγνω γάρ σε κρίσει Θεοῦ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τοῖν ἀνδρῶν πεποιῆσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ χάριτι σαρκικῇ· πάνυ δέ με ἦσαν καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς σου τῶν γραφικῶν χωρίων μνηῖμαι· ἃς ἀναγνοὺς οὐδὲ μέχρ' ἐννοίας ἐνεδοίασα περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον τίσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκδραμεῖν ὦν εἶχον ἀναντίρρητον ὑπὸ σοῦ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν. ἀντίψυχόν σου γε-
 25 νοίμην ἐγώ, ὅτι φιλεῖς Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος· διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ σοι· ἐγὼ τοὺς ἐμὲ φιλοῦντας ἀγαπῶ· οἱ δὲ ἐμὲ ζητοῦντες εὐρήσουσιν εἰρήνην.

IV. Ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι λέγειν ὅτι ἀληθινὸς ὁ λόγος ὃν ἤκουον περὶ σοῦ, ἔτι οὔσης σοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τῷ μακα-
 30 ρίῳ πάπᾳ Ἀνεγκλήτῳ, ὃν διεδέξατο τὰ νῦν ὁ ἀξιωμακάριστος Κλήμης ὁ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἀκουστής. καὶ νῦν προσέ-

g; gaudio-affecerunt A; ἦσαν G; erant L (*multum enim mihi erant*); fuerunt I. al] Gg₁g₄s; om. g₃; al. A; dub. L. It seems to have been wanting in I, which has *assidua fuerunt spatia*, making συνεχεῖς the predicate. 22 ἐνεδοίασα]

Gg₃; ἐνεδύασα g₁; ἐννεδοίασα g₄. 24 ἀναντίρρητον] Gg₁sg₃LA; ἀντίρρητον g₄; ineffabilem [I]. ἀντίψυχόν] G; ἀντίψυχος g. 29 οὔσης σοῦ] Gg₁g₃L;

οὔσης (om. σοῦ) g₄; causante I (thus omitting *te*, but this might easily occur after the last syllable of *causante*); dum...eras A. 30 Ἀνεγκλήτῳ] g; anenclctum (v. l. *anacletum*) I; enacletum A; cletum L; λήνψ (i. e. λίνψ) G; see the lower note.

τὰ νῦν] Gg₁g₃; ad praesens L; νῦν g₄; dub. A; om. I. 31 ἀκουστής]

Gg₁sg₃; ἀκουτιστής g₄.

tibulum locorum' and the other going altogether wide of the mark.

24. ἀντίψυχον] Borrowed from the genuine Ignatius; see the note on *Ephes.* 21 (p. 87). It occurs frequently in our spurious Ignatian writer.

26. ἐγὼ τοὺς κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. viii. 17, but the original text of the LXX, following the Hebrew, ends with εὐρήσουσιν, though χάριν is added in A.

29. ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ] See the note on *Mar. Ign.* inscr.

30. Ἀνεγκλήτῳ] Ussher would adopt the reading λίνψ (after G), be-

cause the succession of the Roman bishops thus accords with *Apost. Const.* vii. 46 Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν λίνου θάνατον κ.τ.λ. But the preponderance and variety of authorities is decisive in favour of Ἀνεγκλήτῳ, so that our pseudo-Ignatius took the order of the Roman bishops as he found it in Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 21, v. 6), Linus, Anenclctus, Clemens; comp. *Ps-Trall.* 7 Τιμόθεος καὶ λίνος Παῦλος καὶ Ἀνέγκλητος καὶ Κλήμης Πέτρος, where the same sequence seems to be implied, though the order is not necessarily chronological.

31. Κλήμης] The chronology of

θηκας ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἑκατονταπλασίως, καὶ προσθείης γε ἔτι, ὧ αὐτῇ. σφόδρα ἐπεθύμουν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ συναναπαύσασθαι ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ. ἐπέχει γάρ μου τὴν πρόθεσιν, οὐ συγχωροῦσα εἰς πέρας ἐλθεῖν, ἢ στρατιωτικὴ φρουρά· ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐν οἷς εἰμί, δρᾶν τι ἢ παθεῖν οἷός τε ἐγώ. διὸ δεύτερον τῆς ἐν φίλοις παραμυθίας τὸ γράμμα λογιζόμενος κατασπάζομαι τὴν ἱεράν σου ψυχὴν, παρακαλῶν προσθεῖναι τῷ τόνῳ. ὁ γὰρ παρὼν πόνος ὀλίγος, ὁ δὲ προσδοκώμενος μισθὸς πολὺς.

V. Φεύγετε τοὺς ἀρνούμενους τὸ πάθος Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν 10 κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν· πολλοὶ δὲ εἰσιν ἄρτι οἱ ταύτην νοσοῦντες τὴν ἀρρωστίαν. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα σοὶ παραινεῖν εὐηθες, κατηρτισμένη μὲν παντὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ἀγαθῷ δυναμένη δὲ καὶ ἄλλους νουθετεῖν ἐν Χριστῷ. Ἀσπασαι πάντας τοὺς ὁμοίως σοι ἀντεχομένους τῆς ἐαυτῶν σωτηρίας ἐν Χριστῷ. 15

1 ἑκατονταπλασίως] ἑκονταπλασίως g₄. προσθείης] προσθείη G; πρόσθες g; ἀρῶνας L; *adjuvans* 1; *adjuvans* or *adjuvans* A. ἐτι] Gg₁g₃LA(?)1; om. g₄.
2 αὐτῇ] Gg; *dilecta* (ἀγαπητή) L; *tu ipsa* (αὐτή) 1; om. A. καὶ] gAl; ὥστε GL.
5 ἢ] οἱ g₃. 7 γράμμα] Gg₁g₃L[A][1]; δρᾶμα g₄. 8 παρακαλῶν] Gg₄s; *deprecans* L; *rogans* 1; *et rogo* A; παρακαλῶ g₁; παρακαλλῶ g₃. προσθεῖναι] προσθεῖναι Gg; ἀρῶνι L; *superadjuvare* 1; *augere* A. τόνῳ] Gg₁g₄s; *robori* L; *ad propositum* 1; *virtutem* (*fortitudinem*) A; πόνῳ g₃. There is the same v. 1. in *Mart. Ant.* 1 (see II. p. 474). 9 πολὺς] displaced in g₃ and printed after Χριστοῦ.
10 φεύγετε] Gg₄sL; φεύγε g₁g₃ (but accentuated φεύγε) Al. Χριστοῦ] Gg₁g₃; τοῦ χριστοῦ g₄. 12 τὴν] Gg₁g₄; om. g₃.
13 μὲν] Gg₁g₃L; ἐν g₄; al. A; om. [1]. δὲ] Gg₁g₃L; al. A; om. g₄ [1].
15 ὁμοίως] GA (which has *secundum tuum nomen et similitudinem*); ὁμοίως gL; def. 1. σοι] Gg₃g₄; *tibi* L; σου g₁s; def. 1. For A see the last note. ἀντεχομένους] Gg₁g₄; ἀντισχομένους g₃. 16 οἱ sec.] g; om. G. πρὸ] gLAl; πρὸς G. 17 Ἡρων] Gg₄s; *heron* 1 (with vv. 11.);

this passage is taken from Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 21, 22, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἰσέτι Κλήμης ἡγείτο, τρίτον καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέχων τῶν τῇδε μετὰ Παῦλόν τε καὶ Πέτρον ἐπισκοπευσάντων βαθμόν· Δίνος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἦν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιοχείας Εὐοδίου πρώτου καταστάντος, δεύτερος ἐν τοῖς δηλουμένοις Ἰγνάτιος ἐγνωρίζετο. In *Ps-Philad.* 4 Clement is represented as already dead (τῶν ἐξεληθόν-

των τὸν βίον), while in this epistle, which pretends to be written a little earlier, he is still living. This is explained, as Zahn has pointed out (*I. v. A.* p. 125 sq.), by the sequence of the narrative in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 34, 36, 38, where the death of Clement is mentioned shortly before the martyrdom of Ignatius, while an account of his epistle is given after that event. The inference of our

ἀσπάζονται σε οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ πρὸ πάντων ὁ ἱερὸς Ἦρων. ἀσπάζεται σε Κασσιανὸς ὁ ξένος μου, καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή μου ἡ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ φίλτατα αὐτῶν τέκνα. ἐρρωμένην σε σαρκικὴν καὶ πνευματικὴν
 20 ὑγίαν ὁ Κύριος ἀγιάσει ἀεὶ, καὶ ἰδοὺμί σε ἐν Χριστῷ
 τυχοῦσαν τοῦ στεφάνου.

3.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΟΥΣ.

ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἡγαπημένῃ παρὰ Θεοῦ
 πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγία τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν

ἔρων g₁g₃; *eron* L; *urion* A (as it is elsewhere written in this version). Κασσιανὸς] gLl; Κασσιανὸς G. A is of no account here. See *Hero* 9, *Ant.* 13. 18 ἡ γαμετὴ] GgAl; *et sponsa* L. 19 τέκνα] gAl; om. GL. σε] gl; om. GL; al. A. σαρκικὴν καὶ πνευματικὴν ὑγίαν] GL; *carnali et spirituali salute* l; *σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι* g; *spiritu et corpore* A. 20 ἀγιάσει] Gg₁sg₄; ἀγιάσοι g₃; *sanctificet* Ll; al. A. ἀεὶ] GLAl; om. g. 21 τυχοῦσαν] g; *consecutam* l; *τυγχάνουσιν* G; *potientem* L; *haeredem* A.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς μαρίαν: α g₁. No subscription in g₃g₄LA.

πρὸς τραλλιανούς] g₄ (with β in the marg.); *ad trallianos ex smyrna* l (with vv. ll., but always retaining the form *trallianos*); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τραλλησίους g₁ (with β in the marg.); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τραλλησίους β g₃. As the form Τραλλιανοί is the authentic reading in the heading of the genuine Ignatius (though L has *tralesiis*), I have adopted it here.

author was that the death of Clement immediately preceded that of Ignatius.

3. οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ κ.τ.λ.] Jer. x. 23 οἶδα Κύριε ὅτι οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ.

17. Κασσιανός] He is mentioned also *Hero* 9, *Ant.* 13. Zahn adopts the form Κασσιανός, considering that the word is derived from Κάσιον the mountain which overhung Antioch,

or from Κασσιανὰ a fortress near the Syrian Apamea (*Strabo* xii. 2, p. 752); see *I. v. A.* p. 159, note 2. But, though the word is sometimes written Κασσιανός in the Greek inscriptions (*Boeckh C. I.* 189, 196, 271, 272, all at Athens), it is more commonly Κασσιανός, and so always apparently in those of Syria and the neighbourhood (*Boeckh C. I.* 4498, 4573 b, 4594, 8947 v). In a Greek

Τράλλεσιν, ἐκλεκτῇ καὶ ἀξιοθέῳ, εἰρηνευούσῃ ἐν σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἐν πάθει τῷ διὰ σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου καὶ ἀναστάσει· ἣν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν τῷ πληρώματι ἐν ἀποστολικῷ χαρακτήρι, καὶ εὐχομαι πλείστα χαίρειν.

5

I. Ἀμωμον διάνοιαν καὶ ἀνυπόκριτον ἐν ὑπομονῇ ἔγων ὑμᾶς ἔχοντας, οὐ κατὰ χρῆσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ κτῆσιν· καθὼς ἐδήλωσέν μοι Πολύβιος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὑμῶν, ὃς παρεγένετο θελήματι Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ συνεργείᾳ πνεύματος ἐν Σμύρνῃ, καὶ οὕτως μοι συνε- 10 χάρη δεδεμένῳ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ὥστε με τὸ πᾶν πλήθος ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρῆσαι. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν ὑμῶν εὐνοίαν δι' αὐτοῦ, ἔδοξα εὐρὼν ὑμᾶς μιμητὰς ὄντας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος.

II. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ· ἀγτός 15 γὰρ ἀργυπνεῖ ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, ὡς λόγον ἀποδώ- σων Θεῷ. διὸ καὶ φαίνεσθέ μοι οὐ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ζῶντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀποθανόντα, ἵνα πιστεύοντες εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος κοι- νωνοὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ γένησθε. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστίν, 20

I ἀξιοθέῳ ἀξιοθέῳ g₁.

8 μοι I (with I); om. g.

9 πατρὸς]

g₁g₃l; om. g₄ with [I].

καὶ txt l with [I]; add. κυρίου g.

10 οὕτως]

g₁g₄ with I; sic l; ὁντως g₃.

συνεχάρη] συνεχάρει g₁g₃.

13 ἔδοξα]

g₁g₃g₄; *agnovi* l. The correct reading in I is *ἐδόξασα* (see II. p. 154); but there is no indication of this reading in the Long Recension, and probably the author of it had a corrupt text before him.

εὐρὼν] g₁g₃l with I; εὐρεῖν g₄.

ὑμᾶς]

ἡμᾶς g₃.

17 μοι] g₄s with I; *mihi* l; με g₁g₃.

22 ὑποτάσσεσθε] g₄s

with I (see II. p. 155); *subditi estote* l; ὑποτάσσεσθαι g₁g₃.

25 Ἰησοῦ

Χριστοῦ] g₃g₄l with I; χριστοῦ ἰησοῦ g₁.

27 αὐτοῦ] g₁g₃g₄ with I. In l the

inscription at Rome also, we meet with a Syrian Christian Cassianus with his wife and son; *C. I.* 9787 *ἐνθα κῆται ἐμιδάβους, γαμητῇ Κασσιανοῦ Τολμαρίου, κόμης Ἀδάνων καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Πέτρος*, and another of the same name from the same place was buried at Treviri, *C. I.* 9892 *ἐνθάδε κῆτε ἐν ἡρήνῃ Κασσιανὸς Ἀβεδοσιμίον ἀπὸ [κ]ώ- (μης) [Ἀδ]δάνων κ.τ.λ.* Adana was a

Cilician town between Tarsus and Antioch, and therefore in the locality with which this Ignatian letter is concerned. As in all these cases the name is spelt with *σσ*, and as our authorities all agree in this form in *Hero* 9, *Ant.* 13, and with only one exception here also, I have written it *Κασσιανός*. Among Christians in the second century the name is borne by

ὅσαπερ ποιείτε, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράττειν ὑμᾶς· ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς ἀποστόλοις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ἐν ᾧ διάγοντες ἐν αὐτῷ εὑρεθησόμεθα. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὄντας μυστηρίων
 25 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀρέσκειν· οὐ γὰρ βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν εἰσι διάκονοι ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ὑπηρεταί· δέον οὖν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐγκλήματα φυλάττεσθαι, ὡς πῦρ φλέγον.

III. Αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔστωσαν τοιοῦτοι. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐντρέ-
 30 πεσθε αὐτοὺς ὡς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν οὗ φύλακές εἰσιν τοῦ τόπου, ὡς καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων τύπος ὑπάρχει, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι ὡς συνέδριον Θεοῦ καὶ σύνδεσμος ἀποστόλων Χριστοῦ. χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ συνάθροισμα ἅγιον, οὐ συναγωγὴ ὁσίων. πέπεισ-
 35 μαι δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς οὕτω διακεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐξεμπλᾶριον τῆς ἀγάπης [ὑμῶν] ἔλαβον καὶ ἔχω μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν· οὗ αὐτὸ τὸ κατάστημα μεγάλη μαθητεία, ἡ δὲ πραότης αὐτοῦ δύναμις· ὃν λογίζομαι καὶ τοὺς ἀθέους ἐντρέπεσθαι.

sentence is translated *oportet ergo praecepta eorum observare*. The ed. princ. substituted *αὐτῶν*, which may have been either a misprint or a conjecture founded on the Latin. It has been followed by subsequent editors. 34 ἅγιον] g₁g₄;

ἁγίων g₃. The best MSS of l have *neque congregatio sancta neque collectio sanctorum*: the common text transposes the two clauses. 36 ὑμῶν] l with I;

om. g. μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ] with I; μεθ' ἑμᾶντοῦ g₁ (the aspirate over the ε being blotted) g₃; μετ' ἑμᾶντοῦ g₂s g₄s. The ed. princ. printed μετ' ἑμᾶντοῦ, and has been followed by subsequent editors. 38 ὃν] g₁g₃g₄s with I; quam (ἦν) l (with a v.l. *quem*).

Dressel's citation of g₂ for the reading ἦν is an inexplicable error; the MS only begins some lines lower down.

the second Gentile bishop of Jerusalem (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 12) and by the heretic Julius Cassianus (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, p. 378; iii. 13, p. 553; etc).

'Hospitem illum appellans', says Zahn, 'summam antiquitatis apostolicae simplicitatem affectat; conf. Rom. xvi. 23, Act. xviii. 3'.

13. ἔδοξα] There is no authority for any other reading in this recen-

sion, though it is an obvious corruption of the original ἐδόξασα of Ignatius. It cannot have the sense *agnovi* which the Latin Version gives to it, nor can any adequate meaning be assigned to it consistently with Greek usage.

15. αὐτὸς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From Heb. xiii. 17, where however it is plural, αὐτοὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς φείδομαι συντονώτερον ἐπιστεῖλαι, ἵνα μὴ δόξω τισὶν εἶναι προσάντης ἢ ἐπιδεής. δέδεμαι μὲν διὰ Χριστόν, ἀλλ' οὐδέπω Χριστοῦ ἄξιός εἰμι· ἐὰν δὲ τελειωθῶ, τάχα γενήσομαι.

IV. Οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι· ἀλλ' ἑμαυτὸν 5 μετρῶ, ἵνα μὴ ἐν καυχῇσει ἀπόλωμαι. καλὸν δὲ τὸ ἐν Κγρίῳ καυχᾶσθαι. κἂν ἐρρωμένος ᾧ τὰ κατὰ Θεὸν, πλείον με δεῖ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς εἰκῇ φυσιοῦσί με· οἱ γὰρ με ἐπαινοῦντες μαστιγοῦσιν· ἀγαπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα εἰ ἄξιός εἰμι. τὸ γὰρ ζῆλος τοῦ ἐχθροῦ πολλοῖς 10 μὲν οὐ φαίνεται, ἐμὲ δὲ πολεμεῖ. χρήζω οὖν πραότητος, ἐν ᾗ καταλύεται ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ὁ διάβολος.

V. Μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ὑμῖν μυστικώτερα γράψαι· ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι μὴ νηπίοις οὖσιν ὑμῖν βλαβὴν παραθῶμαι· καὶ σύγγνωτέ μοι, μὴ οὐ δυνηθέντες χωρῆσαι τὴν ἐνέργειαν 15 στραγγαλωθῇτε· καὶ γὰρ ἐγώ, οὐ καθότι δέδεμαι καὶ δύναμαι νοεῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰς ἀγγελικὰς τάξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ στρατιῶν ἐξαλλαγὰς, δυνάμεών τε καὶ κυριο-

6 ἵνα μὴ...καλὸν δὲ τὸ] om. g₃.
τὸν θεὸν Dam. ii. 522; *arud deum* l.

πλείονά με g₄; πλέον [I].

8 μὴ] gl with I; om. Max. Dam.

g Max. with I; φυσῶσιν με Dam.

qui me laudant l; ἐπαινοῦντες γὰρ με Max. Dam.

Dam.; add. *me* l; add. *με* I.

10 τὸ γὰρ] g₁g₄ with I; ὁ γὰρ g₃.

ἐν ᾗ] g Anton. 147; ἐν ᾧ Dam. ii. 650; *ut* l.

Dam.; om. I.

14 παραθῶμαι] παρᾶθωμαι g₄.

7 τὰ κατὰ Θεὸν] g Max. ii. 638; κατὰ πλείον με] g₁g₃ Dam.; πλέον με Max.;

φυσιοῦσί με]

οἱ γὰρ με ἐπαινοῦντες] g (comp. I); *hi vero*

9 μαστιγοῦσιν] g Max.

ἀγαπῶ μὲν γὰρ τὸ παθεῖν] l with I; om. g.

11 οὖν πραότητος] Here g₂ begins.

12 ὁ διάβολος] g; διάβολος Anton.

13 ἐδυνάμην] Zahn; *poteram* l; δύναμαι I; ἐβουλόμην g.

18 ἀρχαγγέλων] Morel; ἀγγέλων g₁g₂g₃g₄s.

2. προσάντης κ.τ.λ.] 'harsh or importunate', i.e. with a beggar's importunity (ἐπιδεής 'indigus'). Or does ἐπιδεής mean 'deficient', 'weak'?

17. τὰς ἀγγελικὰς κ.τ.λ.] For the enumeration here comp. *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 ἀναρίθμητοι στρατιᾶι ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων, θρόνων, κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν, ἐξουσιῶν, δυνάμεων, στρατιῶν αἰώνων· τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα Σεραφὶμ κ.τ.λ. In the passage which follows,

ἐξαλλαγὰς seems to mean 'varieties', for which διαφορὰς and παραλλαγὰς are synonyms.

22. τὸ...ἀπαράθετον] 'peerlessness', as e.g. in Basil. c. *Eunom.* i. 26 (I. p. 237).

27. ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ.] From I Cor. i. 11. Part of the same passage is quoted also *Ps-Ephes.* 2.

29. εἰσὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From Tit. i. 10.

τήτων διαφοράς, θρόνων τε καὶ ἐξουσιῶν παραλλαγάς, αἰώνων
 20 τε μεγαλειότηας, τῶν τε Χερουβείμ καὶ Σεραφεὶμ τὰς ὑπερο-
 χάς, τοῦ τε πνεύματος τὴν ὑψηλότητα καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν
 βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ ἀπαρά-
 θετον, ταῦτα γινώσκων ἐγὼ οὐ πάντως ἤδη τετελείωμαι ἢ
 μαθητῆς εἰμι, οἷος Παῦλος καὶ Πέτρος· πολλὰ γάρ μοι λείπει,
 25 ἵνα Θεοῦ μὴ ἀπολειφθῶ.

VI. Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγάπη Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ, ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες καὶ μὴ ἢ ἐν ἡμῖν
 σχίσματα· ἢτε δὲ καθηρτισμένοι τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ
 αὐτῷ νοῒ. εἰςὶ γάρ τινες ματαιολόγοι καὶ φρεναπάται, οὐ
 30 χριστιανοὶ ἀλλὰ χριστέμποροι, ἀπάτῃ περιφέροντες τὸ ὄνομα
 Χριστοῦ, καὶ καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, καὶ
 τὸν ἰὸν προσπλέκοντες τῆς πλάνης τῇ γλυκεῖᾳ προσηγορίᾳ,
 ὥσπερ οἰνομέλιτι κώνειον κεραννύντες, ἵνα ὁ πίνων, τῇ γλυ-
 κυτάτῃ κλαπεῖς ποιότητι τὴν γευστικὴν αἴσθησιν, ἀφυλάκτως
 35 τῷ θανάτῳ περιπαρῇ. παραινεῖ τις τῶν παλαιῶν· μηδεὶς

The reading ἀρχαγγέλων seems to be required by the context and is suggested by the rendering of l, *et possum quidem intelligere caelestia; angelorum scilicet atque archangelorum ordines, militiarum diversitates, virtutum et dominationum differentias*, where the translator has wrongly connected together τὰς ἀγγελικὰς τάξεις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων. στρατιῶν] g₂g₃; στρατειῶν g₁g₄f. 20 μεγαλειότηας] g₄; magnificēntias l; μεγαλότηας g₁g₂g₃. Χερουβείμ...Σεραφεὶμ] g₁g₃g₄f; χερουβὶν...σεραφὶν g₂; cherubin...seraphin l (but with a v.l. cherubim...seraphim).

22 καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν] om. g₄. 24 Παῦλος καὶ Πέτρος] g₁g₃g₄f; paulus aut petrus l; πέτρος καὶ παῦλος g₂, this being the common order. 27 λέγητε] g₁g₃g₄f; λέγετε g₂. 31 Χριστοῦ] g₁g₂g₄; τοῦ χριστοῦ g₃. καὶ sec.] g₁g₃g₄f; et l; ἵνα καὶ g₂. 32 γλυκεῖα] g₁g₃g₄f; γλυκία g₂. 33 οἰνομέλιτι] οἰνωμέλιτι g₁. κώνειον] g₃g₄f; κώνιον g₁g₂.

30. χριστέμποροι] 'traffickers in Christ': see *Ps-Magn.* 9 with the note. The word occurs in *Doctr. Duod. Apost.* p. 12. *Comp. Basil. Ep.* 240 (III. p. 370) χριστέμποροι γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ οὐ χριστιανοί. In both passages the word is suggested by the accompanying καπηλεύοντες τὸν λόγον 'huckstering the word', with the idea of adulteration involved, a phrase borrowed from 2 Cor. ii. 17.

This last phrase is rightly translated in the Latin Version here 'cauponantes verbum evangelii' (after Ennius 'non cauponantes bellum'), but in *Ps-Magn.* 9 'verbum Dei in tabernis praedicantes'.

35. τις τῶν παλαιῶν] The source of the quotation which follows has not been pointed out. Can it be taken from the elder quoted by Irenaeus (iii. 17. 4), 'sicut quidam dixit

ἀγαθὸς λεγέσθω, κακῷ τὸ ἀγαθὸν κεραννύς. λέγουσι γὰρ Χριστόν, οὐχ ἵνα Χριστὸν κηρύξωσιν ἀλλ' ἵνα Χριστὸν ἀθετήσωσιν· καὶ οὐ νόμον προβάλλουσιν ἵνα νόμον συστήσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀνομίαν καταγγείλωσιν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Χριστὸν ἀλλοτριούσι τοῦ πατρός, τὸν δὲ νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ· 5 τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν διαβάλλουσιν· ἐπαισχυνόμενοι τὸν σταυρὸν τὸ πάθος ἀρνοῦνται καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν οὐ πιστεύουσιν· τὸν Θεὸν ἄγνωστον εἰσηγοῦνται· τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγέννητον νομίζουσιν· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα οὐδὲ ὅτι ἔστιν ὁμολογοῦσιν. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον 10 εἶναι λέγουσι, ταῦτόν δὲ εἶναι πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἔργον Θεοῦ οὐ διὰ Χριστοῦ ἀλλ' ἐτέρου τινὸς ἀλλοτρίας δυνάμεως.

VII. Ἀσφαλιζέσθε οὖν τοὺς τοιούτους, ἵνα μὴ λάβητε βρόχον ταῖς ἐαυτῶν ψυχαῖς· καὶ τὸν βίον ὑμῶν ἀπρόσκοπον 15 τίθεσθε πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἵνα μὴ γένησθε παγὶς τῇ σκοπιᾷ, καὶ ὡς δίκτυον ἐκτεταμένον. ὁ μὴ ἰώμενος γὰρ ἐαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐαυτοῦ ἀδελφός ἐστιν τοῦ λυγμαινόμενου ἐαυτόν. ἂν οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀποθῆσθε φυσιώσιν, ἀλαζονείαν,

1 ἀγαθός] ἀγαθὸς g₂. 3 ἀθετήσωσιν] εὐθετήσωσιν g₃. νόμον pri.] μόνον g₂. προβάλλουσιν ἵνα νόμον] om. g₁g₂g₃g₄. I have inserted the words from the Latin which runs *et legem proferunt non ut legem statuant, sed ut legi contraria annuntient*. They are obviously wanted to preserve the parallelism with the preceding sentence. The omission is easily explained by homœoteleuton. The missing words are differently supplied by Zahn. συστήσωσιν] g₄; *statuant* l; συστήσουσιν g₁g₂g₃. 6 τὴν] g₁g₂g₄; καὶ τὴν g₃; *et* l. ἐκ παρθένου] g₁g₂g₃l; κατὰ σάρκα g₄. 8 πιστεύουσιν...νομίζουσιν] g₁; πιστεύουσι...νομίζουσι g₂g₃. 10 ὁμολογοῦσιν] g₁g₃; ὁμολογοῦσι g₂. 11 δὲ] g₁g₃g₄; δ' g₂. 16 τίθεσθε] g₁g₃g₄; ἀρροῖτε l; τίθεσθαι g₂ (ε being written above). τῇ σκοπιᾷ] g₁g₃g₄; *explorationis* (τῆς σκοπιᾶς) l; τῆς κοπιᾶς g₂, but with σ written above and

superior nobis de omnibus qui quolibet modo depravant quae sunt Dei et adulterant veritatem : *In Dei lacte gyrsim male miscetur*?

9. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] Language closely resembling Acts xix. 2.

10. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.] Three classes of heretics are here signified : (1) Ebionites ; (2) Sabellians ; (3)

Gnostic dualists ; together with the later heresies which were allied to any of these.

16. παγὶς τῇ σκοπιᾷ κ.τ.λ.] From Hosea v. 1 παγὶς ἐγενήθητε κ.τ.λ., where τῇ σκοπιᾷ stands for the proper name 'Mizpah' of the original.

17. ὁ μὴ ἰώμενος κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. xviii. 9.

- 20 τύπον, ὑπεροψίαν, δυνατὸν ὑμῖν ἔστιν εἶναι ἀχωρίστους Θεοῦ.
 ἔγγ'ς γὰρ τοῖς φοβογμένοις ἀγτόν· καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα, φησίν,
 ἐπιβλέψω ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ταπεινὸν καὶ ἡσύχιον καὶ τρέ-
 μοντά μοῦ τοῖς λόγοις; αἰδέισθε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον
 ὑμῶν ὡς Χριστόν, καθὰ ὑμῖν οἱ μακάριοι διατάξαντο ἀπό-
 25 στολοι. ὁ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ὢν καθαρὸς ἔστιν· διὸ
 καὶ ὑπακούει τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· ὁ δὲ
 ἐκτὸς ὢν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσ-
 βυτέρων καὶ τῶν διακόνων τι πράσσω, ὁ τοιοῦτος μεμίαν-
 ται τῇ συνειδήσει, καὶ ἔστιν ἀπίστοῦ χεῖρων. τί γάρ ἐστιν
 30 ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐπέκεινα πάν-
 των κρατῶν, ὡς οἷόν τε ἄνθρωπον κρατεῖν μιμητὴν γινόμενον
 κατὰ δύναμιν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ; τί δὲ πρεσβυτέριον ἀλλ' ἢ
 σύστημα ἱερόν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου;
 τί δὲ διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἢ μιμηταὶ τῶν ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων, λει-
 35ουργοῦντες αὐτῷ λειτουργίαν καθαρὰν καὶ ἄμωμον; ὡς
 Στέφανος ὁ ἅγιος Ἰακώβῳ τῷ μακαρίῳ, καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ
 Λίνος Παύλῳ, καὶ Ἀνέγκλητος καὶ Κλήμης Πέτρῳ. ὁ τοίνυν

afterwards corrected into τῇ σκοπιᾷ.

17 ἑαυτὸν] ἑμαυτὸν g₂.

18 ἑαυτοῦ]

g₁g₂g₃; αὐτοῦ g₄.

ἀδελφός κ.τ.λ.] written in g₃ ἀδελφόν ἐστὶ καὶ λυμαινόμενος

τὸν ἑαυτοῦ.

λυμαινόμενου] λυμαινομένου g₂.

19 ἀποθήσθε] g₃; ἀπόθησθε

g₄; ἀπόθεσθε g₂.

ἀλαζονείαν] ἀλαζωνίαν g₂.

20 τύπον] τύπον g₄.

ἀχωρίστους] g₁g₂g₄; ἀχωρίστοις g₃.

21 ἐγγὺς γὰρ] g₂; add. ἐστὶ g₁g₃g₄ [I].

τοῖς] g₁g₂g₃g₄. The word was omitted by Ussher, apparently through accident, and he was followed by Voss and several later editors.

24 καθὰ] g₁g₂g₄; καθ'

ὁ g₃.

ἀπόστολοι] g₁g₃g₄; οἱ ἀπόστολοι g₂.

28 μεμίανται] μεμιάται g₄.

29 χεῖρων] χεῖρον g₂.

31 ἄνθρωπον] txt g₁g₂g₃l; add. πάντων g₄.

γινό-

μενον] g₁g₃g₄s; γενόμενον g₂.

35 αὐτῷ] txt g₁g₂g₃l; add. αὐτὸν g₄.

37 Ἀνέ-

κλητος] g₁g₂g₃g₄; *anacletus* l. The form Ἀνάκλητος was tacitly substituted in the Greek text by Morel, as may be inferred from his note on another passage (see p. 148 of his edition), and he has been followed by several other editors (e.g. recently Cureton and Dressel), though not by Ussher.

21. ἐγγὺς κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. lxxxiv (lxxxv). 9. The quotation which follows, ἐπὶ τίνα κ.τ.λ., is from Is. lxvi. 2.

24. διατάξαντο ἀπόστολοι.] The reference is to the spurious *Apostolical Constitutions*: see esp. ii. 20 ὁ γὰρ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸν ἀθετῶν Χριστὸν ἀθετεῖ κ.τ.λ.

28. μεμίανται κ.τ.λ.] From Tit. i. 15 μεμίανται...ἢ συνείδησις, while the following expression, καὶ ἔστιν ἀπίστου χεῖρων, is from 1 Tim. v. 8.

35. ὡς Στέφανος κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Hero* 3.

37. Ἀνέκλητος.] See the note on Ps-Ign. *Mar.* 4.

τούτων παρακούων ἄθεος πάμπαν εἶη ἂν καὶ δυσσεβής, ἀθε-
τῶν Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν σμικρύνων.

VIII. Ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλω, οὐκ ὅτι ἔγνω-
νοιούτους τινὰς ἐν ὑμῖν· ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ συγχωρήσειέν ποτε ὁ
Θεὸς τοιοῦτον εἰς ἀκοὰς ἐλθεῖν τὰς ἐμάς, ὁ μὴ φεισάμενος τοῦ 5
υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀγίαν ἐκκλησίαν· ἀλλὰ προορῶν τὰς
ἐνέδρας τοῦ πονηροῦ ταῖς παραγγελίαις προασφαλίζομαι
ὑμᾶς, ὡς τέκνα μου ἀγαπητὰ καὶ πιστὰ ἐν Χριστῷ, προ-
ποτίζων ὑμᾶς τὰ φυλακτικὰ τῆς λοιμικῆς τῶν ἀνυποτάκτων
νόσου· ἧς ὑμεῖς ἀποφεύγετε τὴν νόσον εὐδοκίᾳ Χριστοῦ τοῦ 10
Κυρίου ἡμῶν. ὑμεῖς οὖν ἀναλαβόντες πραότητα γίνεσθε
μιμηταὶ παθημάτων [Χριστοῦ] καὶ ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἡγά-
πησεν ἡμᾶς ΔΟΥΣ ΕἰΔΥΤΟΝ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ΛΥΤΡΟΝ, ἵνα τῷ αἵματι
αὐτοῦ καθαρῶς ἡμᾶς παλαιᾶς δυσσεβείας καὶ ζωὴν ἡμῖν
παράσχηται, μέλλοντας ὅσον οὐδέπω ἀπόλλυσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς 15
ἐν ὑμῖν κακίας· μὴδεῖς οὖν ὑμῶν τι κατὰ τοῦ πλησίου
ἐχέτω· ἄφετε γὰρ, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀφιεθήσεται

I τούτων] g₁g₃g₄^s; *istis* l; τοῦτον g₂. πάμπαν] πάνπαν g₄. ἀθετῶν]
g₂g₃g₄; *et contemnens* l. The editors read *καὶ ἀθετῶν*, following the ed. princ.,
in which the *καὶ* was inserted without authority from the MS. 4 συγχωρή-
σειέν] g₁^sg₂^sg₃; συγχωρήσειέ g₄. 5 ἀκοὰς] g₁g₂^sg₄^s; τὰς ἀκοὰς g₃. φεισά-
μενος] φησάμενος g₂. 6 τὴν] g₁g₂^sg₄^s; om. g₃. 7 παραγγελίαις] g₂^sg₄^s;
παραγγελίαις g₁g₃. 9 λοιμικῆς] g₄^s; *λυμικῆς* g₁g₂g₃. The correction was
made by Morel. The word *λυμικός* does not appear to occur. 10 ἧς] g₁g₂^sg₄^s
(and so perhaps l, which has *quam...tquam morbum*); οἷς g₃, adopted by Zahn.
εὐδοκίᾳ] g₁g₂g₄; εὐδοκία γὰρ αὕτη g₃. l has *benepiacite in christo* etc. 12 Χρι-
στοῦ] g₂g₄l; om. g₁g₃. 15 παράσχηται] παράσχηται g₂. 16 ἡμῖν]
g₁g₃g₄^s; *nobis* l; ὑμῖν g₂. ὑμῶν] g₁g₂g₃g₄^s; *vestrum* l. The reading ἡμῶν,
which has no authority, has appeared in the editions after Voss, who appa-
rently was the first to introduce it. 17 φησὶν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν] g₁g₂g₃g₄^s;

7. προασφαλίζομαι] ‘*I make you secure for myself beforehand*’; Jos. B. J. i. 2. 3 προησφαλισθαι πρὸς τὸ ἄδελον, Clem. Hom. Ep. Clem. 7 προασφαλίζεσθε.

8. προποτίζων κ.τ.λ.] ‘*administering a draught to you which shall be an antidote to the pestilential malady of the disorderly*’. The words προποτί-
ζειν, προποτισμός, commonly are medi-

cal terms (e.g. Galen *Op.* xi. p. 795, Dioscorid. *Op.* i. p. 300, Kühn). For φυλακτικὰ we should rather expect προ-
φυλακτικὰ, since φυλακτικός commonly takes a genitive of the thing preserved.

13. δοὺς ἑαυτὸν κ.τ.λ.] From i Tim. ii. 6 ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάν-
των; comp. Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45.

17. Ἀφετε κ.τ.λ.] A very loose quotation from Mark xi. 25 (comp.

ἡμῖν. μὴ ἀφορμὰς δίδοτε τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἵνα μὴ ὀλίγων τινῶν
 ἀφρόνων εἵνεκεν ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ διδασκαλία βλασφημῇται.
 20 οὐαὶ γάρ, φησὶν ὁ προφήτης ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ,
 δι' οὗ τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

IX. Κωφώθητε οὖν, ὅταν ὑμῖν χωρὶς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
 λαλῇ τις, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ Δαυεὶδ, τοῦ
 ἐκ Μαρίας· ὃς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ παρ-
 25 θένου, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡσαύτως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ταῦτόν Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρω-
 πος· ἀληθῶς ἀνέλαβεν σῶμα· ὁ λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο,
 καὶ ἐπολιτεύσατο ἄνευ ἁμαρτίας· τίς γάρ, φησὶν, ἐξ ἡμῶν
 ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἁμαρτίας; ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔπιεν ἀληθῶς· ἐσταυ-
 ρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου· ἀληθῶς δὲ καὶ οὐ
 30 δοκῇσει ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν, βλεπόντων οὐρανίων καὶ
 ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων· οὐρανίων μὲν ὡς τῶν ἀσωμά-
 των φύσεων, ἐπιγείων τε Ἰουδαίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν
 παρόντων κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ ἀνθρώπων σταυρουμένου τοῦ
 Κυρίου, καταχθονίων δὲ ὡς τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ συναναστάντος

dicente domino l. The later editors (not Zahn) here read ὑμῶν, for which there is no authority. It was so printed however in the ed. princ., and, though corrected to ἡμῶν by Morel, was reintroduced by Ussher and Voss.

18 *δίδοτε*] g₂^s;

δίδοται g₁g₃; διδῶτε g₄. 19 *εἵνεκεν*] g₁s g₂s; *εἵνεκεν* (sic) g₃; *εἵνεκεν* g₄.

βλασφημῇται] g₂s g₄s; βλασφημεῖται g₁g₃. 21 βλασφημεῖται] g₁g₃; βλασφη-

μῇται g₂; βλασφημεῖτε g₄. 23 Δαυεὶδ] δαδ g₁; δανιδ g₃. 25 ταῦτόν]

g₁g₂g₄ (with variations as to the breathing); ταῦτό g₃. 26 γάρ] g₁g₃;

om. g₂g₄; *inquit* l. 28 ἐλέγχει] g₁g₂g₃; ἐλέγξει g₄; *arguet* l. 29 οὐ δοκῇσει]

εὐδοκῇσει g₄l. 32 τε] g₁g₂g₃; δὲ g₄s; *vero* l. The editors read δέ after Morel.

33 ἐκείνo] g₄; ἐκείνου g₂s g₃. The *v* has been written first and then erased in g₁.

It was printed ἐκείνου in the ed. princ., but corrected by Morel. Later editors however with Ussher and Voss have returned to ἐκείνου. See the lower note.

34 καταχθονίων δὲ] g₁g₂g₃; καὶ καταχθονίων δὲ g₄.

Matt. vi. 14, Luke xi. 4). It is quoted almost as here in Polyc. *Phil.* 2: see also Clem. Rom. 13 with the note on the passage.

18. ἵνα μὴ...ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] The expression is made up from 1 Tim. vi. 1, Tit. ii. 5.

20. Οὐαὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Is. lii. 5; see the note on the genuine Ignatius, p. 172.

26. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. i. 14. The passage which follows, τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ., is from Joh. viii. 46.

33. κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ] A common expression in later Greek, e.g. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 8, 9, iv. 7, v. 10, vii. 11; comp. iv. 13 κατ' αὐτὸ...τοῦ χρόνου. On the other hand the genitive with κατὰ would be inexplicable in κατ' ἐκείνου καιροῦ.

τῷ Κυρίῳ· πολλὰ γάρ, φησίν, σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων
 ἀγίων ἡγέρθη, τῶν μνημείων ἀνεφχθέντων· καὶ κατήλ-
 θεν εἰς ἄδην ὁ μόνος, ἀνῆλθεν δὲ μετὰ πλήθους· καὶ ἔσχισεν
 τὸν ἀπ' αἰῶνος φραγμὸν καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον αὐτοῦ ἔλυσεν·
 καὶ ἀνέστη διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ πατρός· 5
 καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας συνδιατρίψας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ἀνε-
 λήφθη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ,
 περιμένων ἕως ἄν τεθῶσιν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῖς πό-
 δας αὐτοῦ. τῇ οὖν παρασκευῇ τρίτῃ ὥρα ἀπόφασιν ἐδέξατο
 παρὰ τοῦ Πιλάτου συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ πατρός· ἕκτη ὥρα 10
 ἐσταυρώθη· ἐννάτῃ ἀπέπνευσεν· πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως ἐτάφη·
 τὸ σάββατον ὑπὸ γῆν μένει ἐν τῷ μνημείῳ ᾧ ἀπέθετο αὐ-
 τὸν Ἰωσήφ ὁ ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθείας· ἐπιφωσκούσης κυριακῆς
 ἀνέστη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· ὥσπερ
 ἦν Ἰωνᾶς ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτογς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς 15
 νύκτας, οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ὁ γίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ
 καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας. περιέχει
 οὖν ἡ μὲν παρασκευὴ τὸ πάθος, τὸ σάββατον τὴν ταφὴν, ἡ
 κυριακὴ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

4 μεσότοιχον] μεσότοιχον g₁; μεσότοιχον g₃. 13 Ἀριμαθείας] g₁g₂; ἀριμαθίας
 g₃g₄. 17 καρδίᾳ] κοιλίᾳ g₃. 21 τὸ δοκήσει] g₂; τῷ δοκήσει g₁g₃; δοκήσει
 g₄. The τῷ of the ed. princ. was corrected into τὸ by Morel. Later editors from
 Ussher and Voss onwards have returned to τῷ, but this is quite inadmissible.
 γεγενῆσθαι] γεγενεῖσθαι g₂. It is so printed in the ed. princ. also, but g₁ has γεγε-
 νῆσθαι. 22 σώμα] g; τὸ σῶμα Chron-Pasch. 416. πεπονθέναι] g₁g₂g₄;
 τῷ τε πεπονθέναι g₃. 23 οὐ τῷ] g₁g₃g₄; οὕτω g₂¹. 29 ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι] g₁g₂g₃;
 om. g₄ (by homoeoteuton), and so app. 1. 31 ἔχον] g₁g₃g₄; ἔχων g₂.
 Θεός] g₁; om. Chron. παρθένου] g₁; add. μαρίας Chron. 33 ὁ πάντας

1. πολλὰ...σώματα κ.τ.λ.] From
 Matt. xxvii. 52, loosely quoted.

2. κατήλθεν κ.τ.λ.] Taken from
 the *Doctrine of Addai* p. 9 (ed. Phil-
 lips), as quoted by Eusebius *H. E.*
 i. 13 καὶ κατέβη εἰς τὸν ἄδην καὶ διέσχισε
 φραγμὸν...καὶ κατέβη ὁ μόνος ἀνέβη δὲ
 μετὰ πολλοῦ ὄχλου κ.τ.λ. (with vv. 11.);
 see Ussher's note here.

4. φραγμὸν κ.τ.λ.] The metaphor
 of Ephes. iii. 14, τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ
 φραγμοῦ λύσας, but differently applied.

7. ἐκάθισεν κ.τ.λ.] From Heb.
 x. 12, 13; comp. i. 13, where Ps. cx
 (cix). 1 is directly quoted.

9. τρίτῃ ὥρᾳ κ.τ.λ.] See *Apost.*
Const. v. 14 ἕκτη μὲν ὥρᾳ σταυρώσαντες
 αὐτόν, τρίτῃ δὲ ὥρᾳ τὴν ἀπόφασιν δεξά-
 μενοι τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ...καὶ περὶ τὴν
 ἐνάτῃν ὥραν...ἀπέπνευσε, καὶ θάπτεται
 πρὸ ἡλίου δύσεως ἐν μνημείῳ καινῷ·
 ἐπιφωσκούσης δὲ τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων,
 ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐπλήρωσεν ἐκεῖνα ἃ
 καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους ἡμῖν προέλεγεν

- 20 X. Εἰ δέ, ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄθεοι ὄντες, τουτέστιν ἄπιστοι, λέγουσι, τὸ δοκῆσαι γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ ἀληθῶς ἀνειληφέναι σῶμα, καὶ τῷ δοκεῖν τεθυγμέναι, πεπονθέναι οὐ τῷ ὄντι· τίνος ἔνεκεν ἐγὼ δέδεμαι καὶ εὐχομαι θηριομαχῆσαι; δωρεὰν οὖν ἀποθνήσκω· ἄρα καταψεύδομαι τοῦ
- 25 σταυροῦ τοῦ Κυρίου. καὶ περιττὸς ὁ προφήτης· ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκένθησαν, καὶ κόψονται ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ ἀγαπητῷ. οὐκοῦν ἄπιστοι αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἥττον τῶν σταυρωσάντων αὐτόν· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ τῷ δοκεῖν ἔχω τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀποθανόντι, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι· ἀληθείας γὰρ ἀλλότριον τὸ
- 30 ψεῦδος. ἀληθῶς τοίνυν ἐγέννησεν Μαρία σῶμα Θεὸν ἔναι· κόν ἔχον· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Θεὸς λόγος ἐκ τῆς παρθένου σῶμα ὁμοιοπαθὲς ἡμῖν ἡμφιεσμένος· ἀληθῶς γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ ὁ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐν μήτρᾳ διαπλάττων· καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ σῶμα ἐκ τῶν τῆς παρθένου σπερμάτων,
- 35 πλὴν ὅσον ἄνευ ὁμιλίας ἀνδρός· ἐκνοφορήθη, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς, χρόνων περιόδοις· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐτέχθη, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς· καὶ

ἀνθρώπους ἐν μήτρᾳ] g₁g₃ (writing however μήτρῃ) g₄ Chron.; om. g₂ (by homœoteleuton). There is great confusion in the rendering of l, but the words πάντας ἀνθρώπους at least are omitted.

34 σπερμάτων] g₂g₃ Chron.; αἱμάτων g₄. In l the sentence runs *faciens sibi corpus ex virgine, sine semine scilicet et collocutione viri*. This testifies to the reading σπερμάτων, though the translator has freely altered. The reading αἱμάτων was Morel's conjecture, and hence it appears in some later editions. Its appearance in g₄ was also doubtless due to conjecture.

35 ἄνευ] here, g; after ἀνδρός, Chron. ὁμιλίας] ὁμηλίας g₂. ἐκνοφορήθη] g; *portatusque in utero* l; ἀληθῶς ἐκνοφορήθη Chron.

36 χρόνων] g₄s Chron.; χρόνον g₁g₂; χρόνου g₃. For χρόνων περιόδοις l has simply *tempore*. καὶ tert.] g₁; om. Chron. The words καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐγαλακτοτροφήθη... ἡμεῖς are omitted in g₄ (from homœoteleuton).

φάσκων ὅτι Δεῖ τὸν νῖδν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ποιῆσαι ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τῆς γῆς τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τρεῖς νύκτας: comp. viii. 33 τρίτῃ δέ, ὅτι ἀπόφασιν ἐν αὐτῇ ὑπὸ Πιλάτου ἔλαβεν κ.τ.λ.

14. ὥσπερ ἦν κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xii. 40, quoted word for word.

25. ὄψονται κ.τ.λ.] From Zach. xii. 10. The rendering of the first part of the verse however is taken from Joh. xix. 37 (comp. Rev. i. 7),

where the LXX has ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με' ἀνθ' ὃν κατωρχήσαντο. The second part is loosely quoted from the LXX.

32. γέγονεν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθένου ὁ διαπλάσσαν πάντας τοὺς γεννωμένους. The context has several expressions in common with this chapter of the Pseudo-Ignatius. See on ὁ κριτὴς κριθεὶς and τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὀφείως below.

34. σπερμάτων] Milton *Par. Lost*

ἀληθῶς ἐγαλακτοτροφήθη καὶ τροφῆς κοινῆς καὶ ποτοῦ μετέσχευ, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς· καὶ τρεῖς δεκάδας ἐτῶν πολιτευσάμενος ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐ δοκῆσει· καὶ τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ποιήσας σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ὑπὸ τῶν ψευδοῦνδαίων καὶ Πιλάτου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ὁ κριτῆς ἐκρίθη, ἐμαστιγώθη, ἐπὶ κόρρης ἐραπίσθη, ἐνεπτύσθη, ἀκάνθινον στέφανον καὶ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον ἐφόρεσεν, κατεκρίθη, ἐσταυρώθη ἀληθῶς, οὐ δοκῆσει, οὐ φαντασία, οὐκ ἀπάτη· ἀπέθανεν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἐτάφη καὶ ἡγέρθη ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν· καθὼς που προσηύχετο λέγων, σὺ δὲ Κύριε ὁ ἀνάστησόν με, καὶ ἀνταποδώσω αὐτοῖς· καὶ ὁ πάντοτε ἐπακούων αὐτῷ πατὴρ ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει, ἀνάστα ὁ Θεός, κρίνον τὴν γῆν, ὅτι σὺ κατακληρονομήσεις ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς

5 τοῦ] g (comp. 1); om. Chron.

6 ἐμαστιγώθη...κατεκρίθη] om. g₃ (by homeoteleuton). For ἐμαστιγώθη g₂ has ἐμαστιγώθη. After ἐμαστιγώθη Chron. adds ὑπὸ δούλων.

κόρρης] suggested by Ussher and read by Voss; κόρης or

κάρης g₁; κάρης g₂; κόρης g_{4s} Chron. ἐραπίσθη] g₁g₂g₄; ἐράπισθη edd. after

Morel. 7 ἐφόρεσεν] g₂ Chron.; ἐφόρησε g_{4s}; ἐφόρησεν g₁. 8 οὐ δοκῆσει]

g Chron.; voluntarie complacens (εὐδοκῆσει or εὐδοκῆσας) l. 12 αὐτῷ] g₁g₂g₃;

αὐτοῦ g₄. κρίνον] κρίνον g₂; κρίνων g₃; judica l. 15 ἀληθινῶς] g₁g₂g₃;

iii. 284 'Made flesh, when time shall be, of Virgin seed'.

2. τρεῖς δεκάδας κ.τ.λ.] The thirty years and the three years are mentioned in a similar juxtaposition in Melito *Fragm.* 6 (p. 416 Otto).

6. ὁ κριτῆς ἐκρίθη] *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 κριθεὶς ὁ κριτῆς, Melito *Fragm.* 13 (p. 419) 'judex judicatur'.

10. Σὺ δὲ Κύριε κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. xli (xli). 10. The quotation 'Ἀνάστα κ.τ.λ., which follows, is from Ps. lxxxii (lxxxii). 7.

11. ὁ πάντοτε ἐπακούων αὐτῷ] The expression is taken from Joh. xi. 42 πάντοτέ μου ἀκούεις.

14. καὶ ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ.] Taken from 2 Cor. iv. 14.

16. Ἐγὼ εἰμι κ.τ.λ.] Inaccurately quoted from Joh. xi. 25, 26.

19. τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὄψεως] The ex-

pression occurs *Apost. Const.* viii. 12; comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* 7 τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου πνεύματος.

23. Σίμωνα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Apost. Const.* vi. 8 καὶ προεβάλοντο Κλεόβιον τινα καὶ παρέζευξαν τῷ Σίμωνι· οὗτοι δὲ μαθητεύουσι Δοσιθέῳ τινί...εἶτα καὶ ἑτέροι ἐτέρων κατήρξαν ἐκτόπων δογμάτων Κήρινθος καὶ Μάρκος καὶ Μένανδρος καὶ Βασιλείδης καὶ Σατορνῖλος, where the anachronisms are quite as flagrant as here, and more obvious.

τὸν πρωτότοκον κ.τ.λ.] The expression used by Polycarp *Phil.* 7, and ascribed to him by Irenæus iii. 3. 4.

24. ὀρνυμαδὸν] 'a huḏḏuḏ, a noisy crowd'. The word ὀρνυμαδὸς is a late and corrupt form of ὀρνυμαγδός; see Lobeck *Pathol.* p. 349.

ἀνθρωπολάτρας] This term might well be employed of the Simonians,

ἔθνεσιν. ὁ τοίνυν ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι'
 15 αὐτοῦ ἐγερεῖ· οὗ χωρὶς τὸ ἀληθινῶς ζῆν οὐχ ἔξει τις· λέγει
 γὰρ ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ζωή· ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, κἄν ἀπο-
 θάνῃ, ζήσεται· καὶ πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, κἄν
 ἀποθάνῃ, ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. φεύγετε οὖν τὰς ἀθέους
 αἱρέσεις· τοῦ διαβόλου γάρ εἰσιν ἐφευρέσεις, τοῦ ἀρχεκά-
 20 κου ὄφews, τοῦ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀπατήσαντος Ἀδὰμ τὸν
 πατέρα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν.

XI. Φεύγετε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κακὰς παραφυάδας·
 Σίμωνα τὸν πρωτότοκον αὐτοῦ υἱόν, καὶ Μένανδρον καὶ Βασι-
 λίδην καὶ ὅλον αὐτοῦ τὸν ὀρυγμαδὸν τῆς κακίας, τοὺς ἀνθρω-
 25 πολάτρας, οὓς καὶ ἐπικατάρτους λέγει Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης·
 φεύγετε καὶ τοὺς ἀκαθάρτους Νικολαῖτας, τοὺς ψευδωνύμους,

ἀληθῶς g₄.

17 ζήσεται...κἄν ἀποθάνῃ] g₁g₄s (see the next note); om. g₂g₃.
 But Dressel wrongly says that the words are wanting in 1 and in Joh. xi. 26, for
 they are represented in both, though not verbatim. He has misunderstood a note
 of Ussher.

18 ζήσεται add. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα g₄ (so Bryennios, but perhaps he has
 misread).

19 ἐφευρέσεις] *adinventio* (ἐφεύρεσις) l. 24 ὀρυγμαδὸν] g₁g₂s g₃;
 ὀρύμαγδὸν g₄. 26 ἀκαθάρτους] g₁g₂g₃; ἐπικατάρτους g₄; *inmundissimos* l.

since they worshipped Simon (Just. *Apol.* i. 26, Hippol. *Hær.* vi. 18; see Zahn's note here); but in this sense it would not apply to other heretics named in the context. It is probable therefore that the word is used with a different bearing. These heretics might be called 'men-worshippers', because, though they denied the divinity of Christ, they yet paid Him in some sense divine honours. On somewhat similar grounds the Catholics were called *anthropolatræ* by the Apollinarians (Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 101, *Op.* II. p. 89; *Poem. Dogm.* 10, *Op.* II. p. 254), and the Nestorians by the Catholics (Cyril. Alex. *Epist.* 20, *Op.* x. 296 Migne; *Cod. Justin.* i. 1. 5, 6, *Νεστόριον τὸν ἀνθρωπολάτρην*). The force which the word has here appears from Athan. *Or. c. Arian.* ii. 16 (*Op.* I. p. 382) δι' ἀνθρώπου δὲ ψιλοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἀπρεπὲς ἦν, ἵνα μὴ, ἀνθρωπον

Κύριον ἔχοντες, ἀνθρωπόλατραι γενώμεθα.

25. ἐπικατάρτους κ.τ.λ.] Jer. xvii. 5 ἐπικατάρτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον.

26. Νικολαῖτας κ.τ.λ.] So again *Philad.* 6 οἷος ὁ ψευδώνυμος Νικολαίτης. The expression is borrowed from *Apost. Const.* vi. 8. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. p. 490, iii. p. 522) defends Nicolas himself against the charges to which his professed followers laid themselves open; but Irenæus (*Hær.* i. 26. 3) and Hippolytus (*Hær.* vii. 36) represent him as the true founder of the sect; see *Galatians* p. 297, note, ed. 5. These passages of the interpolated epistles are in the mind of Stephanus Gobarus (Photius *Bibl.* 232), when he mentions Ignatius among those writers who exculpated Nicolas.

τοὺς φιληδόνους, τοὺς συκοφάντας· [οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοιοῦτος ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων Νικόλαος·] φεύγετε καὶ τὰ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἔγγονα, Θεόδοτον καὶ Κλεόβουλον, τὰ γεννῶντα καρπὸν θανατηφόρον, οὗ ἂν τις γεύσῃται, παραντίκα ἀποθνήσκει, οὐ τὸν πρόσκαιρον θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τὸν αἰώνιον. οὗτοι οὐκ εἰσὶ 5 φυτεία πατρός, ἀλλ' ἔγγονα κατηραμένα· πᾶσα δέ, φησὶν ὁ Κύριος, φυτεία, ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐπογ-
ράνιος, ἐκριζωθήτω· εἰ γὰρ ἦσαν τοῦ πατρὸς κλάδοι, οὐκ ἂν ἦσαν ἐχθροὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπο-
κτεινάντων τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον· νῦν δὲ τὸν σταυρὸν ἀρ- 10
νούμενοι καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχυνόμενοι καλύπτουσι τὴν Ἰου-
δαίων παρανομίαν, τῶν θεομάχων, τῶν κυριοκτόνων· μικρὸν γὰρ εἰπεῖν, προφητοκτόνων· ὑμᾶς δὲ παρακαλεῖ Χριστὸς εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀφθαρσίαν διὰ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀνα-
στάσεως, ὄντας μέλη αὐτοῦ. 15

XII. Ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ Σμύρνης ἅμα ταῖς συμ-

1 τοὺς συκοφάντας] g₁g₂g₃; συκοφάντας (om. τοὺς) g₄. οὐ γὰρ...Νικόλαος] g₂g₄; *non enim talis fuit apostolorum minister nicolaus* l; om. g₃. In g₁ apparently these same words (for some are still legible) have been written and afterwards erased. 2 τὰ...ἔγγονα] τὸν...ἔγγονον g₁g₂g₃; τὸν...ἔκγονον g₄; *nepotes* l.

3 Κλεόβουλον] κλεόβουνον g₄. 6 πατρός] g₁g₃g₄ with I; τοῦ πατρός g₂.

7 μου] g₁g₂g₃l; ἡμῶν g₄. 8 πονηρίας] g₁g₃; οὐράνιος g₂g₄ with Matt. xv.

13. 14 αὐτοῦ pri.] g₁g₂g₃; ἐαυτοῦ g₄. 17 μοι] g₁g₄; *mihi* l;

μου g₂g₃. 18 παρακαλεῖ] παρακαλῇ g₁. 21 τῇ προσευχῇ] g₁g₂g₃

3. Θεόδοτον] Probably the person meant is Theodotus the leather-seller of Byzantium (Anon. in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28, Ps-Tertull. *adv. Omn. Hær.* 8). The gross anachronism is no objection to this identification. In the parallel passage, *Apost. Const.* vi. 8, from which our Pseudo-Ignatius largely borrows, the heretic Marcus is ante-dated by about a century. It is unnecessary therefore to substitute *Theodas* (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. p. 898) as proposed by Ussher, or *Thebuthis* (Hegesipp. in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22) as suggested by Cotelier. On the supposed reference to this

passage of the Pseudo-Ignatius in Jerome (*c. Helvid.* 17, *Op.* II. p. 225) see the introduction.

Κλεόβουλον] The same person who is elsewhere called Cleobius; see Epiphan. *Hær.* li. 6 Κλεόβιον, εἶπουν Κλεόβουλον. He is first mentioned by Hegesippus in the same context with Simon and Dositheus, as the founder of a sect called Κλεοβιηνοί (in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22). In *Apost. Const.* vi. 8 he appears as a disciple of Dositheus and fellow-disciple of Simon, and lower down (§ 16) he and Simon are spoken of as 'forging poisonous books in the name of Christ and His disci-

παρούσαις μοι ἐκκλησίαις. τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὧν οἱ ἡγούμενοί με κατὰ πᾶν ἀνέπαυσαν σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι. παρακαλεῖ ὑμᾶς τὰ δεσμά μου, ἃ ἔνεκεν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ περιφέρω αἰ-
 20 τούμενος Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν· διαμένετε ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ. πρέπει γὰρ ὑμῖν τοῖς καθ' ἓνα, ἐξαιρέτως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀναψύχειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον εἰς τιμὴν πατρὸς καὶ εἰς τιμὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων. εὐχομαι ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀκοῦσαί μου ἵνα μὴ
 25 εἰς μαρτύριον ὧ ὑμῖν γράψας. καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ δὲ προσεύχεσθε, τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης χρῆζοντος ἐν τῷ ἐλλείει τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναί με τοῦ κλήρου οὗ περίκειμαι ἐπι-
 τυχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ἀδόκιμος εὔρεθῶ.

XIII. Ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη Σμυρναίων καὶ Ἐφε-
 30 σίων. μνημονεύετε ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας· ὅθεν οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι λέγεσθαι, ὧν ἔσχατος τῶν ἐκεῖ. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὁμοίως

comp. [I; προσευχῇ (om. τῇ) g₄.

23 πατρὸς] g₁g₂g₄ with I; τοῦ πατρὸς

g₃. Ἰησοῦ] g₁g₂g₃l; υἱοῦ g₄.

26 χρῆζοντος] χρῆζοντος g₂.

29 Σμυρναίων] σμυρνέων g₂.

30 ὑμῶν] g₁g₂g₄; ἡμῶν g₃; l has *memor est*

vestri (μνημονεύεται ὑμῶν) *ecclesia quae est in syria*. In I the text runs μνημονεύετε ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν τῆς κ.τ.λ.

It seems therefore that ὑμῶν is correct and that the words ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς were dropped out accidentally, perhaps in the original MS of this recension or some earlier copy from which it was taken. The editors read ἡμῶν (with g₃), which makes a sort of sense.

ples'. In the spurious Armenian *Epistle of the Corinthians to S. Paul* ver. 2 (see Rinck's *Sendschr. d. Korinth.* p. 228) he is mentioned as coming to Corinth with Simon and undermining the faith of some persons there. In *Auct. Imp. Op. ad Matth.* Hom. 14 (Chrys. *Op.* vi. p. cxcix) the name is written *Cleonius*, probably, as Cotelier suggests, a corruption for Cleovius (= Κλεόβιος). He and his followers are mentioned by Theodoret *H. F.* i. 1, ii. 1; but no particulars are given.

6. πᾶσα δὲ κ.τ.λ.] From Matt. xv. 13 quoted nearly word for word.

9. ἐχθροὶ κ.τ.λ.] An expression

borrowed from Phil. iii. 18. Just below the words τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων κ.τ.λ. are adapted from 1 Cor. ii. 8.

12. κυριοκτόνων] See *Tars.* 3, with the note.

30. μνημονεύετε ὑμῶν] The words ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς, which stand before ὑμῶν in the genuine Ignatius, have disappeared, so that the sentence is imperfect. Hence ὑμῶν is altered into ἡμῶν in some Greek texts; and the Latin translator, reading μνημονεύεται, boldly renders the passage, '*memor est vestri ecclesia quae est in Syria*', unless indeed we ought to read '*memores este vestri ecclesiae etc.*'

καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις· καὶ οἱ κατὰ ἄνδρα ἀλλήλους ἀγαπάτε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ. ἀγνίζεται ὑμῶν τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα, οὐ μόνον νῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω· ἔτι γὰρ ἐπὶ κινδύνων εἰμί· ἀλλὰ πιστὸς ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληρῶσαί μου τὴν αἴτησιν καὶ ὑμῶν· ἐν ᾧ εὔρε- 5
θείημεν ἅμωμοι. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ.

4.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΙ.

ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ πατρὸς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτήρι, ἐν ᾧ ἀσπά- 10
ζομαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν οὔσαν ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Μαίανδρῳ καὶ εὐχομαι ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν· ἐν ᾧ πλεῖστα χαίρειν ὑμᾶς εἶη.

I. Γνούς ὑμῶν τὸ πολνεύτακτον τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγάπης, ἀγαλλιόμενος προειλάμην ἐν πίστει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ προσ- 15
λαλῆσαι ὑμῖν. ἀξιωθεὶς γὰρ ὀνόματος θείου καὶ ποθεινοῦ, ἐν οἷς περιφέρω δεσμοῖς ἄδω τὰς ἐκκλησίας, ἐν αἷς ἔνωσιν

2 ἀγνίζεται ὑμῶν] with I; *castificet vos* 1; ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς g₁g₂g₃g₄. 4 ἐπὶ κινδύνων] ἐπικίνδυνον g₁g₂; ἐπικίνδυνος g_{4s}; ἐπικένδυνος g₃; *in periculo* 1; ὑπὸ κινδυνον I. 6 ὀναίμην] ὀνέμειν g₂.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου πρὸς τραλλησίους (with β in the marg.) g₁; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ β' πρὸς τραλλησίους g₂. None recorded for g₃g₄.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΜΑΓΝΗΣΙΑΙ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ γ πρὸς μαγνησίους g₂; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς μαγνησίους (with γ in the margin) g₁; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς μαγνησίους. γ. g₃; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ (sic) πρὸς μαγνησίους (with γ in the marg.) g₄. See above, p. 105 sq. 10 σωτήρι] g; add. *nostro* 1; add. ἡμῶν I (see p. 105). 11 Μαίανδρῳ]

4. ἐπὶ κινδύνων] For this conjectural reading, on which I have ventured, comp. Xen. *Hipparch.* iv. 5 ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ κινδύνων ἐλαύνητέ που κ.τ.λ.

18. ὅς ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. iv. 10. The expression οὐ τῷ αἵματι

κ.τ.λ. is adapted from 1 Pet. i. 18, and ἔγνωτε Θεὸν κ.τ.λ. from Gal. iv. 9.

22. πιστὸς κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. x. 13.

33. οὐχ οἱ κ.τ.λ.] A loose quotation from Job xxxii. 9, 10, with a

εὐχομαί σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὅς ἐστιν
 σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα δὲ πιστῶν· οὗ τῷ
 20 αἵματι ἐλγτρώθητε· δι' οὗ ἔγνωτε Θεόν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵπ'
 αὐτοῦ ἔγνωσθε· ἐν ᾧ ὑπομένοντες τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπήρειαν
 τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαφεύξεσθε. πιστὸς γάρ, ὅς οὐκ ἑάσει
 ὑμᾶς πειρασθῆναι ἵπὲρ ὃ δύνασθε.

II. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡξιώθη ἰδεῖν [ὑμᾶς] διὰ Δαμᾶ τοῦ ἀξιο-
 25 θεοῦ ὑμῶν ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτέρων Θεοῦ ἀξίων, Βάσ-
 σου καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ τοῦ συμβιωτοῦ μου διακόνου
 Ζωτίωνος, οὗ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ
 τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ χάριτι Θεοῦ ἐν νόμῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

III. Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ πρέπει μὴ καταφρονεῖν τῆς ἡλικίας
 30 τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ πατρὸς πᾶσαν
 ἐντροπὴν αὐτῷ ἀπονέμειν, καθὼς ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους
 πρεσβυτέρους οὐ πρὸς τὴν φαινομένην ἀφορῶντας νεότητα
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐν Θεῷ φρόνησιν· ἐπεὶπερ οὐχ οἱ πολυχρόνιοί
 εἰσι σοφοὶ οὐδὲ οἱ γέροντες ἐπίστανται σύνεσιν, ἀλλὰ
 35 πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἐν βροτοῖς. Δανιὴλ μὲν γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς δω-
 δεκαετῆς γέγονε κάτοχος τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι, καὶ τοὺς μάτην
 τὴν πολιὰν φέροντας πρεσβύτας συκοφάντας καὶ ἐπιθυμη-
 τὰς ἀλλοτρίου κάλλους ἀπήλεγξεν. Σαμουὴλ δέ, παιδάριον

Μεάνδρῳ g₁g₂g₃.

15 προειλάμην] g₁g₂g₃; προειλόμην g₄s.

16 καί]

g₃l; om. g₁g₂g₄.

17 ἔνωσιν] *laudare* (αἰνῆσιν?) l.

22 διαφεύξεσθε]

g₁g₂s₃g₄; *effugite* l; διαρρήξεσθε g₃. In I the sentence is different, but *διαφυγόντες*
 appears there.

ὅς] g₁g₃g₄s l; ὡς g₂.

ἑάσει] ἑάση g₂.

23 δύνασθε]

g₁g₂g₃l; δυνάμεθα g₄.

24 ὑμᾶς] I; vos l; om. g₁g₂g₃g₄.

διὰ Δαμᾶ]

I; *per...damam* l; διὰ δαγμᾶ g₄; διὰδαγμα (sic) g₁; διαδαγμα (sic) g₂; διάδεγμα

ὑποτάσσεται] g₁g₃g₄s l; ὑποτάσ-

σετε g₂.

27 Ζωτίωνος] ζωτιῶνος (sic) g₄.

32 οὗ] g₁g₃g₄l; οὗς g₂.

37 ἐπιθυμητὰς] ἐπιθυμητὰς g₁.

38 ἀπήλεγξεν] g₁g₂; ἀπήλεγε g₃g₄s; *manifestavit* l. The word was incorrectly
 printed ἀπήλειξεν in the ed. princ., which was emended ἀπέδειξεν in the edd.

of Plantinus. This emendation has been adopted by some later editors.

transposition of clauses.

35. Δανιὴλ μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] For these examples which follow, see the parallel passage *Mar. ad Ign.* 2, 3, 4, with the notes.

δωδεκαετῆς] His age is not given in

the narrative, and it is difficult to see whence it could have been derived. It may have been transferred from Solomon; see the note on *Mar. ad Ign.* 3 δυοκαίδεκα κ.τ.λ.

ὃν μικρόν, τὸν ἐνενηκονταετῇ Ἡλεὶ διελέγχει τοῦ Θεοῦ προ-
 τετιμηκότα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας. ὡσαύτως καὶ Ἱερεμίας
 ἀκούει πρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, μὴ λέγε ὅτι νεώτερός εἰμι. Σολομῶν
 δὲ καὶ Ἰωσίας, ὁ μὲν δωδεκαετῆς βασιλεύσας τὴν φοβεράν
 ἐκείνην καὶ δυσερμήνευτον ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν κρίσιν ἕνεκα τῶν 5
 παιδίων ἐποιήσατο, ὁ δὲ ὀκταετῆς ἄρξας τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ
 τὰ τεμένη κατερρίπου καὶ τὰ ἄλση κατεπίμπρα· δαίμοσιν
 γὰρ ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐ Θεῷ, ἀνακείμενα· καὶ τοὺς ψευδοῖερεῖς κατα-
 σφάττει ὡς ἂν φθορέας καὶ ἀπατεῶνας ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' οὐ
 θειότητος λατρευτάς. τοιγαροῦν οὐ τὸ νέον εὐκαταφρόνητον, 10
 ὅταν Θεῷ ἀνακείμενον ᾗ· ἀλλ' ὅταν γνώμην μοχθηρόν, κἂν
 πεπαλαιωμένον ᾗ ἡμερῶν κακῶν. νέος ἦν ὁ χριστοφό-
 ρος Τιμόθεος· ἀλλ' ἀκούσατε, οἷα γράφει αὐτῷ ὁ διδάσκα-
 λος· μηδεὶς σοῦ τῆς νεότητος καταφρονεῖτω, ἀλλὰ τύπος
 γίνοῦ τῶν πιστῶν ἐν λόγῳ, ἐν ἀναστροφῇ. **πρέπον οὖν** 15

1 ὃν μικρόν, τὸν ἐνενηκονταετῇ] ὃν, μικρόν τὸν ἐνενήκοντα ἐτῇ g₂. Ἡλεὶ] or ἡλεὶ
 g₁g₃g₄; ἡλὶ g₂. 7 τεμένη] τεμένει g₂. κατερρίπου] g₁g₂g₃; κατηρίπου g₄.
 There is no authority for κατερίπτει, which is generally read. κατεπίμπρα]
 g₁g₃g₄; κατεπίπρα g₂. 8 ψευδοῖερεῖς] g₃; ψευδιερεῖς g₁sg₂sg₄.
 κατασφάττει] g; *interfecit* l. The editors commonly read κατέσφαττεν against all
 the Greek authorities. 9 ἀπατεῶνας] ἀπαταιῶνας g₂. 11 ἀλλ' ὅταν
 γνώμην μοχθηρόν, κἂν πεπαλαιωμένον κ.τ.λ.] *sed illa aetas quae sententiae nocet, etiam*
si inueterata etc. l.; ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν γνώμην μοχθηρὰν κἂν πεπαλαιωμένον κ.τ.λ. g₂; ἀλλ'
 ὁ τὴν γνώμην μοχθηρὰν κἂν πεπαλαιωμένος κ.τ.λ. g₁; ἀλλ' ὁ τὴν γνώμην μοχθηρὸς
 κἂν πεπαλαιωμένος κ.τ.λ. g₃g₄. I have ventured on a conjectural emendation
 which is suggested by a comparison of the authorities. 14 καταφρονεῖτω]

3. μὴ λέγε κ.τ.λ.] From Jer. i. 7,
 quoted also *Mar. ad Ign.* 3.

7. κατερρίπου] There seems to be
 quite sufficient authority for a verb
 καταρριπῶ (καταριπῶ); see Steph.
Thes. s. v. *κατεριπῶ* (ed. Hase et
 Dind.).

12. πεπαλαιωμένον κ.τ.λ.] From *Su-*
sann. 52 πεπαλαιωμένε ἡμερῶν κακῶν
 (LXX and Theodotion).

14. μηδεὶς σου κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim.
 iv. 12, quoted exactly.

22. Οὐ σέ κ.τ.λ.] Freely quoted
 from 1 Sam. viii. 7 οὐ σέ ἐξουθενήκα-
 σιν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐμέ ἐξουθενώκασιν (v. l. ἐξου-

θενήκασιν). The next passage, οὐ γὰρ
 καθ' ἡμῶν κ.τ.λ., is from Exod. xvi. 8.

24. οὐδεὶς κ.τ.λ.] The passage
 which follows is taken from *Apost.*
Const. vi. 1, 2 Δαθὰν γὰρ καὶ Ἀβειρῶν
 ἀντιπρόσωποι γενόμενοι Μωσεὶ κατεπέ-
 θησαν εἰς γῆν, Κορὲ δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ
 διακόσιοι πενήκοντα διαστασιάσαντες
 πρὸς παρανάλωμα γεγονάσι...καὶ Ἀζα-
 ρίας [ὁ] καὶ Ὀζίας...κατατολήσας τῆς
 ἱερωσύνης...ἐξανέτειλε λέπραν...καίτοιγε
 οὐδὲ εἰς ἀτιμώρητος· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀβειρ-
 σαλὼν καὶ Ἀβεδδαδὰν ἔμειναν ἀτιμώρη-
 τοι κ.τ.λ. (comp. § 3 κατήλθοσαν εἰς
 ἄβου ζῶντες), combined with ii. 27 ὡς

ἐστιν καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπακούειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν καὶ κατὰ
 μὴδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγειν· φοβερὸν γάρ ἐστι τῷ τοιούτῳ
 ἀντιλέγειν· οὐ γὰρ τουτοῦ τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις,
 ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται, τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον
 20 παρά τινος παραλογισθῆναι· τὸ δὲ τοιοῦτο οὐ πρὸς
 ἄνθρωπον ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεὸν ἔχει τὴν ἀναφοράν. τῷ γὰρ
 Σαμουὴλ λέγει ὁ Θεός, οὐ γὰρ καθ' ἡμῶν ὁ ρογγυσμὸς,
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ Κηρύου τοῦ Θεοῦ. οὐδεὶς ἔμεινεν ἀτιμώρητος
 25 ἐπαρθεὶς κατὰ τῶν κρειττόνων· οὔτε γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ Δαθὰν
 καὶ Ἀβειρῶν ἀντεῖπαν, ἀλλὰ Μωσεὶ καὶ ζῶντες εἰς ἄδου
 κατηνέχθησαν. Κορὲ δὲ καὶ οἱ συμφρονήσαντες αὐτῷ κατὰ
 Ἀαρὼν διακόσιοι πεντήκοντα πυρίφλεκτοι γεγόνασιν. Ἀβες-
 σαλώμ, πατραλοίας γενόμενος, ἐκκρεμῆς ἐν φυτῷ γέγονεν
 30 καὶ ἀκίσιν ἐβλήθη τὴν κακόβουλον καρδίαν. Ἀβεδδαδὰν

καταφρονεῖτο g₂.17 τῷ] g₁g₂g₄; τὸ g₃.21 ἀλλὰ πρὸς] g₁g₂g₃;πρὸς δὲ g₄.22 παρελογίσαντο] παρελογίσαντο g₂.

23 Μωσῆς] μωϋσῆς

(sic) g₃. But the name is not so written in this authority where it occurs just below. γὰρ] g₁g₂l; om. g₄. ἡμῶν] So all the authorities (g₁g₂g₃g₄l),

as in LXX, Exod. xvi. 8. The editors commonly print ὑμῶν.

26 Ἀβειρῶν]

ἀβιρῶν g₂.ἀντεῖπαν] g₁g₂; ἀντεῖπον g₃g₄.Μωσεὶ] μωσῇ g₂.28 Ἀβεσσαλώμ] g₁g₃g₄; ἄβεσαλῶν g₂.29 πατραλοίας] πατραλύας g₁g₂.

ἐκκρεμῆς] g₄; ἐκκρεμνῆς g₁; ἐκκρεμνῆς g₂; ἀρρῆνσις l; ἐκεῖ κρεμνῆς g₃.

30 Ἀβεδ-
 δαδὰν] g₁g₂g₄; achab (or ahab or aab) et dadan l; ἀβιερ g₃. It seems probable
 that the reading of l (aabetdadān, when taken in its simplest form) is only a cor-
 ruption of ἀβεδδαδάν. See the lower note.

γὰρ ὁ Σαούλ, ἄνευ τοῦ Σαμουὴλ προσ-
 ενέγκας, ἤκουσεν ὅτι Μεματαιώται σοι
 ...καὶ ὡς Ὀζίας...ἐλεπρώθη διὰ παρα-
 νομίαν, οὕτως καὶ πᾶς λαϊκὸς οὐκ ἀτιμώ-
 ρητος ἔσται...οὐχὶ οἱ Κορεῖται...πυρίκαν-
 στοὶ ἐγένοντο...καὶ Δαθὰν καὶ Ἀβειρῶν
 ζῶντες κατέβησαν εἰς ἄδου, and viii. 46
 οἱ Κορεῖται καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ὀζίας...γε-
 νόμηναι οἱ μὲν πυρίφλεκτοι, ὁ δὲ κατὰ
 τοῦ μετώπου λεπρός.

30. Ἀβεδδαδὰν] The reference is
 explained by *Apost. Const.* vi. 2 (the
 context of the passage already quoted)
 ὁ δὲ Ἀβεδδαδάν, Οὐκ ἔστι μοι, φησί,
 μερὶς ἐν Δαυιδ οὐδὲ κληρονομία ἐν νύφ

Ἰεσσαί, δῆλον ὡς ἀναξιοπαθῶν ἀρχεσθαὶ
 ὑπὸ Δαυιδ κ.τ.λ. It is therefore a
 blundering substitution of Obededom
 (2 Sam. vi. 10), sometimes written
 Ἀβεδδαδάν, for Sheba (2 Sam. xx.
 1) by the author of the *Apostolic
 Constitutions*; and the blunder has
 been blindly copied by our Ignatian
 writer. Cotelier (on *Apost. Const.*
 l. c.) suggests an explanation of
 the error; 'Initio potuit scriptum
 haberi Ἀβεέ, ut est in MS Alexandr.
 2 Reg. xx. 1, 7, vel etiam Σαβεέ, ita
 ut nonnemo ad oram libri sui Ἀβελα
 δὰν posuerit e 2 Reg. xx. 18, unde

ὡσαύτως τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφαιρεῖται δι' ὁμοίαν αἰτίαν. Ὁζίας λεπροῦται, κατατολήσας ἱερέων καὶ ἱερωσύνης. Σαοὺλ ἀτιμouται, μὴ περιμένοντας τὸν ἀρχιερέα Σαμονήλ. χρή οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰδεῖσθαι τοὺς κρείττους.

IV. Καὶ πρόπον ἐστὶν μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανούς 5 ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ τὸ λέγεσθαι ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶναι μακάριον ποιεῖ. εἴ τινες ἐπίσκοπον μὲν λέγουσιν, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ποιούσιν· τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐρεῖ καὶ αὐτός, ὃς καὶ ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μόνος φύσει ἀρχιερεύς, τί με καλεῖτε, Κύριε, Κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω; 10 οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι οὐκ εὐσυνείδητοι, ἀλλ' εἰρωνές τινες καὶ μόρφωνες εἶναί μοι φαίνονται.

V. Ἐπεὶ οὖν τέλος τὰ πράγματα ἔχει, καὶ πρόκειται ζωὴ ἢ ἐκ φυλακῆς καὶ θάνατος ὁ ἐκ παρακοῆς, καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν εἰρημένων εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ αἰρεθέντος μέλλει χωρεῖν, 15 φύγωμεν τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἐκλεξώμεθα τὴν ζωὴν. δύο γὰρ λέγω χαρακτῆρας ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐρίσκεισθαι, καὶ τὸν μὲν νομίσματος τὸν δὲ παραχαράγματος· ὁ θεοσεβῆς ἄνθρωπος

7 εἴ τινες] g₁g₂sg₃; οἵτινες g₄; *quidam autem* l. 8 ὃς καὶ] g₄s; *qui et* l; ὡς καὶ g₁g₂; om. g₃ (the transcriber probably had the reading ὡς καὶ before him, and the words seemed superfluous).

12 φαίνονται] g₂sg₄s; φαίνονται g₁g₃.

9 ἀρχιερεύς] g₁g₂g₃; ἱεράρχης g₄. 14 ἕκαστος] g₁g₂sg₄s; *unusquisque* l; ἕκαστον g₃. 15 εἰρημένων] g₁g₂g₃; ἡρημένων g₄s; *de praedictis* l. The reading ἡρημένων was a conjecture of Morel's, accepted by subsequent editors.

τοῦ αἰρεθέντος] Cotelier; *quem sibi...elegerit* l; τοῦ ἀρεθέντος (sic) g₃; τοῦ εὐρεθέντος g₁g₂sg₄. I has εἰς τὸν ἴδιον τόπον. In l the sentence runs *in locum quem sibi de praedictis elegerit*, connecting τῶν εἰρημένων with what follows. The misprints in g₃ are especially frequent hereabouts, e.g. ὑττει for ἐπει, ξωῇ for ξωή, χάρειν for χωρεῖν. A comparison of the authorities led me to con-
 jecture

postea factum 'Αβεδαδάν'. The reading 'Αβνέρ in g₃ here is of course a deliberate emendation.

8. ὁ ἀληθινὸς κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* 9, and see also *Apost. Const.* viii. 46 οὐ γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἢ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους πολεμοῦσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντων ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχιερέα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν κ.τ.λ., and again πρῶτος τοῖνυν τῇ φύσει ἀρχιερεύς ὁ μονογενὴς

Χριστὸς κ.τ.λ.

10. τί με καλεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] From Luke vi. 46.

11. μόρφωνες] '*impersonators, hypocrites*'. The lexicons do not give any other instance of the word. Its coinage was perhaps suggested by 2 Tim. iii. 5 ἔχοντες μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας.

15. τῶν εἰρημένων] i.e. the two

νόμισμά ἐστιν ὑπὸ Θεοῦ χαραχθέν· ὁ ἀσεβῆς ψευδώνυμον
 20 νόμισμα, κίβδηλον, νόθον, παραχάραγμα, οὐχ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἀλλ’
 ὑπὸ διαβόλου ἐνεργηθέν. οὐ δύο φύσεις ἀνθρώπων λέγω,
 ἀλλὰ τὸν ἓνα ἄνθρωπον ποτὲ μὲν Θεοῦ ποτὲ δὲ διαβόλου
 γίνεσθαι· ἐὰν εὐσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ ἐστιν· ἐὰν δὲ
 ἀσεβῇ τις, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ διαβόλου, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀλλ’
 25 ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης γινόμενος. οἱ ἄπιστοι εἰκόνα ἔχουσι
 τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς πονηρίας· οἱ πιστοὶ εἰκόνα ἔχουσι τοῦ
 ἄρχοντος Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· δι’ οὗ ἐὰν μὴ
 αὐθαιρέτως ἔχωμεν τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ
 πάθος, τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἡμῖν.

30 VI. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις προσώποις τὸ
 πᾶν πλήθος ἐθεώρησα ἐν πίστει καὶ ἡγάπησα, παραινῶ, ἐν
 ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ σπουδάσατε πάντα πράττειν, προκαθημένου
 τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς
 τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν διακόνων τῶν ἐμοὶ
 35 γλυκντάτων πεπιστευμένων διακονίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ὃς
 πρὸ αἰῶνος παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ γεννηθεὶς ἦν λόγος Θεός, μονο-

ture τοῦ αἰρεθέντος, before I saw that it had been anticipated by Cotelier and that Patrick Young (see Ussher, p. 16) before Cotelier had suggested τὸν αἰρεθέντα.

21 οὐ δύο] g_2g_4s ; non duas 1; δύο (om. οὐ) g_1 ; δύο (sic) g_3 . 22 πότε μὲν]

$g_1g_3g_4s$; τότε μὲν g_2 . διαβόλου] $g_1g_2s g_3$; τοῦ διαβόλου g_4 . 25 γινόμενος]

$g_1g_2s g_4s$; γενόμενος g_3 . 26 οἱ πιστοὶ] $g_1g_2g_3g_4s$; οἱ δὲ πιστοὶ I; fideles

autem [1]. The interpolator however has so altered the context, that the text of I does not weigh much in determining his reading; and I freely inserts connecting particles. 27 Θεοῦ] $g_1g_2s g_3$; τοῦ θεοῦ g_4 . ἐὰν] $g_1g_3g_4s$;

ἂν g_2 . 28 ἔχωμεν] ἔχομεν g_2 . 31 ἡγάπησα] g_1g_4 ; ἡγάπησα g_2 ;

ἀγάπη g_3 ; dilectione l. There is the same v. l. in I. 36 Θεός] $g_1g_2s g_4s l$;

θεοῦ g_3 ; comp. Philippi. 2 for this same v. l. in g_3 .

classes of persons indicated in the preceding chapter. If the reading τοῦ αἰρεθέντος be correct, the words will mean ‘the place assigned to the alternative chosen’, i.e. to obedience (φυλακῆς) or disobedience (παρακοῆς), as the case may be.

35. ὃς πρὸ αἰῶνος κ.τ.λ.] This is directed against the teaching of Marcellus of Ancyra, as Zahn (*I. v.*

A. p. 137 sq.) has rightly seen. The main charge against the Christology of Marcellus was that he obscured the doctrine of the personality of the Son at both ends; (1) He denied its existence before the world began (controverted in ὃς πρὸ αἰῶνος...μονογενὴς υἱός), and (2) He merged it in God the Father at the end of the world (controverted in ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ...

γενῆς υἱός, καὶ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων ὁ αὐτὸς διαμένει·
 τῆς γὰρ βασιλείας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔσται τέλος, φησὶν Δανιὴλ
 ὁ προφήτης. πάντες οὖν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπήσωμεν,
 καὶ μηδεὶς κατὰ σάρκα βλεπέτω τὸν πλησίον ἀλλ' ἐν Χρι-
 στῷ Ἰησοῦ. μηδὲν ἔστω ἐν ὑμῖν, ὃ δυνήσεται ὑμᾶς μερίσαι, 5
 ἀλλ' ἐνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ Θεῷ δι' αὐτοῦ
 ἐν Χριστῷ.

VII. Ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν
 ποιεῖ· οὐ δύνάμει γάρ, φησὶν, ποιεῖν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδέν·
 οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, μηδὲ πρεσβύτερος, μὴ 10
 διάκονος, μὴ λαϊκός· μηδέ τι φαινέσθω ὑμῖν εὐλογον παρὰ
 τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην· τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον παράνομον καὶ Θεοῦ
 ἐχθρόν. πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ ἅμα συνέρ-
 χεσθε· μία δέησις ἔστω κοινὴ, εἰς νοῦς, μία ἐλπίς, ἐν ἀγάπῃ,
 ἐν πίστει τῇ ἀμώμῳ τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, οὗ ἅμεινον 15

1 ὁ αὐτός] $g_1 g_2 s g_3$; αὐτός (om. ὁ) g_4 ; *ipse* l.

ἑαυτοῦ $g_3 g_4 s$ (with Joh. v. 30); *a me ipso* l.

sive l; μὴ g_4 .

μὴ...μὴ] $g_1 g_2 g_4$; μὴδὲ...μὴδὲ (sic) g_3 ;

seu (sive)... *sive* l.

13 συνέρχεσθε] $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$; συνέρχεσθαι g_2 ; *convenite* l.

θεοῦ g_4 .

17 ἐπὶ ἑνᾷ] $g_1 g_3$; ὡς ἐπὶ ἑνᾷ $g_2 g_4 s$ l.

9 ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ] $g_1 g_2$; ἀπ'

10 μὴδὲ] $g_1 g_2$; καὶ μὴδὲ (sic) g_3 ;

seu (sive)... *sive* l.

16 Θεοῦ] $g_1 g_2 s g_3$; τοῦ

19 μύθοις] $g_1 s g_4 s$ with l;

διαμένει): see e.g. Euseb. *c. Marc.* ii. 4 (p. 110 Gaisford) ἀρχὴν τε πρόσκαιρον καὶ νεωτέραν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδούς, καὶ ταύτης τέλος ὑφίστάμενος, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἀληθῶς μονογενῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱὸν ἀρνούμενος, λόγον δὲ ψιλὸν ἀνούσιον καὶ ἀνυπόστατον ὑποτιθέμενος κ.τ.λ. The prophecy of Daniel (ii. 44, vii. 14, 27), quoted below, is taken, not from the Greek text of the prophet, but from the indirect quotation in the angel Gabriel's message, Luke i. 33. This same passage is quoted also by Eusebius against Marcellus, *c. Marc.* ii. 1 (p. 66). See also *Ps-Smyrn.* 3.

9. οὐ δύναμαι κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. v. 30.

20. ἐπέχετε] 'give heed'. If the

reading ἐνέχετε be correct, it must mean 'insist upon', but ἐνέχειν with the dative generally signifies 'to press upon', i.e. 'to threaten' (e.g. Gen. xlix. 23), and the emendation seems therefore necessary.

21. τὰ ἀρχαῖα κ.τ.λ.] Verbatim from 2 Cor. v. 17, as commonly read, but τὰ πάντα should be omitted there.

28. οὐ ῥήτος κ.τ.λ.] The original text of Ignatius seemed to favour strongly the doctrine of Marcellus (see above, p. 126 sq.); but the interpolator, whose theological sympathies lay in quite the opposite direction, has altered it so as to make it a direct polemic against this heretic. Marcellus denied, or seemed to deny, the separate personality, οὐσία or ὑπό-

οὐδέν ἐστιν. πάντες ὡς εἰς εἰς τὸν ναὸν Θεοῦ συντρέχετε, ὡς ἐπὶ ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ἐπὶ ἓνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ ἀγεννήτου Θεοῦ.

VIII. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ταῖς ἑτεροδοξίαις, μηδὲ μύθοις
 20 ἐπέχετε καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις καὶ Ἰουδαϊκοῖς τύ-
 φοις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονε καινὰ τὰ πάντα.
 εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ νόμον Ἰουδαϊκὸν καὶ περιτομὴν σαρκὸς
 ζῶμεν, ἀρνούμεθα τὴν χάριν εἰληφέναι. οἱ γὰρ θειότατοι
 προφῆται κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἔζησαν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ
 25 ἐδιώχθησαν, ἐμπνεόμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς χάριτος, εἰς τὸ πληρο-
 φορηθῆναι τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας ὅτι εἰς Θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ παντοκρά-
 τωρ ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ
 αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ λόγος οὐ ῥητὸς ἀλλ' οὐσιώδης· οὐ
 γάρ ἐστιν λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρου φώνημα, ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεϊκῆς

fabulis 1; μύθους *g₂g₃*.

20 ἐπέχετε] *intendatis* 1; ἐνέχετε *g₃*; ἀνέχετε *g₁g₂g₄*.

As both ἐνέχετε and ἀνέχετε are unintelligible, I have substituted ἐπέχετε. Vedelius conjectured ἐνέχεσθε, and Ussher προσέχετε (comp. 1 Tim. i. 4).

21 τὰ πάντα]

g₁g₂g₃; πάντα (om. τὰ) *g₄*.

25 ἀπὸ] *g₁g₂g₃*; ὑπὸ *g₄*.

26 ἀπειθοῦντας]

g₁g₂g₃g₄ with I. There is no authority for ἀπιστοῦντας. The ed. princ. misprinted it ἀπειτοῦντας, which Morel corrected into ἀπιστοῦντας.

στασις, of the Son; his conception of the Logos reduced it to a mere utterance of the Father; it was a voice issuing from silence; Euseb. *Eccī. Theol.* ii. 8 (p. 214) οἶα λόγον αὐτὸν σημαντικὸν τινος ἢ προστακτικὸν προελθεῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ φάσκει, *ib.* ii. 9 (p. 219) μετὰ δὲ τὴν σιγὴν καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν προελθεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ...κατὰ προφορὰν φωνῆς ἐνάρθρου, φθεγγόμενον δηλαδὴ καὶ λαλοῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁμοίως ἀνθρώποις (comp. *ib.* iii. 3, p. 318 sq.). Accordingly Eusebius in reply discusses the different significations of λόγος (*ib.* ii. 13, p. 229 sq.). Among others he mentions ὁ διὰ γλώττης καὶ φωνῆς ἐνάρθρου σημαίνων τι, and he rejects this (τὸν διὰ φωνῆς ἀκούμενον) as inadequate for the theological conception, because

it does not allow a distinct ὑπόστασις. Thus our Ignatian writer directly controverts the language in which Marcellus either actually stated or was represented to have stated his opinions. See also Meletius in Epiphanius. *Hær.* lxxiii. 30 (p. 878 sq.) λόγος ἐστὶ τε καὶ λέγεται υἱός, οὐ μὴν φωνὴ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲ ῥῆμα νοεῖται· ὅφ' ἐστὶ κε γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐνεργεῖ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα κ.τ.λ. It seems to follow from this change that our interpolator read the words in his text of the original Ignatius αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών, without the insertion αἰδῖος οὐκ (see above, pp. 125, 126), since otherwise he would not have gone so far out of his way, even if he had thought it necessary to make any alteration at all.

οὐσία γεννητή· ὃς κατὰ πάντα εὐαρέστησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν.

IX. Εἰ οὖν οἱ [ἐν] παλαιοῖς γράμμασιν ἀναστραφέντες εἰς καινότητα ἐλπίδος ἦλθον ἐκδεχόμενοι Χριστόν, ὡς ὁ Κύριος διδάσκει λέγων, εἰ ἐπιστεῖτε Μωσῇ, ἐπιστεῖτε 5 ἄν ἐμοί· περὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψεν, καὶ, Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἡγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν, καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἐχάρη· πρὶν γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ [γενέσθαι] ἐγὼ εἰμι· πῶς ἡμεῖς δυνησόμεθα ζῆσαι χωρὶς αὐτοῦ; οὐ καὶ οἱ προφήται ὄντες δούλοι τῷ πνεύματι προεώρων αὐτόν καὶ 10

1 ὃς κατὰ πάντα εὐαρέστησεν] I; ὃς πάντα κατεναρέστησεν g_1 ; ὃς πάντα κατεναρέσκησε g_3 ; ἐν πᾶσιν εὐαρέστος g_2g_4 ; *in omnibus bene complacens* l. τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν] $g_1g_3g_4$ with I; τῷ ὑποστήσαντι g_2 ; *substituto* l. 3 ἐν παλαιοῖς] I; παλαιοῖς (om. ἐν) $g_1g_2g_3g_4$; *ex antiquis* l. The reading of g however might perhaps stand, as the dative of the *norma*. 4 καινότητα] g_2sg_4s with I; κενότητα g_1 ; *vacuam* (*srem*) l; νεότητα g_3 . 5 ἐπιστεῖτε] g_1g_3 ; ἐπιστεῦσατε g_2g_4 . Μωσῇ]

1. τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν] It is tempting with Zahn (see *I. v. A.* p. 137, note 1) to adopt the other reading τῷ ὑποστήσαντι, i.e. 'who gave Him His ὑπόστασις' (comp. e.g. Alex. Aphrod. *Probl.* I τῷ Θεῷ τῷ καὶ τὴν τούτων οὐσίαν ὑποστήσαντι); but we are precluded by the fact that τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν stands in the text of the genuine Ignatius.

5. εἰ ἐπιστεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] The passages are from Joh. v. 46 (εἰ ἐπιστεῖτε κ.τ.λ.) and Joh. viii. 56, 58 (Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατήρ κ.τ.λ.).

8. γενέσθαι] This insertion from Joh. viii. 58 seems necessary, for πρὶν is never a preposition. The editors have silently acquiesced in the faulty text. Comp. *Philipp.* 6.

12. αὐτὸς κ.τ.λ.] Verbatim from Is. xxxv. 4. The next passage, ὁ μὴ ἐργαζόμενος κ.τ.λ., is loosely quoted from 2 Thess. iii. 10; the third, ἐν ἰδρώτι κ.τ.λ., is word for word from Gen. iii. 19.

13. ἀργίαις κ.τ.λ.] Chrysost. *de Laz.* i. 7 (I. p. 716) οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι νομίζουσιν ὅτι

δι' ἀργίαν αὐτοῖς τὸ σάββατον δέδοται. See Mayor on *Juv.* xiv. 105 sq.

16. σαββατίζετω κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*

ii. 36 γίνωσκε δημιουργίαν Θεοῦ...καὶ σαββατιεῖς...σαββατισμὸν μελέτης νόμων, οὐ χειρῶν ἀργίαν, vi. 23 ὁ σαββατίζειν δι' ἀργίας νομοθεήσας διὰ τὴν τῶν νόμων μελέτην νῦν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς, ἀναλογιζομένους δημιουργίας καὶ προνοίας νόμον, εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ Θεῷ, vii. 23 τὸ σάββατον μέντοι καὶ τὴν κυριακὴν εορτάζετε, ὅτι τὸ μὲν δημιουργίας ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα τὸ δὲ ἀναστάσεως, vii. 36 κόσμον ἐκτίσας...καὶ σάββατον ὥρισας εἰς μνήμην τούτου...εἰς μελέτην τῶν σῶν νόμων, and again σαββατίζεω ἐνετείλω, οὐ πρόφασιν ἀργίας διδοῦς.

μελέτη νόμων] See *Philad.* 2.

17. ἔωλα] 'stale meats, a day old'; because the Jews were not allowed to kindle a fire on the sabbath (*Exod.* xxxv. 3), and were ordered to cook their meat on the previous day (*Exod.* xvi. 23); comp. Hieron. *in Isai.* lxxv. 4 sq. (*Op.* iv. p. 775) 'jus hesternum, quod Graeci vocant ἔωλον, avidis faucibus devora-

ὡς διδάσκαλον ἀνέμενον, καὶ προσεδόκων ὡς Κύριον καὶ σωτήρα, λέγοντες· αὐτὸς ἥξει καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς. μηκέτι οὖν σαββατίζωμεν Ἰουδαϊκῶς καὶ ἀργίαις χαίροντες· ὁ μὴ ἐργαζόμενος γὰρ μὴ ἐσθιέτω· ἐν ἰδρώτι γὰρ τοῦ προσώ-
 15 ποῦ τοῦ φάγῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦ, φασὶ τὰ λόγια. ἀλλ' ἕκα-
 στος ὑμῶν σαββατίζειτω πνευματικῶς, μελέτη νόμων χαίρων,
 οὐ σώματος ἀνέσει· δημιουργίαν Θεοῦ θαυμάζων, οὐχ ἔωλα
 ἐσθίων καὶ χλιαρὰ πίνων καὶ μεμετρημένα βαδίζων καὶ
 ὀρχήσῃ καὶ κρότοις νοῦν οὐκ ἔχουσι χαίρων· καὶ

g₂g₃; μωσεὶ g₁^sg₄^s. 8 εἶδεν g₂. γενέσθαι] om. gl. 9 δυνασόμεθα]
 g₁g₃g₄^s; δυνασώμεθα g₂. 13 σαββατίζωμεν] g₄^s; σαββατίζομεν g₁g₂g₃. ἀρ-
 γίαις] g₂g₄^s; ἀργίαις g₁g₃. 14 ἰδρώτι] ἰδρώτητι g₂. 15 φάγῃ] φάγῃ g₂g₄.
 φασὶ τὰ λόγια] g₁g₂g₃; τὰ λόγια φησιν g₄; *dicunt eloquia* l. 16 νόμων] g₁g₂g₃g₄;
legis l. The common reading νόμον was Morel's conj.; comp. *Philad.* 4 for the
 same v. l. 17 οὐχ ἔωλα] οὐκ ἔωλα (sic) g₄^s; οὐχ ἔωλα g₂; οὐκ ἔωλα g₁g₃; *non om-*
nia (οὐ καὶ ὅλα or οὐχὶ ὅλα?) l. 18 μεμετρημένα] μεμετρημένα g₂. 19 ὀρχήσῃ]
 ὀρχήσει g₂. κρότοις...χαίρων] *plausum manuum* (χειρῶν) *nunc* (νῦν) *habens* l.

bant [Judaei]', quoted by Ussher.

18. χλιαρὰ] '*lukewarm drinks*'; comp. Justin. *Dial.* 29 (p. 246) μηδέ, ὅτι θερμὸν πίνομεν ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν, δεινὸν ἡγεῖσθε. The drinks were 'lukewarm', not cold, because some degree of warmth could be kept in them by furnaces lighted overnight. The conditions of lighting and keeping lighted and of using furnaces for this purpose are laid down in Mishna *Shabbath*.

μεμετρημένα βαδίζων] Referring to the Talmudical regulations which defined the limits of a Sabbath day's journey (Acts i. 12); comp. Mishna *Eruvin* passim. See also Orig. *de Princ.* iv. 17 (I. p. 176) περὶ τοῦ σαββάτου φάσκοντες τόπον ἐκάστω εἶναι δισχιλίους πήχεις, Hieron. *Epist.* 121 (I. 884) 'Barachibas et Simeon et Hellel magistri nostri tradiderunt nobis, ut bis mille pedes ambulemus in sabbato', where he has erroneously substituted feet for cubits. These passages are quoted by Ussher.

19. ὀρχήσῃ καὶ κρότοις κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Exod. xxxii. 19, Judges xxi. 21, 2 Sam. vi. 16, 21 (LXX). The common Hebrew word for a festival was derived from 'dancing'; see Gesen. *Thes.* s. v. 227. Dancing was also a religious ceremonial even with the staid and ascetic sect of the Therapeutae; see Philo *de Vit. Cont.* 11 (II. p. 485 M). The Christian fathers are frequent in their denunciations of this mode of observing their sabbaths among the Jews; e.g. Augustin. *In Psalm. xxxiii Enarr.* ii. 6 (*Op.* iv. 191) 'Observa diem sabbati non carnaliter, non Judaicis deliciis, qui otio abutuntur ad nequitiam; melius enim utique tota die foderent, quam tota die saltarent'; comp. ib. *In Psalm. xci Enarr.* 2 (iv. 982), *Serm. ix de Dec. Chord.* 3 (v. 50) 'melius feminae eorum die sabbati lanam facerent quam toto die in menianis suis impudice saltarent', Chrysost. *adv. Iud.* i. 2 (I. p. 590) οὗτοι δὲ χοροὺς μαλακῶν συναγάγοντες κ.τ.λ.

μετὰ τὸ σαββατίσαι ἑορταζέτω πᾶς φιλόχριστος τὴν κυριακὴν, τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, τὴν βασιλίδαν, τὴν ὑπατον πασῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἣν περιμένων ὁ προφήτης ἔλεγεν, εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης· ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἡμῶν ἀνέτειλεν, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου γέγονεν νίκη ἐν Χριστῷ· ὃν τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀπωλείας ἀρνοῦνται, οἱ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὧν ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία, οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες, οἱ φιλήδονοι καὶ οὐ φιλόθεοι, μύρφωσιν εὔσεβείας ἔχοντες τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἡρνημένοι, οἱ χριστέμποροι, τὸν λόγον καπηλεύοντες καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πωλοῦντες, οἱ τῶν γυναικῶν φθορεῖς καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμηταί, οἱ χρηματολαίλαπες· ὧν ῥυσθείητε ἐλέει Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

X. Μὴ οὖν ἀναίσθητοι ὦμεν τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ·

5 νίκη] $g_1 g_2 s g_3$; ἡ νίκη g_4 . ὃν] $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$; ὧν g_2 . 6 σταυροῦ] σωτήρος $g_1 g_2 s g_3 g_4$; *salvatoris* l. I have restored σταυροῦ from Phil. iii. 18. The similarity of the contractions of the two words has doubtless caused the substitution. 9 χριστέμποροι] χρηστέμποροι g_2 . 11 χρηματολαίλαπες] χρηματολέλαπαις (sic) g_2 . 15 μιμήσεται] $g_1 g_2$ with I; μιμήσεται $g_3 g_4 s$. I translates nisi (ἐὰν μὴ) nos tentaverit. καθά] g_1 with I; καθὼ g_3 ; καθά καὶ g_2 ; καὶ g_4 (so Bryennios, but does it not read καθά καὶ with g_2 ?). 16 παρατηρήσῃ] g_1 ; παρατηρήσῃς $g_2 s g_4 s$; παρατηρήσεις g_3 . In Ps. cxxx. 3 there are both readings, παρατηρήσῃς and παρατηρήσῃ. 19 οὐ] $g_1 g_2$; οὐ γάρ g_3 ; non enim l; οὐδὲ g_4 . 20 ᾧ] g_2 ; quo l; ὃ (with Is. lxii. 2) $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$. 22 πρῶτως] $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$; πρῶτος g_2 . 24 ὑπέρθεσθε] $g_1 g_2 g_4$ with I; ἀπόθεσθε g_3 . 25 χάριτος] χαρίτης g_2 . 26 αὐλίσθητε] g ; exultate l; ἀλλισθητε I. 28 πανσθέντα] πανθέντα g_4 . ὁ γὰρ χριστιανισμὸς...χριστιανισμὸν εἰς ὃν πᾶν ἔθνος κ.τ.λ.] So I, except that for εἰς ὃν his text has ᾧ; non enim christianiani.

1. ἑορταζέτω κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* ii. 60 καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀναστάσιμῳ, τῇ κυριακῇ, σπουδαιοτέρως ἀπαντᾶτε, vii. 36 διὸ καὶ τὴν ἀναστάσιμον, ἑορτὴν πανηγυρίζοντες τῇ κυριακῇ χαίρομεν κ.τ.λ.; comp. v. 20.

2. τὴν βασιλίδαν] 'the queen of days', as in Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xlv. 10 (I. p. 841) ἡ βασίλισσα τῶν ὥρων τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν ἡμερῶν πομπεῖ; comp. ib. *Orat.* xviii. 28 (I. p. 348 sq.) τὸ ἅγιον πάσχα καὶ περιβόητον ἡ βασίλισσα τῶν ἡμερῶν. So too the Jews spoke of the sabbath as שַׁבָּת. See the

notes of Ussher and Cotelier.

3. εἰς τὸ τέλος κ.τ.λ.] Ps. vi. 1, xii (xi). 1. The LXX rendering ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης was commonly so explained by the Greek fathers, e.g. Euseb. *Comm. in Psalm.* (Op. v. 120, Migne) ὀγδὴ ἡ ἀναστάσιμος τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμέρα κυριακὴ σωτήριος (comp. ib. 140). Similarly Gregory Nazianzen, Theodoret, and Cyril of Alexandria. The Hebrew is probably a musical term 'on the octave', whatever may be the meaning of 'octave' in this connexion.

- 15 εὖν μιμήσηται ἡμᾶς καθὰ πράσσομεν, οὐκ ἔτι ἐσμέν.
 . εὖν γὰρ ἀνομίας παρατηρήσῃ, Κύριε, Κύριε, τίς ὑποστή-
 ρεται; γενώμεθα οὖν ἄξιοι τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἧς εἰλήφαμεν.
 ὃς γὰρ ἂν ἄλλω ὀνόματι καλεῖται πλεῖον τούτου, οὗτος οὐκ
 ἔστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὐ δέδεκται τὴν προφητείαν τὴν λέγουσαν
 20 περὶ ἡμῶν ὅτι κληθήσεται ὀνόματι καινῷ, ᾧ ὁ Κύριος ὀνο-
 μάσει αὐτόν, καὶ ἔσται λαὸς ἄγιος. ὅπερ καὶ πεπλήρωται
 πρῶτως ἐν Συρίᾳ· ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ γὰρ ἐχρημάτισαν οἱ μαθη-
 ταὶ χριστιανοί, Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλη-
 σίαν. ὑπέρθεσθε οὖν τὴν κακὴν ζύμην τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν,
 25 τὴν σεσηπυῖαν, καὶ μεταβάλλεσθε εἰς νέαν ζύμην χάριτος.
 αὐλίσθητε ἐν Χριστῷ, ἵνα μὴ ὁ ἀλλότριος ὑμῶν κυριεύσῃ.
 ἄτοπὸν ἔστιν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν λαλεῖν ἐπὶ γλώσσης, καὶ τὸν
 πανσθέντα ἰουδαϊσμόν ἐπὶ διανοίας ἔχειν· ὁ γὰρ χριστιανι-

tas in judaismum credidit, sed judaismus in christianitatem, omnes denique gentiles aequaliter etc. 1 (Zahn suggests that *eis ὃν* is omitted, owing to the similarity to the preceding -ισμον, but prob. *eis ὃν* was read *Ἰσον* by a common itacism and translated *aequaliter*); οὐ γὰρ χριστιανισμός, οὐκ ἔστιν ἰουδαϊσμός· *eis* γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ χριστός *eis ὃν* (*eis eis ὃν g4*) *pân êthnos g.* Zahn has done right in supplying words from the Latin, but he gives them οὐ γὰρ χριστιανισμός *eis* ἰουδαϊσμόν κ.τ.λ. The form which I have substituted seems to me to be preferable for two reasons: (1) It adheres more closely to the original Ignatius; (2) It better explains the existing text of the Greek mss. Words would be omitted partly owing to the recurrence of similar letters, ὁ γὰρ χριστιανισμός οὐκ *eis* [ἰουδαϊσμόν ἐπίστευσεν ἀλλ'] ἰουδαϊσμός *eis* χρισ-
 [τιανισμ]όν, and the emendations would follow to make this mutilated text intelligible.

5. τὰ τέκνα κ.τ.λ.] Is. lvii. 4; comp. Joh. xvii. 12, 2 Thess. ii. 3, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας.

6. οἱ ἐχθροὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Phil. iii. 18, 19. See the upper note.

7. φιλήδονοι κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. iii. 4, 5, but not verbatim.

9. χριστέμποροι] As in *Ps-Trall.* 6. So Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xl. 11 (1. p. 698) μηδὲ γενώμεθα χριστοκάπηλοι καὶ χριστέμποροι; comp. ib. *Carm. de Vit. Sua* 1756 (II. p. 766). See also the passage of Basil quoted on *Ps-Trall.* 6.

τὸν λόγον κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Cor. ii. 17.

11. χρηματολαίλαπες] *Apost. Const.* ii. 49 χρηματολαίλαψ with a v. l. χρηματολάψ.

16. εὖν κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cxxix (cxxx). 3 verbatim.

20. κληθήσεται κ.τ.λ.] Loosely quoted from Is. lxii. 2, 12.

22. ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κ.τ.λ.] Acts xi. 26, where the reading πρῶτως (instead of πρῶτον) is supported by the context here. Comp. *Antioch.* inscr.

23. Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου] See the note on *Antioch.* 7.

26. αὐλίσθητε] 'βίνουας'. Though Ignatius himself read αὐλίσθητε 'be ye

σμός οὐκ εἰς ἰουδαϊσμόν ἐπίστευσεν, ἀλλ' ἰουδαϊσμός εἰς
 χριστιανισμόν· εἰς ὃν πᾶν ἔθνος πιστεῦσαν καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα
 ἔξομολογησάμενη εἰς Θεὸν σὺνήχθη, καὶ γέγοναν οἱ λιθώ-
 δεις τῇ καρδίᾳ τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ φίλου Ἀβραάμ, καὶ ἐν τῷ
 σπέρματι αὐτοῦ ἐνευλογήθησαν πάντες οἱ τεταγμένοι εἰς 5
 ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἐν Χριστῷ.

XI. Ταῦτα δέ, ἀγαπητοί μου, οὐκ ἐπέγνων τινὰς ἐξ
 ὑμῶν οὕτως ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' ὥς μικρότερος ὑμῶν θέλω προ-
 φυλάσσεσθαι ὑμᾶς μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ ἄγκιστρα τῆς κενοδο-
 ξίας, ἀλλὰ πεπληροφόρησθε ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ πρὸ πάντων μὲν 10
 αἰώνων γεννηθέντι παρὰ τοῦ πατρός, γεννωμένῳ δὲ ὕστερον
 ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου δίχα ὁμιλίας ἀνδρός, καὶ πολιτευ-
 σαμένῳ ὁσίως, καὶ πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν θεραπεύσαντι
 ἐν τῷ λαῷ, καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ποιήσαντι ἐπ' εὐεργεσία
 ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοῖς ἑξοκεῖλασιν εἰς πολυθείαν τὸν ἕνα καὶ 15

2 πιστεῦσαν] g₁g₂g₃; ἐπίστευσε g₄.
 γεγόνασιν g₄^s. λιθῶδεις] ὑπατον g₂ (Dressel), but this substitution is unin-

telligible and probably (as Zahn suggests) it is some confusion, as ὑπατον occurs § 9
 above. Perhaps it was seen through from the previous page or leaf. 4 τοῦ]
 g₁g₂g₃; om. g₄. Θεοῦ φίλου] Cotelier after 1, which has *amici dei* (see the

lower note); θεοῦ φίλοι g. But probably we should go a step further and read *θεο-*
φίλους or *φιλοθέου*: see the end of the next chapter. 5 ἐνευλογήθησαν] g₁g₃;

ἐνευλογήθησάν τε g₂; εὐλογήθησαν g₄. The τε (= ται) of g₂ seems to be an incomplete
 correction into the ἐνευλογήθησονται of Gen. xxii. 18. 6 ἐν Χριστῷ] txt g₁g₂g₃!;

add. ἰησοῦ g₄. 10 πεπληροφόρησθε] πεπληροφορεῖσθε g₂; *ut ad plenum instructi*
sitis 1; πληροφορεῖσθαι g₁g₃g₄^s. The reading in I may be doubtful, but it must
 have been either πεπληροφόρησθε or πεπληροφορήσθαι, and was probably the former.

salted', there seems to be no reason
 for doubting that the interpolator
 either read in his text or substituted
 αὐλίσθητε. The Latin translator's
 rendering '*exultate*' seems to arise
 from a confusion of αὐλίζειν with
 αὐλεῖν.

2. πᾶν ἔθνος κ.τ.λ.] The language
 is adapted from Is. xlv. 23 (Alex.),
 lxvi. 18; comp. Phil. ii. 11.

3. οἱ λιθῶδεις κ.τ.λ.] An allusion
 to Matt. iii. 9, Luke iii. 8.

4. Θεοῦ φίλου] For the title 'friend

of God' as applied to Abraham see
 the note on Clem. Rom. 10.

ἐν τῷ σπέρματι κ.τ.λ.] Gen. xxii. 18.

5. τεταγμένοι κ.τ.λ.] Taken from
 Acts xiii. 48.

11. γεννωμένῳ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost.*
Const. vii. 37 τὸν ἐκ Μαρίας γεννηθέντα
 δίχα ἀνδρός, τὸν πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως,
 τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου
 καὶ ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα κ.τ.λ., vii.
 41 ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου Μαρίας γεννη-
 θέντα καὶ πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως... καὶ
 σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ

μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν καταγγείλαντι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα, καὶ τὸ πάθος ὑποστάντι, καὶ πρὸς τῶν χριστοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου ἡγεμόνος καὶ Ἡρώδου βασιλέως καὶ σταυρὸν ὑπομείναντι καὶ ἀποθανόντι, καὶ ἀναστάντι, καὶ ἀνελθόντι εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα, καὶ καθεσθέντι ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρχομένῳ ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων μετὰ δόξης πατρικῆς κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ὁ γνοὺς ἐν πληροφορίᾳ καὶ πιστεύσας μακάριος· ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς φιλόθεοι καὶ φιλόχριστοί ἐστε ἐν πληροφορίᾳ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν· ἥς ἐκτραπήναι μηδενὶ ἡμῶν γένηται.

XII. Ὁναίμην ὑμῶν κατὰ πάντα, εἰς πάντα ἄξιός ἐστιν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ δεδεμαι, πρὸς ἓνα τῶν λελυμένων ὑμῶν οὐκ εἰμί. οἶδα ὅτι οὐ φνυσιοῦσθε, Ἰησοῦν γὰρ ἔχετε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅταν ἐπαινῶ ὑμᾶς, οἶδα ὅτι ἐντρέπεσθε, ὡς γέγραπ-

11 γεννωμένῳ] g₃; γενωμένῳ g₄; γεννώμενον g₁; γεννόμενον g₂. 12 ὁμίλιας]

ὁμίλιας g₂. πολιτευσάμενῳ] g₃g₄s; πολιτευσάμενον g₁g₂; and so for θεραπεύσαντι, ποιήσαντι, καταγγείλαντι, ὑποστάντι, ὑπομείναντι, ἀποθανόντι, ἀναστάντι, ἀνελθόντι, καθεσθέντι, ἐρχομένῳ, where g₃g₄s have datives, and g₁g₂ accusatives. See *Ps-Smyrn.* I for a similar phenomenon.

15 ἐξοκειλασιν] g₄s; ἐξωκίλασιν g₁g₂; ἐξω αὐλίσασι g₃. 16 εἰς πολυθείαν] g₁g₂g₄s; τῆς πολιτείας g₃. In

1 the whole sentence is translated *iis qui longe erant et iis qui prope in multitudine* (or *-nem*) (τοῖς ἔξω καὶ πλησίον εἰς πολυπληθειαν?). 17 καὶ πρὸς] g₁g₂g₄s 1;

πρὸς (om. καὶ) g₃. 24 ὥσπερ οὖν] g₁g₂g₄; ὥσπερ νῦν g₃; *quomodo* l.

26 ἡμῶν] g₁g₂g₃g₄s; *nostrum* (but v. l. *vestrum*) l. The reading in I seems certainly to be ἡμῶν (though there is a v. l.), and perhaps it should be read here. But I have thought it best to retain ἡμῶν as supported by the authorities. 27 ὑμῶν]

ἡμῶν g₄. 28 ᾧ] g₁g₃g₄s; ᾧν g₂.

ἀποθανόντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναστάντα ...καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος μετὰ δόξης κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, viii. 1 ὅτι...ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων μονογενὴς ἐν ὑστέρῳ καιρῷ ἐκ παρθένου γεγέννηται δίχα ὁμίλιας ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὅτι ἐπολιτεύσατο ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἄνευ ἁμαρτίας κ.τ.λ., viii. 12 γενόμενος ἐκ παρθένου...πολιτευσάμενος ὁσίως...πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελάσας, σημεία τε καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῷ

λαῷ ποιήσας κ.τ.λ. Comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* I, *Ps-Trall.* 10.

13. πᾶσαν κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Philipp.* 5.

20. ἀνελθόντι κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* v. 19 ἀνῆλθε πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα αὐτὸν...καθίσας ἐκ δεξιῶν...ὃς καὶ ἐλεύσεται ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, with vii. 41 (quoted in the last note). For ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ κ.τ.λ. comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* 3.

ται· δίκαιος ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορός· καί, λέγε σὺ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου πρῶτος, ἵνα δικαιωθῇς· καί, ὅταν ποιήσῃτε πάντα τὰ διατεταγμένα ἡμῖν, λέγετε ὅτι Δοῦλοὶ ἐσμεν ἀχρεῖοι· ὅτι τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑψηλὸν βδέλγμα παρὰ Θεῶ· ὁ Θεὸς γάρ, φησὶν, ἰδᾶσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. διὰ τοῦτο οἱ 5 μεγάλοι ἐκεῖνοι Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰωβ γὰρ καὶ σποδὸν ἔμ- προσθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἑαυτοὺς ὠνόμαζον· καὶ ὁ Δαυεὶδ, τίς εἰμι ἐγὼ ἐναντίον σου, Κύριε, ὅτι ἐδόξασάς με ἕως τοῦ- 10 τοῦ; καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους πραότατος λέγει πρὸς Θεόν· ἰσχυρόφωνος καὶ βραδύγλωσσός εἰμι ἐγώ. τα- 10 πεινοφρονεῖτε οὖν καὶ αὐτοί, ἵνα ὑψωθῇτε· ὁ ταπεινῶν γὰρ ἑαγτὸν ὑψωθήσεται, καὶ ὁ ὑψῶν ἑαγτὸν ταπεινωθήσεται.

XIII. Σπουδάσατε οὖν βεβαιωθῆναι ἐν τοῖς δόγμασιν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἵνα πάντα ὅσα ποιεῖτε κατενοδωθῇσεται, σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι, πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, 15 μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν καὶ ἀξιοπλόκου καὶ πνευματικοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ Θεὸν διακόνων. ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλή- 20 τοις, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ, ἵνα ἔνωσις ᾗ κατὰ Θεὸν ἐν ὑμῖν.

2 πρῶτος] here, g₁g₂g₃; after σὺ, g₄[1]. 6 Ἰωβ] 1; ἰακώβ g. 7 ἑαυτοὺς] here, g₁g₂g₃; after σποδόν, g₄. ὠνόμαζον] txt g₃g₄^s 1; praef. ἴσον g₂; praef. ἴσον g₁. It may have come in from the termination of the preceding and the commencement of the following word ὧσων. Δαυεὶδ] δαδ g₁. 9 πραότατος] g₂^sg₄^s; πραώτατος g₁; πραώτατος g₃. 11 αὐτοί] g₁g₄^s; αὐτοῖς g₂; ὑμεῖς g₃; vos *ipsi* 1. 15 κατενοδωθήσεται] g₁g₃; κατενοδοθήσεται g₂; κατενοδωθῇ g₄; *dirigamini in viam rectam* 1. τε] g₁g₂^sg₃; om. g₄[1]. 17 πρεσβυτεριον] g₁g₂g₄; πρεσβυτέρου (sic) g₃; *presbytero* 1. 19 ὁ Χριστὸς] g; *iesus* 1; *ιησοῦς* χριστὸς 1. 24 ἄξιός εἰμι] g₁g₂^sg₃ (but written *εἰμὴ*) with I; *εἰμι* ἄξιός g₄. 25 ἡνωμένης] *ἐνωμένης* g₂; *laudabili* (αἰνουμένης) 1. προσευχῆς καὶ ἀγάπης] g₁g₂g₃ 1 (with I); ἀγάπης καὶ προσευχῆς g₄. 29 καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ] gI; om. 1. 30 αἱ] g₁g₃g₄^s with I; om. g₂.

1. Δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.] The passages which follow are taken from Prov. xviii. 17 (Δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.), Is. xliii. 26 (Λέγε κ.τ.λ.), Luke xvii. 10 (Ὅταν ποιή- σῃτε κ.τ.λ.), Luke xvi. 15 (τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώ- 10 ποις κ.τ.λ.), Luke xviii. 13 (ὁ Θεὸς ἰδᾶσθητι κ.τ.λ.).

6. Ἀβραὰμ κ.τ.λ.] For Abraham see Gen. xviii. 27 ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι γῇ καὶ σποδός; for Job, Job xlii. 6 ἦγμαι δὲ ἑμαυτὸν γῇ καὶ σποδόν: comp. Wisd. xvii. 32. The reading Ἰακώβ is a very natural corruption owing to the proximity of Ἀβραὰμ. The passage

XIV. Εἰδὼς ὑμᾶς πεπληρωμένους παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, συντόμως παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀγάπῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. μνημονεύετε μου ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑμῶν, ἵνα Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, καὶ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἧς οὐκ ἄξιός εἰμι καλεῖσθαι
 25 ἐπίσκοπος· ἐπιδέομαι γὰρ τῆς ἡνωμένης ὑμῶν ἐν Θεῷ προσευχῆς καὶ ἀγάπης, εἰς τὸ ἀξιοθῆναι τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν διὰ τῆς εὐταξίας ὑμῶν ποιμανθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ.

XV. Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Ἐφέσιοι ἀπὸ Σμύρνης, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, παρόντες εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς,
 30 οἱ κατὰ πάντα με ἀνεπαύσατε, ἅμα Πολυκάρπῳ. καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ ἐκκλησίαι ἐν τιμῇ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς. ἔρρωσθε ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ, πνεῦμα κεκτημένοι ἀδιάκριτον, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ.

5.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΡΣΩΙ.

5 ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ σεσωσμένῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀξιεπαίνῳ καὶ ἀξιομνημονεύτῳ καὶ ἀξιαγα-

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς μαγνησίους g₁ (the epistle being numbered γ' in the marg.); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου πρὸς μαγνησίους ἐπιστολὴ γ' g₂. Nothing in g₃g₄.

πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ ἰγνάτιος G; τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ (ταρσῷ) g₁g₄ (with δ' in the marg. of g₄, but not of g₁); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ δ' πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ ἰγνάτιος g₂; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου θεοδόξως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ. δ. g₃; *ignatius tarsensibus* L* (see p. 47); *ad tarsenses...ex philippiis* 1 (with vv. 11.); *ad tarsum urbem* A.

36 ἀξιεπαίνῳ] G; ἀξιεπαινέτῳ g. καὶ sec.] GL1; om. g[A] (but A omits the previous καὶ).

seems to be suggested by Clem. Rom. 17, 18, where Abraham and Job, Moses and David, are mentioned together in this connexion.

7. τίς εἰμι κ.τ.λ.] Loosely quoted from 2 Sam. vii. 18.

10. ἰσχυρόφωνος κ.τ.λ.] From Exod. iv. 10.

11. ὁ ταπεινῶν κ.τ.λ.] From Luke

xiv. 11, xviii. 14, the clauses being transposed.

14. πάντα κ.τ.λ.] Ps. i. 3.

17. πρεσβυτέρου] The false reading πρεσβυτέρου makes στεφάνου a proper name, and ἀξιοπλόκου thus becomes nonsense. Hence Morel's conjecture ἀξιόνικου, in which he has been followed by several editors.

πητῶ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ταρσῶ· ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη διὰ παντός.

I. Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀλόγων θηρίων βιβρωσκόμενος, ταῦτα γάρ, ὡς ἴστε, Θεοῦ 5 θελήσαντος ἐφείσαντο τοῦ Δανιήλ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπομόρφων, οἷς ὁ ἀνήμερος θῆρ ἐμφωλεύων νύττει με ὀσημέραι καὶ τιτρώσκει· ἀλλ' οὔδενός λόγον ποιοῦμαι τῶν δεινῶν, οὔδ' ἔχω τὴν ψυχὴν τιμίαν ἐμαγτῶ, ὡς ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὴν μάλ-
λον ἢ τὸν Κύριον. διὸ ἔτοιμός εἰμι πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς 10 θηρία, πρὸς ξίφος, πρὸς σταυρόν· μόνον, ἵνα [τὸν] Χριστὸν ἴδω τὸν σωτῆρά μου καὶ Θεόν, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἀποθανόντα. παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ὁ δέσμιος Χριστοῦ ὁ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐλαυνόμενος· στήκετε ἐν τῇ πίστει ἐδραῖοι, ὅτι [ὁ] δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται· 15 γίνεσθε ἀκλινεῖς, ὅτι Κύριος κατοικίζει μονοτρόπους ἐν οἴκῳ.

5 ἴστε] ἴσται g₂; ἴστε g₄.

6 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ] g₁g₂g₄; ἀλλ' ὑπ' g₃; ὑπὸ δὲ G. 7 ὁ ἀνήμερος] gLA; ὡς ἀνήμερος G; al. l. ἐμφωλεύων νύττει] GL; *habitat in iis et...agitat* A; ἐμφωλεύει ὡς νύττει g; *obsident...ac devorant* [l]. ὀσημέραι] ὡς ἡμέραι g₂.

9 ἐμαγτῶ] gLIA; ἐν αὐτῷ G. ὡς ἀγαπᾶν] g; *ut...diligam* l; ὡς ἀγαπῶν GL; al. A. 11 τὸν] G; om. g.

12 ἴδω] εἶδω g₂; ἴδε g₃; *sciens* (εἰδώς) L (omitting ἵνα). σωτῆρα] Gg₁g₂g₄LIA; πατέρα g₃.

14 γῆς] γῆς καὶ γῆς g₂. θαλάττης] g; θαλάσσης G. 15 ἐδραῖοι] txt GLI[A]; add. γίνεσθε g. It perhaps comes from below. ὁ] G; om. g.

16 μονοτρόπους] ὁμοτρόπους g₃. 20 καὶ δοκῇσι ἀπέθανεν] GL; om. gl Anon-Syr.⁴. For καὶ δοκῇσι ἐσταυρώθη καὶ δοκῇσι ἀπέθανεν A has *specie passus est et crucifixus est*, so that it is doubtful

4. Ἀπὸ Συρίας κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Ign. *Rom.* 5.

6. ἀνθρωπομόρφων] See the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 4 τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων.

8. οὔδενός κ.τ.λ.] The expressions are borrowed from Acts xx. 24.

10. πρὸς πῦρ κ.τ.λ.] A combination of Ign. *Smyrn.* 4 πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς μάχαιραν, πρὸς θηρία, with *Rom.* 5 πῦρ καὶ σταῦρος...μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

13. παρακαλῶ οὖν κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. iv. 1; comp. Philem. 9.

14. διὰ γῆς κ.τ.λ.] See Ign. *Rom.* 5.

στήκετε κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 1 Cor. xvi. 13, Col. i. 23. See also Ign. *Ephes.* 10, Polyc. *Phil.* 10.

15. δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.] From Hab. ii. 4, quoted also Rom. i. 17, Gal. iii. 11, Heb. x. 38.

16. Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. lxxvii (lxxviii). 6.

II. Ἐγνων ὅτι τινὲς τῶν τοῦ Σατανᾶ ὑπηρετῶν ἐβουλήθησαν ὑμᾶς ταράξαι· οἱ μὲν, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς δοκήσει
 20 ἐγεννήθη καὶ δοκήσει ἐσταυρώθῃ [καὶ δοκήσει ἀπέθανεν]· οἱ δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν υἱὸς τοῦ δημιουργοῦ· οἱ δέ, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός· ἄλλοι δέ, ὅτι ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν· ἕτεροι δέ, ὅτι ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη οὐκ ἐγεί-
 25 ρεται καὶ δεῖ τὸν ἀπολαυστικὸν βίον [ζῆν καὶ] μετιέναι· τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι πέρας τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς μετ' οὐ πολὺ φθαρησομένοις. τοσούτων κακῶν ἐσμός ἐισεκώμασεν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὦραν εἴζατε τῇ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῶν· Παύλου γάρ ἐστε πολῖται καὶ μαθηταὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκότος τὸ εὐαγ-
 30 γέλιον καὶ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ περι-
 φέροντος.

III. Οὗ μνημονεύοντες πάντως γινώσκετε ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Κύριος ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη ἐκ Μαρίας, γενόμενος ἐκ
 35 γυναικός, καὶ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσταυρώθῃ. ἐμοὶ γάρ, φησίν,
 35 μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου

whether this translator's text had the second clause or not. Voss accidentally omits *δοκήσει ἐγεννήθη καὶ*, though found in all the authorities. 21 οὐκ ἔστιν]

Gg₁g₂g₃LIA Anon-Syr. 4; om. g₄. 22 Θεός] txt GgLIA; add. *pater*

Anon-Syr.₄. 23 ἐγείρεται] Gg₁g₂g₄L; ἐγήγερεται g₃; *resurrexit* l.

24 ζῆν καὶ μετιέναι] GL; μετιέναι (om. ζῆν καὶ) g; *habere* l; *frui* A. 25 τοῦ-
 26 τον] GLg₁g₃l; τοῦτο g₄s; al. A. 27 εἴζατε] εἴζατε g₃; ἤζατε g₂; *veniat*

(ἤζατε, taken as an aor. imper. from ἤκω) L; *intendatis* l. ὑποταγῇ] *mandatis*
 (ἐπιταγῇ?) l. 28 Ἱεροσολύμων] ἱεροσολύμων g₂. 34 φησίν] Gg₂;

φησὶ g₃g₄s; contr. g₁. 35 τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ] Gg (g₁ does not insert τοῦ before
 36 ἰησοῦ, as in the ed. princ.); *domini* L; *domini nostri iesu christi* lA (but l has a
 v. l. *mei*).

19. οἱ μὲν κ.τ.λ.] For this attack on diverse heresies comp. *Philipp.* 3—7, *Trall.* 6.

22. ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός] See *Philipp.* 7.

23. ἡ σὰρξ αὕτη κ.τ.λ.] See the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 9 ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται, with the note.

26. ἐισεκώμασεν] See *Antioch.* i, with the note.

27. οὐδὲ πρὸς ὦραν κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. ii. 5. Here τῇ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῶν must be 'the subjection which they imposed.'

28. ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. xv. 19.

30. τὰ στίγματα κ.τ.λ.] An allusion to Gal. vi. 17.

33. γενόμενος κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Gal. iv. 4.

34. ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. vi. 14.

[Ἰησοῦ]· καὶ ἀληθεία ἔπαθεν καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη· εἰ παθητὸς γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ Χριστός, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν· καί, ὃ ἀπέθανεν, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ἐφάπαξ· ὃ δὲ ζῇ, τῷ Θεῷ ζῇ. ἔπει τίς χρεῖα δεσμῶν, Χριστοῦ μὴ ἀποθανόντος; τίς χρεῖα ὑπομονῆς; τίς χρεῖα μαστί- 5 γων; τί δήποτε Πέτρος μὲν ἐσταυροῦτο, Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβος μαχαίρα ἐτέμνοντο, Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐφυγαδεύετο ἐν Πάτμῳ, Στέφανος δὲ ἐν λίθοις ἀνιρέϊτο πρὸς τῶν κυριοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τούτων εἰκῇ· ἀληθεία γὰρ ἐσταυρώθη ὁ Κύριος ὑπὸ τῶν δυσσεβῶν. 10

IV. Καὶ ὅτι οὗτος ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ γυναικὸς υἱὸς ἐστὶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὁ σταυρωθεὶς πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως καὶ Θεὸς λόγος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν τὰ πάντα· λέγει γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος, εἰς Θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα· 15 καὶ πάλιν, εἰς γὰρ Θεός, καὶ εἰς μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· καί, ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ

1 ἔπαθεν καὶ] gl[A]; om. GL. ἀπέθανεν Gg₁; ἀπέθανε g₂g₃g₄s. εἰ παθητὸς] Gg₁g₂g₄Ll; συμπαθητὸς (sic) g₃; al. A. 2 εἰ] Gg₁g₂g₄Ll; καὶ εἰ g₃; al. A. 3 ὃ ἀπέθανεν] Gg₁; ὃ ἀπέθανε g₂g₃g₄s; *quod mortuus est* L; *qui mortuus est* l. 4 τῷ Θεῷ ζῇ] Gg₁g₃g₄L; ζῇ τῷ Θεῷ g₂ (with Rom. vi. 10) l. 5 τίς χρεῖα ὑπομονῆς] Gg₁g₃g₄LlA; om. g₂. 6 δὲ] g; et A; om. Ll. 7 ἐτέμνοντο] Gg₁g₂g₃; κατετέμνοντο g₄; *caesi sunt* L; *obtruncati sunt* l. 8 πρὸς] g; παρὰ G. 9 οὐδὲν τούτων εἰκῇ] GgL; *ne unus quidem vane laboravit* A; *ne in hoc quidem est victoria* (οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ νίκη) l. ἀληθεία γὰρ] g₁g₂g₄L[l]A; ἀλήθεια γὰρ ὅτι g₃. 11 ὅτι] gl; om. GL[A]. οὗτος] Ggl; sic (οὕτως) L; om. A (but the Syriac from which it was translated doubtless had οὗτος; see Petermann). 12 ὃ] glA; om. GL. 16 καὶ πάλιν] GLA l; om. g. 18 τὰ] GL; om. g. Both l and A translate as if they had τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς.

1. εἰ παθητὸς κ.τ.λ.] From Acts xxvi. 23.

3. ὃ ἀπέθανεν κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. vi. 10.

4. ἔπει τίς χρεῖα κ.τ.λ.] Imitated from Trall. 10, Smyrn. 4.

8. κυριοκτόνων] So Ps-Trall. 11; comp. Apost. Const. viii. 46 Στέφανος ... πρὸς τῶν κυριοκτόνων Ἰουδαίων λίθοις βληθείς. The word is found in Joseph.

Ant. vii. 2. 1. Similarly χριστοκτόνος occurs several times.

12. πρωτότοκος κ.τ.λ.] Col. i. 15, the context being quoted below.

14. εἰς Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. viii. 6.

16. εἰς γὰρ Θεός κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim. ii. 5. The passage following, ἐν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ., is from Col. i. 15—17 abridged.

πάντα, [τὰ] ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς, ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα· καὶ
 αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέ-
 20 στήκεν.

V. Καὶ ὅτι οὐκ αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς ἀλλ'
 υἱὸς ἐκείνου, λέγει, ἀναβαίνω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου καὶ
 πατέρα ὑμῶν καὶ Θεὸν μου καὶ Θεὸν ὑμῶν· καί, ὅτε
 ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, τότε καὶ αὐτός ὑποταγῆσεται τῷ
 25 ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, ἵνα ἡ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν
 πάσιν. οὐκοῦν ἕτερός ἐστιν ὁ ὑποτάξας καὶ ὢν τὰ πάντα
 ἐν πάσιν, καὶ ἕτερος ᾧ ὑπετάγη, ὃς καὶ μετὰ πάντων
 ὑποτάσσεται.

VI. Καὶ οὔτε ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ δι' οὗ καὶ ἐν ᾧ
 30 γέγονε τὰ πάντα· πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· ἡνίκα
 ἐποίει τὸν οὐρανόν, συμπαραῆμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἤμην παρ'
 αὐτῷ ἁρμόζουσα, καὶ προσέχαιρεν μοι καθ' ἡμέραν. πῶς δ'
 ἂν ὁ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ἤκουσεν, κάθοι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου; πῶς
 δὲ καὶ ἔλεγεν, πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμι; καί, δοξά-

ὁρατὰ] txt g[L] (see above, II. p. 173) [I][A]; add. τε G. 19 πρὸ] Gg₁g₂g₃L[I]; ὁ
 πρὸ g₄; al. A. 21 Θεός] Gl[A]; add. καὶ πατὴρ g; add. pater L. It should
 probably be omitted. 22 ἐκείνου] txt gL; add. οὗ G; add. ὃς (?) I; al. A.

23 ὅτε] Gg; quando L. Zahn rightly infers that L read ὅτε, as it generally trans-
 lates ὅταν 'quando utique.' In 1 Cor. xv. 28 it is ὅταν. 24 ὑποταγῇ] g; ὑπο-
 ταγεῖ G (Dressel). αὐτός] GLIA; add. ὁ υἱὸς g (from 1 Cor. xv. 28).

25 ἵνα ἡ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ πάντα] Gg₁g₃g₄L₁; om. g₂ A. 26 ὢν] g; ὁ ὢν G; qui est
 L₁; def. A. 27 ὑπετάγη] ὑπετάγει g₂. ὃς] Gg₃L₁; ᾧ g₁g₂g₄; def. A.

μετὰ πάντων] Gg; cum omnibus L; post haec omnia (μετὰ πάντα, but it is probably
 a loose translation) I; def. A. 28 ὑποτάσσεται] Gg; subiicietur L; subjectus
 erit I; def. A. 29 ὁ δι' οὗ] g₁g₂g₄; ille per quem I; δι' οὗ (om. ὁ) Gg₃; per
 quem L[A]. 31 καὶ ἐκεῖ] Gsg₁g₂g₃; κακεῖ g₄. 33 ὁ ψιλός] g₁g₂g₃;

ψιλός (om. ὁ) g₄. 34 δοξάσεις] g₁g₃g₄; δοξάσης g₂; δόξασον (with Joh.
 xvii. 5) G; glorifica I; clarifica L.

22. ἀναβαίνω κ.τ.λ.] John xx. 17.

23. ὅτε ὑποταγῇ κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor.
 xv. 28. For ὅτε with the conjunctive
 see Winer *Gramm.* § xli. p. 372 sq.

30. πάντα κ.τ.λ.] John i. 3. The
 next passage, ἡνίκα κ.τ.λ., is from
 Prov. viii. 27, 30, loosely quoted.

33. Κάθου κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cx

(cix). I, quoted also Acts ii. 34, Heb.
 i. 13.

34. ἔλεγεν κ.τ.λ.] The passages
 which follow are taken from Joh.
 viii. 58 πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ κ.τ.λ., Joh. xvii.
 5 δόξασόν κ.τ.λ., Joh. vi. 38 καταθέ-
 βηκα κ.τ.λ., Joh. i. 9—11 ἦν τὸ φῶς
 κ.τ.λ., Joh. i. 1 Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν κ.τ.λ.

CEIC ME TḦ ΔΟΞΗ ἢ Εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον γενέσθαι;
 ποῖος δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐρεῖ, καταβέβηκα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οὐχ
 ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμ-
 ψαντός με; περὶ ποίου δὲ ἀνθρώπου ἔλεγεν τὸ ἦν τὸ
 φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον 5
 εἰς τὸν κόσμον· ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ
 ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω· εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν,
 καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον; πῶς οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος
 ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας ἔχων τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι,
 ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Θεὸς λόγος καὶ μονογενὴς υἱός; ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ 10
 ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ Θεὸς ἦν
 ὁ λόγος. καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις, Κύριος ἔκτισέν με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν
 αὐτοῦ εἰς ἔργα αὐτοῦ· πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐθεμελιώσέν με,
 πρὸ δὲ πάντων βογνῶν γεννᾷ με.

VII. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀνίστανται τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν, λέγει 15
 ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἔρχεται ὥρα ἐν ἣ πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς
 μνημείοις ἀκούσονται τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ γιόυ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ

1 δόξῃ] gLiA (but 1A add *apud te* after εἶχον with Joh. xvii. 5, g₄ adds *παρά σοι* after γενέσθαι, and L adds *a te* after *mundus esset*); add. σου G. γενέσθαι]

g₁g₃g₄; γίνεσθαι g₂; *fieri* 1A; εἶναι (from Joh. xvii. 5, though there is a v. l. γενέ-
 σθαι) G; *esset* L. 2 ἄνθρωπος] txt Gg1A; add. *nudus* (ψιλός) L. ἐρεῖ] g;

posset dicere l; *valet dicere* A; *diceret* L; ἔλεγεν G. 4 ἔλεγεν τὸ] G; *dictum est*
quod A; *diceretur* (ἐλέγετο?) l; ἔλεγεν or ἔλεγε (om. τὸ) g. No stress can be laid
 on the fact that τὸ is unrepresented in L.

10 μονογενὴς υἱός] g₁g₂g₃; ὁ μονο-

γενὴς υἱός g₄; υἱὸς μονογενὴς G. 13 ἐθεμελιώσεν] g₁ (but *v* is afterwards

erased) g₂g₃g₄; ἐθεμελιώσε G. 15 ἀνίστανται] G; ἀνίσταται g. ἡμῶν]

Gg₁g₂g₃L1A; ὑμῶν g₄. 17 τοῦ υἱοῦ] gLiA; om. G. 19 καὶ τὸ...ἀθανα-

σίαν] Gg₁g₂g₄[A]Ll; om. g₃. 20 σωφρόνως ζῆν καὶ δικαίως] gLiA; σωφρόνως

καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζῆν G. 21 πάλιν λέγει] GL*1A (A however omits πάλιν); *praef.*

καθὼς Παῦλος g₁g₂g₄ (but om. πάλιν g₄); *praef.* αὐτὸς ὁ Παῦλος g₃; *praef.* *secundum*

quod l (but om. in some MSS). οὔτε μοιχοί] GgLA; *neque fornicarii* (πόρνοι)

l (omitting οὔτε πόρνοι below). οὔτε μαλακοί] Gg₁g₃g₄L1A; om. g₂. 22 οὔτε

ἀρσενοκοῖται] gLiA; om. G. οὔτε πόρνοι] GLA; om. gl. 23 οὔτε

κλέπται] Gg₁g₃g₄L1A; om. g₂. In A μέθυστοι καὶ κλέπται are transposed. After

κλέπται l adds *neque rapaces* (οὔτε ἄρπαγες). οὐ] g₁g₃g₄A; om. Gg₂. The

negative is not repeated in Ll, but the genius of the language was adverse.

Both readings appear in 1 Cor. v. 9, but the omission has by far the highest support.

12. Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] Prov. viii. 22, 23, 25, a favourite text in the Arian controversy. 16. Ἀμὴν κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. v. 25, 28, loosely quoted. 18. ὁ ἀπόστολος] The passages

οἱ ἀκούσαντες ζήσονται. καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος· δεῖ γὰρ τὸ
 φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν [καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο
 20 ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν]· καὶ ὅτι δεῖ σωφρόνως ζῆν καὶ
 δικαίως, [πάλιν] λέγει· μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε μοιχοὶ οὔτε
 μαλακοὶ οὔτε ἄρσενοκοῖται οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε λοῖδοροι
 οὔτε μέθυστοι οὔτε κλέπται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρο-
 νομήσαι δύνανται· καί, εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, οὐδὲ
 25 Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται· κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ δὲ
 καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν· [ἔτι ἐστὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν] ἄρα
 καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπώλοντο. εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ
 ταύτῃ ἡλπιότες ἐσμὲν ἐν Χριστῷ μόνον, ἐλεεινότεροι
 πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν. εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται, φάγω-
 30 μεν [καὶ] πίωμεν, αἴψιον γὰρ ἀποθνήσκομεν. οὕτω δὲ
 διακείμενοι, τί διοίσομεν ὄνων καὶ κυνῶν, οἳ μὴδὲν τοῦ
 μέλλοντος φροντίζοντες μόνου τοῦ φαγεῖν εἰσιν ὀρεκτικοὶ
 καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν; ἀνεπιστάτητοι γὰρ εἰσιν τοῦ
 κινουήντος ἐνδοθεν νοῦ.

The negative is unquestioned in Gal. v. 21. κληρονομήσαι δύνανται GL; *hereditant* A; κληρονομήσουσιν (as in 1 Cor. v. 10, Gal. v. 21) G; *possidebunt* l.

24 εἰ] g₁g₃g₄lA; om. (but supplied in the marg.) G; ol g₂. 26 ὑμῶν

pri.] g₁g₂A; ἡμῶν Gg₃g₄Ll (but with a v. l. *vestra*). ἔτι...ὑμῶν GLlA;

om. g. 27 καὶ] Gg₁g₂g₃Ll; om. g₄A. 31 καὶ κυνῶν] GLA

(*vel a canibus*) g₁g₃g₄l (but the words are transposed *canum vel asinorum*);

om. g₂. οἳ μὴδὲν] Gg₁g₂g₃Ll; ol μὴδὲ (sic) g₄; al. A. 32 μόνου] Gg₄;

μόνον g₁g₂g₃. εἰσιν ὀρεκτικοὶ] gl; φροντίζουσιν εἰς ὄρεξιν ἐρχόμενοι GL (but L

has omitted the words φροντίζοντες μόνου τοῦ φαγεῖν, owing to the repetition of

φροντίζο-); al. A. The reading of G is best taken thus, ol μὴδὲν τοῦ μέλλοντος

φροντίζοντες (sc. ἡμεῖς); μόνου τοῦ φαγεῖν φροντίζουσιν (ὄνοι καὶ κύνες), εἰς ὄρεξιν

ἐρχόμενοι καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν. But it cannot be right. 33 ἀνεπιστά-

τητοι] g₁g₂g₄; ἀνεπίστατα g₃; ἀνεπίστατοι G; *inscīi* Ll]. A is altogether wide

here, but the words *non resurgunt* seem to be intended as a rendering (though

wholly incorrect) of ἀνεπιστάτητοι. The reading ἀνεπίστητοι, which some editors

adopt, has nothing to recommend it. See the lower note. τοῦ κινουήν-

τος ἐνδοθεν νοῦ] τοῦ κιν- G (breaking off abruptly in the middle of the word); *moventis*

intellectus L; τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κινουήντος ἐνδοθεν g; *quid interius moveatur* l;

al. A.

which follow are from 1 Cor. xv. 53

δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν κ.τ.λ., and 1 Cor.

vi. 9, 10, μὴ πλανᾶσθε κ.τ.λ.

24. εἰ νεκροὶ κ.τ.λ.] Passages strung

together from 1 Cor. xv. 16, 14, 17, 18,

19, 32.

33. ἀνεπιστάτητοι] ‘without a di-

rector,’ as Euseb. *Dem. Ev.* iv. 7 (p.

155) ὡς ἂν μὴ ἀνάρχτοι καὶ ἀνεπιστάτητοι

θερεμμάτων δίκην ἀλόγων, Cyr. Alex. *de*

VIII. Ὀναίμην ὑμῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ. νήφετε· πᾶσαν ἕκαστος κακίαν ἀπόθεσθε, καὶ τὸν θηριώδη θυμόν, καταλαλίαν, συκοφαντίαν, αἰσχρολογίαν, εὐτραπελίαν, ψιθυρισμόν, φυσίωσιν, μέθην, λαγνείαν, φιλαργυρίαν, φιλοδοξίαν, φθόνον, καὶ πᾶν τὸ τούτοις συνωδόν· ἐνδύσασθε 5 δὲ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιεῖσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑποτάσσεσθε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ὁ λαὸς τοῖς διακόνοις. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν φυλαττόντων ταύτην τὴν εὐταξίαν· καὶ ὁ Κύριος εἶη μετ' αὐτῶν διη- 10 νεκῶς.

IX. Οἱ ἄνδρες, στέργετε τὰς γαμετὰς ὑμῶν· αἱ γυναῖκες, τοὺς ὁμοζύγους. οἱ παῖδες, τοὺς γονεῖς προηγείσθε· οἱ γονεῖς, τὰ τέκνα ἐκτρέφετε ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ

2 ἕκαστος] $g_1g_2g_3L$; om. g_4A . ἀπόθεσθε] g ; ἀποθέσθαι L (and so ἐνδύσασθαι, ποιεῖσθαι: see above, p. 50) l (but it reads ἐνδύσασθε, ποιεῖσθε); *et amovete A*. 3 αἰσχρολογίαν εὐτραπελίαν] $g_1g_2g_3L$; εὐτραπελίαν αἰσχρολογίαν g_4 . A has only *scurrilitatem* for all the three words αἰσχρολογίαν, εὐτραπελίαν, ψιθυρισμόν. In l εὐτραπελίαν is rendered *malam conversationem*. εὐτραπελίαν] g_2sg_4 ; εὐτραπελίαν g_1g_3 . 6 δὲ] gl ; *et A*; om. L . ἡμῶν] So it is read in g (not ὑμῶν) with the other authorities. The omission in A is due to the ambiguous Syriac. 7 ποιεῖσθε] g_1g_3 ; ποιήσθε g_2 ; ποιέσθαι L ; ποιήτε g_4 . 8 τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις] glA ; *episcopo et presbyteris L*. 9 ὁ λαός] *txt L* A ; add. τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ g . ἀντίψυχον] g_1g_2 ; ἀντίψυχος g_3g_4s . ἐγὼ] *txt* $g_1g_2g_3L$; add. γενομένην g_4 ; add. *efficiat l*; *persona mea sit (=ipse sim) A*. φυλαττόντων] $g_1g_2sg_3$; φυλασσόντων g_4 . 13 προηγείσθε] $g_1g_2g_4$; *praehonorate L*; *honorate lA*; αἰδέσθε (sic) g_3 . This last is evidently a pure conjecture, and editors ought not to have been misled into reading αἰδεῖσθε or αἰνεῖσθε. The various reading αἰνεῖσθε, which Ussher gives (App. Ign. p. 102) as from the Medicus (i.e. G), must be a mistake. This MS ends abruptly at the close of § 7; but

Ador. vi. p. 200 τὴν κτίσιν ἅπασαν οὐκ ἀνεπιστατήτοις κινήμασι φερομένην. For the construction with the genitive, 'without the guidance of the mind,' see Kühner *Gramm.* II. § 421 (p. 344 sq.). For the other reading ἀνεπίστατοι, 'careless, neglectful of,' comp. Porphy. *de Abst.* i. 9 ἀνεπίστατον τῆς διαφροῆς.

I. πᾶσαν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. I Pet. ii. i.

5. ἐνδύσασθε κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. xiii. 14.

9. ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ.] Imitated from *Polyc.* 6.

13. προηγείσθε] The word has the same sense as in Rom. xii. 10.

14. τὰ τέκνα κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. vi. 4; the context of our Pseudo-Ignatius being also suggested by the context of St Paul.

15. ὡς ἱερείας] Tertull. *de Cult.*

15 νογθεσία Κυρίου. τὰς ἐν παρθενία τιμᾶτε ὡς ἱερείας
Χριστοῦ, τὰς ἐν σεμνότητι χήρας ὡς θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ.
οἱ κύριοι, μετὰ φειδούς τοῖς δούλοις ἐπιτάσσετε· οἱ δοῦ-
λοι, μετὰ φόβου τοῖς κυρίοις ἐξυπηρετεῖτε. μηδεὶς ἐν ὑμῖν
ἀργὸς ἔστω· μήτηρ γὰρ τῆς ἐνδείας ἡ ἀργία. ταῦτα οὐκ
20 ἐπιτάττω ὡς ὢν τι, εἰ καὶ δέδεμαι· ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφὸς ὑπο-
μνήσκω. εἴη Κύριος μεθ' ὑμῶν.

X. Ὁναίμην ὑμῶν τῶν προσευχῶν· προσεύχεσθε ἵνα
Ἰησοῦ ἐπιτύχω. παρατίθεμαι ὑμῖν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκ-
κλησίαν. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ
25 Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ᾧ καὶ παραθήσομαι
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Συρίας. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐκκλησία
Φιλιππησίων, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Φίλων
ὁ διάκονος ὑμῶν, ᾧ καὶ ἐγὼ εὐχαριστῶ, σπουδαίως ὑπη-
ρετοῦντί μοι ἐν πᾶσιν. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἀγαθόπους ὁ διά-

Voss is not explicit on the subject (p. 116), and Ussher, while giving Voss's text, supposes himself to be giving the reading of the MS. At least I cannot account for the statement in any other way. Voss himself must have got αἰνέισθε (p. 80) by conjecture or by misprint from Ussher's αἰδεῖσθε; and Ussher's αἰδεῖσθε was founded on the reading of g₃. 15 παρθενία] g₃g₄s; παρθενεία g₁. 17 οἱ

κύριοι...ἐξυπηρετεῖτε] txt L1A. The two clauses are transposed, οἱ δούλοι κ.τ.λ. and οἱ κύριοι κ.τ.λ., in g. ἐπιτάσσετε] g₁g₂g₃LA; ὑποτάσσεσθε g₄; estote

[I]. 19 ἔστω] g₁; maneat L; stet (maneat) A. ἀργία] ἀργεία g₁g₃. ταῦτα] g; add. quidem A; add. enim L; add. autem I. 20 ὑπο-

μνήσκω] g₁g₃; ὑπομύνησκω g₂sg₄s (but the variation is likely to have been overlooked). See the note on Clem. Rom. 7. 23 Ἀντιοχείᾳ] ἀντιοχείαν g₂.

24 τῆς Ἀσίας...ἡ ἐκκλησία] A; om. g₁ (by homœoteleuton). 29 Ἀγαθόπους] g₁A; om. L. Ussher says 'Desideratur hoc nomen in Græco Mediceo et in vetere Latino nostro interprete,' i.e. in G and L. But G is wanting here; and as Ἀγαθόπους stands in Voss's text, the explanation which I have given

Fem. ii. 12 'quæ sacerdotes pudicitiae dicimini'.

16. θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ] See the note on Polyc. *Phil.* 4, where the expression occurs. The false Ignatius however may have borrowed it from *Apost. Const.* ii. 27, iii. 6.

18. μηδεὶς κ.τ.λ.] Ign. *Polyc.* 6 μή τις ὑμῶν δεσέπτωρ εὐρεθῇ, where G has the gloss ἀργός. The gloss must either have suggested or been sug-

gested by this passage in the Pseudo-Ignatius.

19. μήτηρ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* ii. 4 μήτηρ ἡ ἀργία λιμοῦ.

οὐκ ἐπιτάττω κ.τ.λ.] *Comp. Philiph.* 13. Imitated from Ign. *Ephes.* 3; see the note there.

25. ὁ ἄνθρωπος κ.τ.λ.] An imitation of 1 Tim. vi. 11 (comp. 2 Tim. iii. 17), where Timothy is so called.

28. ὁ διάκονος ὑμῶν] See the notes

κονος ὁ ἐκ Συρίας, ὃς ἀκολουθεῖ μοι ἐν Χριστῷ. ἀσπά-
 ρασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀγάπῃ φιλήματι. ἀσπάζομαι πάντας καὶ
 πάσας, τοὺς ἐν Χριστῷ. ἔρρωσθε σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ καὶ
 πνεύματι [ἐνί], καὶ ἐμοῦ μὴ ἐπιλάβησθε. ὁ Κύριος μεθ'
 ὑμῶν.

5

6.

ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ ἡλεημένη
 ἐν πίστει καὶ ὑπομονῇ καὶ ἀγάπῃ ἀνυποκρίτως, τῇ
 οὔσῃ ἐν Φιλίπποις· ἔλεος, εἰρήνῃ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ
 Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώ-
 πων, μάλιστα πιστῶν.

I. Μεμνημένοι τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ
 σπουδῆς, ἧς ἐνεδείξασθε εἰς ἡμᾶς, πρέπον ἡγησάμεθα

of Ussher's v.l. to προηγείσθε § 9 will not hold here. I can only conjecture that
 in answer to some enquiry about the reading here Ussher got a reply, 'desideratur in
 Mediceo,' meaning that the *passage* was wanting in this ms. With the omission in
 L before him, he would interpret the ambiguous reply to mean that the *word* was
 wanting. ~ 1 ὁ ἐκ Συρίας, κ.τ.λ.] LA translate as if ὃς ἐκ Συρίας ἀκολουθεῖ κ.τ.λ.

3 τοὺς] g1A; om. L. σώματι καὶ] g1A; om. L. 4 ἐνί] g; om. L1A. ἐπι-
 λάθησθε] ἐπιλάβησθε g3, a solecism.

Subscr. δ. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ g1; τοῦ
 ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ δ' πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταρσῷ g2. Nothing in g3g4.

προς φιλιππησιους] τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρὸς φιλιππησίους περὶ βαπτίσματος g1g2g4
 (with ε in the marg. of g1g4); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου
 θεοδόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς φιλιππησίους. ε g3; *ad philippenses de baptismo
 scripta de endamno per ephranium* 1 (with vv. 11.); *ad philippos urbem A.*

on Ign. *Philad.* 11 for Philo and Ag-
 athopus.

I. ἀσπάσασθε κ.τ.λ.] As in Rom.
 xvi. 16, 1 Cor. xvi. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 12;
 comp. 1 Thess. v. 26.

προς φιλιππησιους] The addi-
 tion περὶ βαπτίσματος, which is found
 in the Greek and Latin copies, is not
 adequately explained by the contents
 of the epistle itself. Possibly it was

originally a marginal note calling at-
 tention to the subject of § 8 βάπτισμα,
 φωνὴ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ βαπτιζομένῳ, κ.τ.λ.
 (comp. § 9 ἰδὼν πρῶτον ὡς κοινὸν ἄν-
 θρωπον βαπτιζόμενον), and was trans-
 ferred afterwards accidentally to the
 heading.

10. ὅς ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim.
 iv. 10.

16. ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ κ.τ.λ.] A combina-

γράψαι πρὸς τὴν φιλάδελφον ὑμῶν κατὰ Θεὸν ψυχικὴν
 15 ἀγάπην, ὑπομιμνήσκειν ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ ὑμῶν δρόμου,
 ἵνα τὸ ἀγτὸ λέγητε πάντες, σῶμα ψυχοί, τὸ ἐν φρονοῦντες,
 τῷ ἀγτῷ κανόνι τῆς πίστεως στοιχοῦντες, ὡς Παῦλος ὑμᾶς
 ἐνουθέτει. εἰ γὰρ εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεός, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· εἷς δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς
 20 [Χριστός], ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος,
 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα· ἐν δὲ καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ ἐνεργήσαν ἐν
 Μωσῇ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις· ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸ βάπ-
 τισμα, τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον· μία [δὲ]
 καὶ ἡ ἐκλεκτὴ ἐκκλησία· μία ὀφείλει εἶναι καὶ ἡ κατὰ
 25 Χριστὸν πίστις. εἷς γὰρ Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα,
 εἷς Θεός καὶ πατὴρ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν
 πάσιν.

II. Εἷς οὖν Θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, καὶ οὐ δύο οὐδὲ τρεῖς·
 εἷς ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν πλὴν αὐτοῦ, ὁ μόνος
 30 ἀληθινός· Κύριος γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ Θεός σου Κύριος εἷς ἐστίν.
 καὶ πάλιν· οὐχ εἷς Θεός ἔκτισεν ἡμᾶς; οὐχ εἷς πατὴρ

12 μεμνημένοι] g₁g₂g₃1; μεμνημένος g₄. A translates μεμνημένοι, ἡγησάμεθα, both by singulars. 18 εἰ γὰρ] gA; om. 1. 20 Χριστός] g₃1A; om. g₁g₂g₄.

ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ] *filiius dei unigenitus* 1; *unigenitus filiius dei* A; om. g. ὁ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος] g1; om. A. 23 τὸν] g₁g₂g₄; om. g₃. διδόμενον] g₁g₃g₄;

διὰ διδόμενον g₂ (a repetition of similar letters διὰ διὰ διὰ). δὲ] g₃; om. g₁g₂g₄.

A has *una est et electa ecclesia*, but it has translated δὲ καὶ in this way in the previous clauses. Moreover it makes the apodosis begin with μία ὀφείλει κ.τ.λ. In 1 the words are *una itaque etiam ecclesia esse debet et una fides quae est in christo*, which seems to point to the reading δὲ καὶ, but in which the apodosis is made to begin with μία [δὲ] καὶ κ.τ.λ. 24 ἡ ἐκλεκτὴ ἐκκλησία· μία ὀφείλει κ.τ.λ.] g₁g₂g₃A; ἡ ἐκκλησία ὀφείλει κ.τ.λ. g₄ (comp. 1, as given in the last note). ὀφείλει]

ὀφείλει g₂. 29 ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ὢν] *qui erat et est* A; ὁ ὢν g1.

tion of 1 Cor. i. 10, Phil. ii. 2, iii. 15.

18. εἰ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Modified from 1 Cor. viii. 6.

23. εἰς τὸν θάνατον κ.τ.λ.] In accordance with the teaching of Rom. vi. 3.

25. εἰς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. iv.

5, 6.

29. ὁ ἦν κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Rev. i.

4, 8, iv. 8, xi. 17, xvi. 5. I have restored this reading from the Armenian Version.

καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν κ.τ.λ.] Deut. iv. 35; comp. Is. xlv. 5 sq., etc.

μόνος ἀληθινός] See Joh. xvii. 3.

30. Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] From Deut. vi. 4.

31. οὐχ εἷς Θεός κ.τ.λ.] Mal. ii. 10, loosely quoted.

πάντων ἡμῶν; εἷς δὲ καὶ υἱός, λόγος Θεός. ὁ μονογενὴς γάρ, φησὶν, ὁ ὢν εἰς τοὺς κόλπους τοῦ πατρὸς. καὶ πάλιν· εἷς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ· τί ὄνομα αὐτῷ, ἢ τί ὄνομα τῷ γίῳ, ἵνα γινώμεν; εἷς δὲ καὶ ὁ παράκλητος. ἐν γάρ, φησὶν, καὶ πνεῦμα, ἐπειδὴ ἐκλήθημεν ἐν 5 μὲν ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ἡμῶν. καὶ πάλιν· ἐν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· πάντα δὲ ταῦτα, τὰ χαρίσματα δηλονότι, ἐνεργεῖ ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα. οὔτε οὖν τρεῖς πατέρες οὔτε τρεῖς υἱοὶ οὔτε τρεῖς παράκλητοι, ἀλλ' εἷς πατὴρ καὶ εἷς υἱός καὶ εἷς παράκλητος. διὸ καὶ 10 [Κύριος] ἀποστέλλων τοὺς ἀποστόλους μαθητεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς βαπτίζειν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ γιῶ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· οὔτε εἷς ἓνα τριάννυμον οὔτε εἷς τρεῖς ἐνανθρωπήσαντας, ἀλλ' εἷς τρεῖς ὁμοτίμους.

15

III. Εἷς γὰρ ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας, οὔτε ὁ πατὴρ οὔτε ὁ παράκλητος, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὁ υἱός· οὐ δοκῇσει, οὐ φαντασίᾳ,

1 λόγος Θεός] $g_1 g_2 s g_4 l A$; λόγος θεοῦ g_3 ; comp. *Ps. Magn.* 6. 2 τοὺς κόλπους] $g_1 g_2 s g_3$; τὸν κόλπον g_4 (after *Joh. i. 18*); *sinu* $l A$. 4 τῷ υἱῷ] $g_1 g_2 s g_3 l$; τῷ χριστῷ g_4 ; def. *A*. 5 καὶ πνεῦμα] $g_1 g_2 s g_3$; τὸ πνεῦμα g_4 ; *spiritus* l ; *spiritus sanctus* *A*. 8 ἐν] $g_1 g_2 s g_3 A$; τὸ ἐν g_4 ; *ipse unus* l . 10 καὶ tert.] $g_2 s g_3 g_4 l A$; om. g_1 . 11 Κύριος] g_1 ; ὁ κύριος $g_2 g_4$; *dominus* l ; *dominus noster* *A*; om. g_3 . 12 ἔθνη] *ἔθνῃς* g_2 . 14 εἷς τρεῖς ἐνανθρωπήσαντας, ἀλλ'] om. l and *Reg. 1026* (see *Cotelier*) by homoeoteleuton. The clause οὔτε εἷς τρεῖς ἐνανθρωπήσαντας is wanting also in *A*. For ὁμοτίμους *Reg. 1026* has ὁμωνύμους. ἐνανθρωπήσαντας] ἐνανθρωπίσαντας $g_2 g_3$. 16 ἐνανθρωπήσας] ἐνανθρωπίσας g_3 . 17 μόνον] $g_1 g_2 g_3$; μόνος $g_4 s$ (and so the edd.); *solus* l ; dub. *A*. 18 ὁ λόγος γὰρ] $g_1 g_2 s g_3$; ὁ γὰρ λόγος g_4 ; *verbum enim* l ; *verbum* (om. γὰρ) *A* (connecting it with the previous words, ἀλλ' ἀληθεῖα ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο). 21 καὶ τέτταται]

I. ὁ μονογενὴς κ.τ.λ.] *Joh. i. 18*. On the possibility of a reading ὁ μονογενής, without either υἱός or Θεός, in this passage of the Gospel, see *Hort's Two Dissertations* p. 11 sq. So far as it goes, this passage of our Ignatian writer favours such a reading.

3. εἷς Κύριος] A reference to *I Cor. viii. 6*.

τί ὄνομα κ.τ.λ.] *Prov. xxx. 4* (xxiv.

27), but instead of τῷ υἱῷ the best supported reading is τοῖς τέκνοις, while some copies have τῷ τέκνῳ. It is quoted as here by *Theodoret on Heb. iii. 6* (*III. p. 563, Schulze*).

5. ἐν...πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] *Ephes. iv. 4*, loosely quoted.

6. ἐν πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] From *I Cor. xii. 13*. The next passage, πάντα δὲ κ.τ.λ., is from the same context, *I Cor. xii. 11*.

ἀλλ' ἀληθεία· ὁ λόγος γὰρ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἐγένετο· ἡ γὰρ σοφία
 ὑποκόμῃσεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον. καὶ ἐγεννήθη ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ
 20 Θεὸς λόγος μετὰ σώματος ἐκ τῆς παρθένου, ἄνευ ὁμιλίας
 ἀνδρός· ἡ παρθένος γὰρ ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται καὶ τέξεται
 γίον. ἀληθῶς οὖν ἐγεννήθη, ἀληθῶς ἠϋξήθη, ἀληθῶς ἔφα-
 γεν καὶ ἔπιεν, ἀληθῶς ἐσταυρώθη καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἀνέστη.
 ὁ ταῦτα πιστεύσας, ὡς ἔχει, ὡς γεγέν[υ]ηται, μακάριος· ὁ
 25 ταῦτα μὴ πιστεύων ἐναγῆς οὐχ ἦττον τῶν τὸν Κύριον
 σταυρωσάντων. ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου χαίρει,
 ὅταν τις ἀρνήται τὸν σταυρόν· ὁλεθρον γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ γινώσ-
 κει τὴν ὁμολογίαν τοῦ σταυροῦ. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ τρώ-
 παιον κατὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως· ὅπερ ὁρῶν φρίττει καὶ
 30 ἀκούων φοβεῖται.

IV. Καὶ πρὶν μὲν γένηται ὁ σταυρός, ἔσπευδεν γενέσ-
 θαι τοῦτο· καὶ ἐνήργει ἐν τοῖς γίοις τῆς ἀπειθείας, ἐνήρ-
 γει ἐν Ἰουδα, ἐν Φαρισαίοις, ἐν Σαδδουκαίοις, ἐν πρεσβύταις,
 ἐν νέοις, ἐν ἱερεῦσιν. μέλλοντος δὲ γίνεσθαι, θορυβεῖται

g₁g₂g₄1A (*et peperit*); om. g₃ (apparently an error of the press). 22 ἀληθῶς

ἠϋξήθη] g₁g₃g₄1A; om. g₂. 24 ταῦτα] αὐτὰ g₃. γεγέννηται] g₁

(but the first *v* is erased); *natus est* 1; γεγένηται g₂g₃g₄5. In A ὡς ἔχει, ὡς
 γεγέν[υ]ηται, is rendered briefly, *quomodo et factum est*, so that the translator's
 reading is doubtful but was probably γεγένηται. 25 μὴ πιστεύων] g₁g₃; μὴ

πιστεύσας g₂g₄, which is a conformation to the preceding clause. In 1A a present
 tense *credit* appears in both clauses. 26 τούτου] g; *in hoc* (τούτῳ) 1;

om. A(?). 27 ἀρνήται] ἀρνέεται g₃. ἑαυτοῦ] g₁g₂g₃; αὐτοῦ

g₄. 30 φοβεῖται] φοβῆται g₂. 32 τοῦτο] g (all the four MSS);

hoc 1; *hujusmodi* (τοιούτου ?) A. There is no authority for the *τούτον* of the
 editors. ἐνήργει] ἐνεργη g₂; ἐνεργεῖν 1. 34 θορυβεῖται] θορυ-

βῆται g₂.

12. ἐνετείλατο] As recorded in
 Matt. xxviii. 19.

16. εἰς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] This passage,
 as far as ἔφαγεν καὶ ἔπιεν, is quoted
 in the *Antirrhethica* of Nicephorus;
 see *Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 356, and
 Cotelier here.

18. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] John i. 14. The
 following words, ἡ σοφία κ.τ.λ., are
 from Prov. ix. 1, a favourite text in
 the Arian controversy; comp. *Ps-*

Smyrn. 2, *Apost. Const.* v. 20.

21. ἡ παρθένος κ.τ.λ.] Is. vii. 14,
 quoted in Matt. i. 23.

22. ἀληθῶς οὖν κ.τ.λ.] This pas-
 sage is copied from Ign. *Trall.* 9;
 comp. *Smyrn.* i. It itself is repro-
 duced substantially in an Arabic
 fragment printed later in this volume.

32. ἐνήργει κ.τ.λ.] The expression
 is taken from Ephes. ii. 2.

καὶ μετάμελον ἐμβάλλει τῷ προδότῃ, καὶ βρόχον αὐτῷ
 δείκνυσιν καὶ ἀγχόνην διδάσκει· φοβεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ γύναιον,
 ἐν ὀνείροις αὐτὸ καταταράττων, καὶ παύειν πειράται τὰ
 κατὰ τὸν σταυρόν, ὃ πάντα κάλων κινῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ
 κατασκευήν· οὐ μεταγινώσκων ἐπὶ [τῷ] τοσοῦτῳ κακῷ· ἦ 5
 γὰρ ἂν οὐ πάντα ἦν πονηρός· ἀλλ' ἐπήσθητο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
 ἀπωλείας. ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὐτῷ καταδίκης ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σταυ-
 ρός, ἀρχὴ θανάτου, ἀρχὴ ἀπωλείας· διὸ καὶ ἔν τισιν
 ἐνεργεῖ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὸν σταυρόν, τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχύνεσθαι,
 τὸν θάνατον δόκησιν καλεῖν, τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν 10
 περικόπτειν, τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν διαβάλλειν ὡς μυσεράν·
 Ἰουδαίοις συμμαχεῖ εἰς ἄρνησιν τοῦ σταυροῦ, Ἑλλησιν
 εἰς συκοφαντίαν μαγείας, αἰρετικοῖς εἰς φαντασίαν· ποικί-
 λος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῆς κακίας στρατηγός, κλεψίνους, ἄστατος,
 ἑαυτῷ ἐναντίος καὶ ἄλλα μὲν προβαλλόμενος ἕτερα δὲ 15
 δεικνύς· σοφὸς γάρ ἐστι τοῦ κακοποιῆσαι, τὸ δὲ καλὸν ὃ
 τι ποτέ ἐστιν ἀγνοεῖ· ἀγνοίας [γὰρ] πεπλήρωται, δι' ἐκού-

1 ἐμβάλλει] ἐμβάλει g₄. αὐτῷ] g₁g₃g₂s!A; om. g₄. §3 αὐτὸ κατατα-
 ράττων] g₁g₂g₄s; ἀποκαταράττων g₃; *perturbabat eam* A; *ipse* (αὐτὸς) *conturbans* l.
 4 τὸν] g₁g₃g₄s; τὸ g₂ (unless indeed Dressel is in error, and this is a v. l. for the
 preceding τὰ, as Zahn suspects). κάλων] g₄s; καλῶν g₃; κάλον (so accentuated,
 unless the accent escaped me) g₁; καλόν g₂. In g₃ the clause is read ὃ πάντα καλῶν
 τε καὶ κινῶν (obviously a misprint for κινῶν), and in l it is rendered *omnia evocans et*
movens. The particles were inserted from a misunderstanding of κάλων, as if καλῶν.
 The rendering in A, *omnem corruptionem movebat*, is accounted for by the Syriac
 5 τῷ] g₁; om. g₂g₃g₄. ἦ] g₄; ἦ g₁g₃; ἡ (sic) g₂. In l the words run *in*
tantum enim mala erant omnia, so that κακῷ ἦ...ἂν appears to have been
 omitted. The reading of Ussher (followed by Zahn and others) εἰ γὰρ ἂν οὐ πάντα
 κ.τ.λ. must be rejected; for ἂν is not wanted with εἰ, and is wanted with ἦ.

2. τὸ γύναιον] Pilate's wife; see
 Matt. xxvii. 19.

4. πάντα κάλων κινῶν] A nautical
 metaphor, πάντα κάλων κινεῖν or ἐξιέ-
 ναι or σείειν, 'to let out every reef,'
 equivalent to the English 'to leave
 no stone unturned.' The various
 readings are due to later ignorance
 of this proverb.

11. περικόπτειν] 'to mutilate,' i.e.
 'to invalidate.'

μυσεράν] For this form see the
 note on Clem. Rom. 14.

13. συκοφαντίαν μαγείας] 'the false
 charge of magic,' brought against
 Jesus; comp. § 5 πῶς δὲ καὶ μάγος
 οὗτος κ.τ.λ.

16. σοφὸς γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*

σιον παράνοιαν. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν τοιοῦτος, ὃς μῆτε
πρὸ ποδῶν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον βλέπει;

20 V. Εἰ γὰρ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ Κύριος, ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ
σώματος, τί περικόπτεις τὴν γέννησιν τῆς κοινῆς τῶν
ἀνθρώπων φύσεως; τί δέ, ὡς παράδοξόν τι ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου
γενόμενον, τὸ πάθος δόκησιν καλεῖς, καὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ
θνητοῦ δόξαν νομίζεις; εἰ δὲ Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος, τί παρά-
25 νομον καλεῖς τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον, τὸν τῇ φύσει ἄτρεπ-
τον; τί παράνομον λέγεις τὸν νομοθέτην, τὸν οὐκ ἀνθρω-
πίαν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα; ὁ λόγος γὰρ ἐγένετο, ὁ λόγος ἄν-
θρωπος, οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ κατοικήσας. πῶς δὲ καὶ μάγος
οὗτος, ὁ πάλαι μὲν πᾶσαν αἰσθητὴν καὶ νοητὴν φύσιν
30 κατασκευάσας γνώμη πατρός, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνανθρωπήσει πᾶ-
CAN ΝΟΣΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΑΚΙΑΝ ΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΣΑΣ;

VI. Πῶς δὲ οὐχ οὗτος Θεός, ὁ νεκροὺς ἀνιστῶν, χωλοὺς

6 ἐπήσθητο] g₃; ἐπέσθαιτο g₁; ἔπαισθαιτο (sic) g₂; ἔπαισθανθεις g₄. ἑαυτοῦ]
g₁g₂g₃; *suam* l; αὐτοῦ g₄. 10 δόκησιν] δίκησιν g₃; *putant* (δοκοῦσιν) l.
11 μυσερᾶν] g₁g₂g₃. The editors substitute *μυσαρᾶν*, and so g₄s. 13 εἰς pri.]
om. g₄. μαγέλας] g₁g₃g₄s; μαγίας g₂. 14 γάρ] g₃l; om. g₁g₂g₄;
sed et A. 18 μῆτε] So all the four MSS. The editors read *μηδέ*.
19 τὸν] g₃; τῶν g₁g₂g₄s; al. A. In l the sentence runs *qui non sibi proponit*
suum sermonem. λόγον] g₃l; λόγων g₁g₂g₄; al. A. 21 σώματος]
txt. lA; add. μόνον g. 22 ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου γενόμενον] g₁g₂g₃; γενόμενον ἐπ'
ἀνθρώπου g₄. 24 Θεὸς] g₁g₂g₃; ὁ θεὸς g₄. 26 οὐκ] l; om. g. In
A the whole clause τὸν οὐκ...ἔχοντα is wanting. ἀνθρωπίαν] ἀνθρωπῖαν
g₁g₂g₃; ἀνθρωπίνην g₄. 27 ὁ λόγος ἄνθρωπος] *verbum homo* l; *verbum*
homo-factum-est A; καὶ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος g. 30 ἐνανθρωπήσει] ἐνανθρω-
πίσῃ g₂. 32 Θεός] g₃l; om. g₁g₂g₄. The omission of ΘC would be easy
after the termination -OC. In A the clause is paraphrased, *quomodo dicis merum*
hominem, o calumniator, illum qui mortuos etc.

vi. 6 ὁ πονηρός, σοφὸς ὢν τοῦ κακο-
ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ καλὸν ὃ τι ποτέ ἐστιν
ἀγνοῶν κ.τ.λ.

17. δι' ἐκούσιον κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*
viii. 2 ἀγνοία γὰρ εἰσι πεπιεσμένοι
δι' ἐκούσιον μοχθηρίαν.

19. τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον] 'his own
language,' for he contradicts himself,
as the writer goes on to show.

20. ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος] For the

Christology of this Ignatian writer,
and for the motive of the various
readings in this chapter more espe-
cially, see the note on *Ps-Philad.* 6.

25. τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον] Taken
from 1 Cor. ii. 8; see also below § 9,
and *Trall.* 12.

27. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] John i. 14.

30. πᾶσαν νόσον κ.τ.λ.] Matt. iv.
23, ix. 35, x. 1; comp. *Magn.* 11.

ἀρτίους ἀποστέλλων, λεπρούς καθαρίζων, τυφλοὺς ὁμματῶν, τὰ ὄντα ἢ αὖξων ἢ μεταβάλλων, ὡς τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς οἶνον, τὸν δὲ σὸν στρατὸν ῥήματι μόνον φυγαδεύων; τί δὲ κακίζεις τὴν φύσιν τῆς παρθένου, καὶ τὰ μόρια ἀποκαλεῖς αἰσχυρά; πάλαι ταῦτα 5 πομπεύων, καὶ γυμνουσθαι κελεύων ἄρρενας μὲν εἰς ὄψιν θηλειῶν θηλείας δὲ εἰς ἀκόλαστον ἐπιθυμίαν ἀρρένων. νῦν αἰσχυρά σοι ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ σεμνὸς εἶναι προσποιῇ σύ, τὸ τῆς πορνείας πνεῦμα, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τότε γίνεται αἰσχυρόν τι, ὅταν παρανομία ῥυπανθῇ. ἁμαρτίας δὲ ἀπούσης οὐδὲν 10 τῶν γενομένων αἰσχυρόν, οὐδὲν φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ πάντα καλὰ λίαν· καὶ σὺ μὴ βλέπων κακίζεις αὐτά;

VII. Πῶς δὲ πάλιν οὐκέτι σοι δοκεῖ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι ἐκ τῆς παρθένου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, ὁ ὢν, ὁ παντοκράτωρ; τίς οὖν ὁ τοῦτον ἀποστείλας, εἰπέ· τίς ὁ 15 τούτου κυριεύων; γνώμη δὲ τίνος οὗτος ἐπειθάρχησεν; νόμων δὲ ποίων πληρωτῆς γέγονεν, ὁ μήτε γνώμη τινὸς

1 ἀποστέλλων] $g_1 g_2 g_3$; ἀποτελῶν g_4 ; def. A. For ἀρτ. ἀποστ. 1 has *sanaavit*.
 2 καὶ] $g_1 g_3 g_4$; 1A; ἢ (sic) g_2 . 4 μόνον] $g_1 g_2 g_4$; μόνον $g_3 g_4$; *tantum* 1; om. A.
 φυγαδεύων] φυγαδεύειν g_3 . 5 ἀποκαλεῖς] $g_3 g_4 g_5$; ἀπολαλεῖς $g_1 g_2$. 6 πομπεύων] $g_1 g_2 g_4 g_5$ A(?); *praeseminans* 1; πομπεύειν g_3 . 7 θηλειῶν θηλείας] $g_1 g_3 g_4 g_5$; θηλιῶν θηλίας g_2 . 8 προσποιῇ] προσποιεῖ g_2 . 11 γενομένων] $g_1 g_2 g_3$; γινομένων g_4 (?); al. A. οὐδὲν] $g_1 g_2 g_3$ 1; οὐδὲ g_4 A(?).
 19 νομοθετεῖς] $g_3 g_4 g_5$; νομοθέτης g_2 ; νομοθετῆς g_1 . γεγεννησθαι] $g_2 g_4 g_5$; γεγενῆσθαι $g_1 g_3$; al. 1A. 21 λέληθάς] λέλυθάς g_2 . 22 ὅτι διάλοξα] ὅτε διὰ λοξὰ g_3 ; ὅτι διδὸ δόξῃ g_2 ; διδοδξῇ (sic, the ὅτι being omitted) g_1 . In g_4 the words ὅτι...βαλνεις are omitted and a blank space is left, the scribe apparently

5. ταῦτα πομπεύων κ.τ.λ.] See *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 7 οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖν ὑμᾶς ἡνάγκαζον θεατρίζοντες, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν γυμνὰς ὡς ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ πομπούοντες;

14. ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός] See *Tars.* 5; comp. *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6. This was one of the charges brought against Marcellus, Euseb. *Eccl. Theol.* ii. 4 εἰ δὲ ὅν ἐν καὶ ταῦτὸν ἦν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ λόγος, ὡς δοκεῖ Μαρκέλλω, ὁ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ παρθένῳ γενό-

μενος...αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.

21. τοῦ παλιμβόλου] 'changeableness, inconsistency, fickleness,' being associated with the idea of 'treachery,' 'deceit'; comp. *Æschines Fals. Leg.* 40 (p. 33) ὁ κέρκωψ ἢ τὸ καλούμενον παυπάλημα ἢ τὸ παλιμβολον ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥήματα, where, as here, τὸ παλιμβολον is used for ἢ παλιμβολία. On this word see Ruhnken *Timæus* s. v. It is sometimes wrongly written

μήτε ἐξουσία εἶκων; καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐξαιρῶν τῆς γεν-
νήσεως τὸν ἀγέννητον νομοθετεῖς γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ σταυρῶ
20 προσηλωσθαι τὸν ἄναρχον· τίνος συγχωρήσαντος, οὐκ ἔχω
εἰπεῖν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ λέληθάς με τοῦ παλιμβόλου, οὐδ'
ἀγνοῶ ὅτι διάλοξα καὶ δίδυμα βαίνεις· ἀγνοεῖς δὲ σὺ τίς
ὁ γεννηθείς, ὁ πᾶν εἰδέναι προσποιούμενος.

VIII. Πολλὰ γάρ σε λανθάνει· ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας,
25 ὁ παράδοξος τοκετός· ὅστις ὁ ἐν τῷ σώματι ὁ ἡγούμενος
ἀστήρ τῶν ἐν ἀνατολῇ, τῶν τὰ δῶρα κομιζόντων μάγων·
ἀρχαγγέλου ἀσπασμὸς πρὸς παρθένον· παρθένου παρά-
δοξος σύλληψις μεμνηστευμένης· παιδὸς προδροῦμου κηρυ-
30 τοῦ προθεωρουμένου· ἀγγέλων ὕμνοι ἐπὶ τῷ τεχθέντι ποι-
μένων εὐαγγέλια· Ἡρώδου φόβος ἐπὶ ἀφαιρέσει βασιλείας·
νηπιοκτόνον πρόσταγμα· εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετανάστασις· ἐκεί-
θεν ἐπὶ τὰ τῇδε ἐπάνοδος· σπάργανα παιδικά· ἀπογραφῇ

being unable to decipher or to interpret them. The whole sentence runs in I, *neque ignoro quoniam curve et lubrico incedis*; and in A, *et perversos quodammodo vel obliquos gressus* (sc. tuos) *habeo* (i.e. aestimo). Most editors read διὰ λοξά, in two words; but this must be wrong. See below.

βαίνεις] βαίνεις g₂; βέν-
νεις g₁. 24 παρθενία] g₄^s; παρθενεία g₁g₂g₃. 26 κομιζόντων] g₁g₂g₄^s;

κομισάντων g₃. 28 μεμνηστευμένης] g₁g₂g₄^s[1]; πεπιστευμένη g₃; def. A.

κηρυκεία] g₄^s; κηρυκία g₁g₂g₃. 31 εὐαγγέλια] So accentuated in g₁g₄; εὐαγγελία g₂^sg₃.

Ἡρώδου] g₁g₂g₃1A; καὶ Ἡρώδου g₄. 32 νηπιοκτόνον] g₂g₄;

νηπιοκτόνων g₁; νηπιόκτόνων (sic) g₃. The editors read νηπιοκτόνων, but νηπιόκτόνον is far better. In I it is *praeceptio ad parvulorum necem*, and in A, *quia mandatum dedit necare pueros*. Both these renderings point to νηπιόκτόνον.

παλίμβουλον; comp. the vv. II. παρα-
βουλευσάμενος, παραβουλευσάμενος, in
Phil. ii. 30.

22. διάλοξα] 'crookedly.' This com-
pound is very rare, but the lexicons
give an instance from Liban. *Or.*
IV. p. 1071 *διαλόξοις στροφαῖς*, where
it is used of an oblique glance of the
eyes. For the use here comp. Ba-
brius *Fab.* 109 *λοξὸν βαίνειν*, describ-
ing the motion of a crab.

24. Πολλὰ γάρ κ.τ.λ.] See the
note on Ign. *Ep̄hes.* 19, on which

this passage is founded.

31. εὐαγγέλια] So it should pro-
bably be accentuated, not εὐαγγελία
with previous editors. The word
εὐαγγελία however is found, though
rarely, in Hellenistic Greek; e.g.
2 Sam. xviii. 20, 27.

33. ἐπὶ τὰ τῇδε] The spurious Ig-
natus forgets that he elsewhere
(§ 15) supposes this letter to have
been written after the saint has
already reached the shores of Italy.
Zahn suggests that perhaps this lan-

ἀνθρωπίνῃ· γαλακτοτροφία· ὄνομα πατρὸς οὐ σπείραντος·
 φάτναι, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τόπον· οὐδεμία παρασκευὴ ἀνθρω-
 πίνῃ· αὐξήσεως προκοπή· ἀνθρώπινα ῥήματα· πείνη, δίψη,
 ὁδοιπορία, κόπος· θνσιῶν προσκομιδαί, ἐπειδὴ καὶ περιτομή·
 βάπτισμα, φωνὴ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ βαπτιζομένῳ, ὅστις καὶ πόθεν· 5
 μαρτυρία πνεύματος καὶ Θεοῦ ὑπεράνωθεν φωνή· Ἰωάννου
 προφητεία σημαίνουσα πάθος διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἁμνοῦ προση-
 γορίας· σημείων διαφόρων ἐνέργειαι· ἰάσεις ποικίλαι· ἐπι-
 τήμησις δεσποτική προστάττουσα θαλάττῃ καὶ ἀνέμοις·
 πνεύματα πονηρὰ φυγαδεύόμενα· σεαυτὸν στρεβλόμενον 10
 [καὶ] ἐκ τῆς τοῦ φαινομένου δυνάμεως αἰκίζόμενον, οὐκ
 ἔχοντα ὃ τι ποιήσης.

IX. Ταῦθ' ὁρῶν ἰλιγγιᾶς· καὶ ὅτι παρθένος ἡ τεκοῦσα,
 ἡγνόεις, ἀλλ' ἐξέπληττέν σε ἡ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὑμνολογία, ἡ
 τῶν μάγων προσκύνησις, ἡ τοῦ ἀστέρος ἐπιτολή. εἰς ἄ- 15

2 φάτναι] g₁g₂sg₃; φάτνη g₄. 3 πείνη] g₁; πίνη g₃; πείνα g₂sg₄s. δίψη]
 g₁g₂g₃; δίψα g₄s.

4 ὁδοιπορία, κόπος] g₁g₂g₃l; κόπος, ὁδοιπορίαί g₄;
defatigatio in via A (as if ὁδοιπορίας or -la κόπος). ἐπειδὴ καὶ] g₁g₂g₄;

ἔπειτα καὶ g₃; om. 1A. περιτομή] g₁g₂sg₃lA; περιτομαί g₄. 6 Θεοῦ]

g₂g₄lA; πατρὸς g₁g₃. 7 προφητεία] προφήτον g₁g₂g₃g₄s. The edi-

tors read the passage μαρτυρία πνεύματος καὶ πατρὸς ὑπεράνωθεν. φωνὴ Ἰωάννου
 προφήτου σημαίνουσα κ.τ.λ. I have restored *προφητεία* from 1A, and altered the
 punctuation accordingly. In l it runs *testificatio spiritus et dei vox iohannis*
prophetia significans etc. (where ὑπεράνωθεν is untranslated); in A *testificationem dei*
de hoc qui desuper erat, prophetiam iohannis agnum nominando etc. (where ὑπερά-
 νωθεν is translated as if it were ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄνωθεν). See the explanatory note.

9 θαλάττῃ] g₁g₂sg₃; θαλάσση g₄. 10 σεαυτὸν] It would appear that some

guage may favour his conjecture (*I. v. A.* p. 141 sq.) that Acacius of Cæsarea was the author of these spurious epistles. It seems at first sight to betray a Palestinian authorship. On the other hand the language might perhaps be satisfied by a reference to Antioch the see of Ignatius.

3. αὐξήσεως προκοπή] A reference to Luke ii. 40 τὸ δὲ παιδίον ἡῤῥαυεν, ii. 52 καὶ Ἰησοῦς προέκοπ-
 τεν.

πείνη, δίψη] For the form πείνη

see Lobeck *Phryn.* 499, Steph. *Thes.* s.v. (ed. Hase et Dind.); for δίψη *Æsch. Choeph.* 743, where however editors emend in various ways.

5. φωνὴ Θεοῦ] This refers, I suppose, to the premonitory warning given to the Baptist, which is mentioned only in Joh. i. 33. The voice, which is mentioned by the other three Evangelists as following upon the descent of the Spirit, is intended in Θεοῦ ὑπεράνωθεν φωνὴ below.

17. πάθνη] A dialectic form of φάτνη, as κιθών and χιτών, κύθρα

γνοίαν σὺ παλινδρομεῖς διὰ τὰ εὐτελῆ· μικρὰ γάρ σοι δοκεῖ
 σπάργανα, πάθνη, περιτομή, γαλακτοτροφία· ἀνάξιά σοι
 ταῦτα κατὰ Θεοῦ κατεφαίνεται. πάλιν εἶδες ἄνθρωπον
 τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἄγευστον μέιναντα τρο-
 20 φῆς ἀνθρωπίνης, ἀγγέλους διακονοῦντας, οὓς καὶ ἔφριπτες,
 ἰδὼν πρῶτον ὡς κοινὸν ἄνθρωπον βαπτιζόμενον, καὶ τὴν
 αἰτίαν ἀγνοῶν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν νηστείαν πεινῶντι κατεθάρσεις
 πάλιν, καὶ ἐπείραζες ὡς κοινὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀγνοῶν ὅστις
 εἶη· ἔλεγες γάρ, εἰ γιὺς εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰπέ ἵνα οἱ λίθοι
 25 οὔτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται· τὸ γὰρ εἰ γιὺς εἶ ἀγνοίας ἐστίν·
 εἰ γὰρ ὄντως ἐγίνωσκες, ἠπίστω ὅτι δημιουργῶ καὶ τὸ μὴ
 ὄν ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ ὄν μεταβαλεῖν ἐπ' ἴσης δυνατόν. καὶ
 διὰ γαστρὸς πειράζεις τὸν τρέφοντα πάντας τοὺς τροφῆς
 δεομένους, καὶ πειράζεις τὸν τῆς δόξης Κύριον, ἐπιλαθό-
 30 μενος ἐκ κακονοίας ὅτι οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρω-
 πος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος

word or words (e.g. εἶδες) had dropped out, since the accusative has no government: but, if so, the omission is prior to any existing authorities. 11 καὶ] g₃[A];

om. g₁g₂g₄. 12 ποιήσης] ποιήσεις g₃. 13 λιγγιῶς] ἡ λιγγιῶς g₂.

17 πάθνη] πάθη g; *passiones* l. I have restored the reading πάθνη from A, which has *praesepē*. For the form see below. 18 κατὰ] g (all the MSS). It is

untranslated in 1A, which have *indigna* (*non digna*) *deo*, but this is perhaps carelessness. κατεφαίνεται] g₁g₂g₃; καταφαίνεται g₄; *videntur* l; *sunt* A.

εἶδες] ἴδες g₂. 22 πεινῶντι] g₁g₂g₃. Some editors read πεινῶντα, and so

g₄. 25 οὔτοι] g₁g₂g₃A; om. g₄; def. l. ἀγνοίας] ἀγνοί (sic) g₂.

26 ἠπίστω] ἐπίστω g₂. 27 ὄν bis] ὦν g₂. μεταβαλεῖν] g₁g₂g₄; μετα-

βάλλειν g₃. ἐπ' ἴσης] g₄; ἐφ' ἴσης g₁; ἐφ' ἴσης g₃; ἐφ' ἴσους g₂. 28 πει-

ράζεις] πειράζης g₂.

and χύτρα, πιθάκνη and φιδάκνη, ἐν-
 τεῦθεν and ἐνθεῦτεν, etc.; e.g. *Georhon*.
 xv. 4. I τὰ στόμια τῶν παθῶν: comp.
 Mœris 212. 9 (ed. Bekker) φάτνη
 "Αττικῶι, πάθνη "Ελληνες. The com-
 mon reading, πάθη, is out of place
 here.

22. πεινῶντι] If any correction
 were made, it should not be πεινῶντα,
 which several editors (e.g. Ussher,
 Dressel, and Zahn) adopt, but πει-
 νῶντος (e.g. Diod. Sic. xv. 34, Strabo

xii. p. 573). The dative however is
 amply justified by the analogous uses
 of καταγελᾶν, κατατρέχειν, etc., with
 this same case.

24. εἰ υἱὸς εἶ κ.τ.λ.] Quoted from
 Matt. iv. 3. The subsequent quota-
 tion also, οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ κ.τ.λ., is taken
 from the same Gospel, Matt. iv. 4.
 For the expression τὸν τῆς δόξης
 Κύριον comp. 1 Cor. ii. 8; see also
 above, § 5.

Θεοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ᾗδεις ὅτι υἱὸς Θεοῦ ἦν, ἐγίνωσκες ὅτι ὁ ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις καὶ ἰσαριθμοῖς νυξὶν ἀνενδεὲς ποιήσας τὸ [φθαρτὸν] σῶμα καὶ εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἐδύνατο τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. διὰ τί οὖν πεινᾷ; ἵνα δείξῃ ὅτι κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἔλαβε σῶμα ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἀνθρώποις. διὰ μὲν τοῦ 5 πρώτου ἔδειξεν ὅτι Θεός, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ὅτι καὶ ἄνθρωπος.

X. Σὺ οὖν, ὁ ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς ὑψηλοτάτης δόξης ὡς ἀστραπή, τολμᾷς λέγειν τῷ Κυρίῳ· βάλε σεαυτὸν ἐντεῖθεν κάτω ᾧ τὰ ὄντα λελόγισται ὡς μὴ ὄντα· καὶ εἰς κενοδοξίαν 10 προκαλέσαι τὸν οὐκ ἐπιδεικτιῶντα; καὶ προσποιῇ τὴν γραφὴν ἀναγινώσκειν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσί σε, τοῦ μὴ προσκόψαι πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σοῦ; καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσποιῇ ἀγνοεῖν, κλέπτων αἱ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν προπόλων 15

1 ᾗδεις] Anast. (see the lower note); ἐγίνωσκες g; scires l (having *cognoscere* for ἐγίνωσκες below). So also in A two different words are used, corresponding to *scio* and *cognosco* respectively. υἱὸς Θεοῦ] g; θεοῦ υἱὸς Anast. ἦν] g₁g₃g₄s Anast.; erat l; est A; εἰ g₂. 2 ἐν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις] g₁; τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας Anast. [A]. ἰσαριθμοῖς] g₁g₃g₄s; ἰσάριθμον g₂; quadraginta l. The words καὶ ἰσαριθμοῖς νυξὶν are wanting in A Anast. 3 φθαρτὸν] Anast.; passibile l; om. gA. 4 τοῦτο] g₁g₃g₄l; το (sic) g₂; def. A. οὖν] g₁g₃g₄s; οὐ g₂; om. A; al. l. κατ' ἀλήθειαν] g; ἀληθῶς Anast.; dub. A; vere l. The reading κατ' ἀλήθειαν is necessary to explain the variation given in the next note. 5 ἔλαβε] g₂; suscepit A; ἀνέλαβε g₁g₃g₄s Anast.; suscepit l. As ἀνέλαβε is not a very suitable word, the *an-* seems to be a repetition of the last syllable of ἀλήθειαν.

1. εἰ γὰρ ᾗδεις κ.τ.λ.] This passage, to the end of the chapter, is quoted by Anastasius (Mai *Vet. Script. Nov. Coll.* VII. I. p. 22; see Zahn p. 359). He cites it by inadvertence as ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Τάρσῳ.

8. ὡς ἀστραπή] From Luke x. 18.

9. βάλε σεαυτὸν] From Luke iv. 9; but the next quotation, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις κ.τ.λ., is nearer to Matt. iv. 6 than to Luke iv. 10 sq. The latter evangelist more nearly preserves the words of the LXX, Ps. xc (xci). 11, 12.

10. τὰ ὄντα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Rom. iv. 17, 1 Cor. i. 28.

11. ἐπιδεικτιῶντα] '*desirous of making a display*'; comp. e.g. Orig. c. Cels. iv. 6 καθάπερ οἱ νεόπλουτοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδεικτιῶντες...οὐ γὰρ ἐπιδεικτιᾷ ὁ Θεός. Similarly φανητιᾶν, Mar. Ign. 5.

15. κλέπτων] '*suppressing, concealing*'; for the next quotation, ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα κ.τ.λ., follows immediately upon the previous one in Ps. xc (xci). 13.

20. οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κ.τ.λ.] Deut. vi.

προεφήτευσεν· ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ, καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα.

XI. Εἰ τοίνυν σὺ πάτημα τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Κυρίου, πῶς πειράζεις τὸν ἀπειραστον, ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ νομοθέτου
 20 παρακελευομένου ὅτι οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου; ἀλλὰ καὶ τολμᾶς, ἐναγέστατε, τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔργα οἰκειοῦσθαι καὶ σοὶ παραδεδόσθαι λέγειν τὴν τούτων ἀρχήν· καὶ τὴν σὴν πτώσιν προτείνεις τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ διδόναι τὰ αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ ἐπαγγέλλῃ, ἐὰν πεσὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς προσκυνήσῃ σοι;
 25 καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἔφριξας τοιαύτην φωνὴν κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου προήκασθαι, ὃ πάντων πονηρῶν πνευμάτων πονηρότερον ἐκ κακονοίας πνεῦμα; διὰ γαστρὸς ἡττήθης καὶ διὰ κενοδοξίας ἡτιμάσθης· διὰ φιλοχρηματίας καὶ φιλαρχίας εἰς ἀσέβειαν ἐφέλκῃ. σὺ ὁ Βελίαρ, ὁ δράκων ὁ ἀποστάτης, ὁ σκο-
 30 λιὸς ὁ φῖς, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποστάς, ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χωρισθείς, ὁ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀλλοτριωθείς, ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν

9 βάλε] βάλλε g₃g₄^s.

10 τὰ ὄντα] *quae sunt* l; τὰ ἐνόντα g; A paraphrases the whole clause, *cui omne aliquid possibile est*. It seems necessary to read ὄντα for ἐνόντα.

11 προκαλέσαι] προκαλῆσαι g₃; προκαλεῖσαι g₁; προκαλεῖσθαι g₂; προσκαλῆ g₄; *provocas* l; *vocas* A.

13 καὶ] g; *ut* lA.

14 προσποιῇ ἀγνοεῖν] g₁g₂g₃; ἀγνοεῖν προσποιῇ g₄. 15 αἰ] g₃l; ὁ g₄; *quae* or *quod* A; οὐ g₁g₂.

προποδῶν] *ministris* l; προποδῶν g₂; πρὸ πολλῶν g₁g₂g₃.

πρὸ πολλοῦ g₄; om. A. 16 καταπατήσεις] g₁g₃g₄^s; καταπατήσης g₂.

19 πειράξεις] πειράξης g₂. 20 ὅτι] g₁g₂g₃; om. g₄; *quod* A.

γαιν] g₃l; om. g₁g₂g₄[A]. 22 λέ-

29 ἐφέλκῃ] ἐφέλκει g₂; ἀφέλκῃ g₃. 24 προσκυνήσῃ] g₁g₄^s; προσκυνήσει g₂g₃.

Βελίαρ] g₁g₃A; βελίας g₂g₄; *incensor* l.

16, quoted Matt. iv. 7, Luke iv. 12.

23. τὴν σὴν πτώσιν κ.τ.λ.] ‘*enticest Him to fall like thyself*’; comp. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* vii. 16 (p. 329) ὧδε πῶς τὴν πτώσιν αὐτοῦ...διηγούμενοι πῶς ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁ ἑωσφόρος κ.τ.λ. In the context Ps. xc. 13 is quoted, and there are several other coincidences with this passage of our Pseudo-Ignatius.

27. διὰ γαστρὸς] i.e. ‘by thy appeal to His appetites’; comp. § 9 πεινῶντι κατεθάρσεις. The other ex-

pressions, διὰ κενοδοξίας and διὰ φιλοχρηματίας κ.τ.λ., refer to the two remaining temptations.

29. ὁ δράκων ὁ ἀποστάτης] As *Ps-Philad.* 6. The expression is taken from Job xxvi. 13. The connexion which we find here, was the more readily suggested from the fact that the fathers commonly interpreted Βελίαρ by ἀποστάτης; see Ussher’s note.

ὁ σκολιὸς ὁ φῖς] An expression taken from Is. xxvii. 1.

ἀγγέλων ἐξωσθείς, ὁ τῶν νόμων τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑβριστής, ὁ τῶν νομίμων ἐχθρός, ὁ τοῖς πρωτοπλάστοις ἐπαναστὰς καὶ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἀποστήσας καὶ αἰκίσας τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικήσαντάς σε, ὁ τῷ Ἀβελ ἐπαναστήσας τὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνον Κάϊν, ὁ τῷ Ἰωβ ἐπιστρατεύσας, λέγεις τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐὰν πεσῶν 5 προσκυνήσῃς μοι; ὦ τῆς τόλμης, ὦ τῆς παραπληξίας· δοῦλος δραπετήης, δοῦλος μαστιγίας, ἀφηνιᾶς τοῦ καλοῦ δεσπότη; δεσπότη τηλικούτῳ, Θεῷ πάντων τῶν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν, λέγεις, ἐὰν πεσῶν προσκυνήσῃς μοι;

XII. Ὁ δὲ Κύριος μακροθυμεῖ, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν 10 ἀναιρεῖ τὸν ἀπὸ ἀγνοίας τοιαῦτα θρασυνόμενον, ἀλλὰ πρᾶως ἀποκρίνεται, ὕπαγε Σατανᾶ. οὐκ εἶπεν, ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου· οὐ γὰρ ὑποστρέψαι οἶός τε· ἀλλ' ὕπαγε Σατανᾶ, ἐν οἷς ἐπελέξω, ὕπαγε ἐν οἷς ἡρεθίσθης ἐκ κακονοίας· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅστις εἰμὶ γνώσκω, καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος ἀπέσταλμαι, καὶ ὃν χρή 15 προσκυνεῖν ἐπίσταμαι. Κύριον γάρ, φησὶν, τὸν Θεόν σου

1 ἀγγέλων] g₁g₂g₃lA; ἀποστῶν g₄.
πλάστοις g₂.

2 πρωτοπλάστοις] g₁g₃g₄s; πρωτο-

κινήσας g₄; 3 ἀποστήσας καὶ αἰκίσας] ἡκέσας g₁g₂; ἢ ἀπατήσαι (sic) g₃; κινήσας g₄; *avertisti* l. The rendering of the sentence in A is *fecisti eam* (i.e. *primam creaturam*) *praecepti-violatorem et cruciasti eos qui tibi nihil peccaverunt*. From this version, with the fragmentary help of the other authorities, I have attempted to restore the original text. Zahn had seen that *αἰκίσας* must form part of it. The omission of *ἀποστήσας* may be explained by the proximity of *ἐπαναστήσας*. οὐδὲν] g₁g₂g₃; μὴδὲν g₄.

4 σε] g₁g₂s₃g₃[l][A]; om. g₄.

7 ἀφηνιᾶς] g₁g₂s₃; ἀφηνιᾶσας g₄; *descivit* [A]; al. l.

8 τῶν] g₁g₃; om. g₂g₄.

9 αἰσθητῶν] εἰσθητῶν g₂.

10 μακροθυμεῖ] μακροθυμῇ g₂.

εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν] g₁g₂g₃;

in praesenti (εἰς τὸ παρόν) l; om. g₄; def. A. Perhaps we should read *εἰς τὸ παρόν*.

11 ἀπὸ] g₁g₂s₃; ὑπὸ g₄.

13 τε] g₁g₂s₃; om. g₄.

14 ἡρεθίσθης] g₁g₃;

ἡρεθίσθης g₂; ἡρέσθης g₄; *dilexisti* A; *tibi elegisti* l. The two versions seem to

9. ἐὰν πεσῶν κ.τ.λ.] Matt. iv. 9. It is somewhat different in Luke iv. 8.

12. ὕπαγε Σατανᾶ] Matt. iv. 10. In Luke iv. 10 it is an interpolation. The following quotation ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου is from Matt. xvi. 23. The idea of the passage is borrowed from Origen in *Matth. Tom. xii* (III. p. 540 Delarue), πρὸς μὲν τὸν Πέτρον εἶπεν Ὑπαγε ὀπίσω μου Σατανᾶ, πρὸς

δὲ τὸν διάβολον... Ὑπαγε Σατανᾶ, χωρὶς τῆς ὀπίσω μου προσθήκης, quoted by Zahn.

16. Κύριον κ.τ.λ.] Deut. vi. 13, as quoted in Matt. iv. 10.

21. ἐγὼ...ζῶ κ.τ.λ.] From John vi. 57.

23. οὐκ ὦν τε] Comp. *Tars.* 9. See the note on Ign. *Ephes.* 3.

26. ὡς ἴδια μέλη] *Apost. Const.* vi. 29 οἱ ἄνδρες, στέργετε τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυν-

προσκυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις. οἶδα τὸν ἓνα, ἐπίσταμαι τὸν μόνον, οὗ σὺ ἀποστάτης γέγονας. οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀντίθεος, ὁμολογῶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν· καὶ οὐ παραιτοῦμαι προσ-
 20 κυνεῖν ἐκείνῳ ὃν ἐπίσταμαι, τὸν τῆς ἐμῆς γεννήσεως αἰτι-
 ον...ἐγὼ γὰρ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα:

XIII. Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, ἀπὸ διαθέσεως τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἠναγκάσθην ἐπιστεῖλαι, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ παραινῶν, οὐκ ὦν
 τι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφός. ὑποτάσσεσθε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, τοῖς
 25 πρεσβυτέροις, τοῖς διακόνοις. ἀγαπᾶτε ἀλλήλους ἐν Κυρίῳ,
 ὡς Θεοῦ ἀγάλματα. ὁρᾶτε, οἱ ἄνδρες, ὡς ἴδια μέλη τὰς
 γαμετὰς στέργετε· αἱ γυναῖκες, ὡς ἐν οὔσαι τῇ συναφείᾳ,
 στέργετε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας. εἴ τις ἀγνεύει ἢ ἐγκρατεύ-
 εται, μὴ ἐπαιρέσθω, ἵνα μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθόν. τὰς ἑορτὰς
 30 μὴ ἀτιμάζετε· τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε· μίμησιν
 γὰρ περιέχει τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου πολιτείας· καὶ τὴν τοῦ πά-

point to a reading ἡρέτισας.

16 φησὶν] 1A; om. g.

19 καὶ οὐ...δὲν]

Zahn with 1A; om. g.

20 αἰτιον...ἐγὼ γὰρ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα] αἰτιον τὸν

πατέρα (alone, omitting all the other words) g; *auctorem et dominum atque [meae] perseverantiae custodem: ego enim [inquit] vivo propter patrem I; causam, hunc eundem ipsum scio dominum naturarum, et ego vivus sum propter patrem A.* It is clear from the comparison of these two translations, that several words have dropped out from the Greek, and that the quotation from Joh. vi. 57 formed part of these. The divergence being so great between the two, it is impossible to attempt to restore the first part; Zahn supplies καὶ κύριον καὶ υποστάσεως φύλακα.

23 οὐκ ὦν τι] g (all the four MSS); *non quod sim aliquid A; non quasi extraneus I.* The editors read οὐχ ὡς ὦν τι, quite unnecessarily.

27 τῇ συναφείᾳ] g₁g₃g₄s; τῆς συναφείας g₂.

29 ἀπολέσῃ] ἀπολέσει g₂g₃.

τὸν μισθόν] g; add.

αὐτοῦ Nikon (see the lower note); add. *suam* [I][A].

31 καὶ] g₃; *etiam*

1; μετὰ g₁g₂g₄s. A has nothing corresponding to either word.

ναῖκας ὡς ἴδια μέλη; comp. Ephes. v. 28.

28. εἴ τις ἀγνεύει κ.τ.λ.] Suggested by Ign. *Polyc.* 5. Nikon *Serm.* 57 (see Cotelier here) quotes from this point onward to the end of the chapter.

29. τὰς ἑορτὰς κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* v. 13 τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἑορτῶν φυλάσσετε...φυλακτέα ἢ νηστεία τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, μνήμην περιέχουσα τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου πολιτείας τε καὶ νομοθεσίας: comp. *Apost.*

Can. 69 εἴ τις...τὴν ἁγίαν τεσσαρακοστὴν ἢ τετράδα ἢ παρασκευὴν οὐ νηστεύει κ.τ.λ.

31. τὴν τοῦ πάθους κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* v. 15 παρήγγειλεν οὖν ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν τὰς ἐξ ἡμέρας ταύτας [τῆς ἐβδομάδος τοῦ πάσχα]...τετράδα δὲ καὶ παρασκευὴν προσέταξεν ἡμῖν νηστεύειν κ.τ.λ., v. 20 μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐβδομάδα τῆς νηστείας πᾶσαν τετράδα καὶ πᾶσαν παρασκευὴν προστάσσομεν ὑμῖν νηστεύειν καὶ τὴν περισσεῖαν ὑμῶν τῆς

θους ἐβδομάδα μὴ παροράτε, τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν
νηστεύοντες, πένησιν ἐπιχορηγοῦντες τὴν περισσεΐαν. εἴ
τις κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει, πλὴν ἐνὸς σαββάτου
[τοῦ πάσχα], οὗτος χριστοκτόνος ἐστίν.

XIV. Αἱ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ἐκταθείησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀντι- 5
οχείας ἐκκλησίαν, ὅθεν καὶ δέσμιος ἀπάγομαι εἰς Ῥώμην.
ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἅγιον ἐπίσκοπον Πολύκαρπον· ἀσπάζομαι
τὸν ἅγιον ἐπίσκοπον Βιτάλιον καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν πρεσβυτέριον
καὶ τοὺς συνδούλους μου τοὺς διακόνους· ὧν ἐγὼ ἀντίψυ-
χον γενοίμην, ὅτι ὑποτάσσονται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς 10
πρεσβυτέροις ἐν Κυρίῳ. εἴ τις μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιτελεῖ τὸ
πάσχα ἢ τὰ σύμβολα τῆς ἐορτῆς αὐτῶν δέχεται, κοινωνός
ἐστὶ τῶν ἀποκτενάντων τὸν Κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους
αὐτοῦ.

XV. Ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς Φίλων καὶ Ἀγαθόπους οἱ διά- 15
κονοι. ἀσπάζομαι τὸ σύστημα τῶν παρθένων, τὸ τάγμα

2 νηστεύοντες] g Nikon; νηστεύετε [1] [A]. ἐπιχορηγοῦντες] g [1]; ἐπιχορη-
γεῖτε Nikon (see Cotelier) [A]. 3 ἐνὸς σαββάτου τοῦ πάσχα] g₃l; ἐνὸς σαββάτου
(om. τοῦ πάσχα) g₁g₄ Nikon; ἐνὸς μόνου (om. σαββάτου τοῦ πάσχα) g₂; def. A.
Probably τοῦ πάσχα is a gloss. The reading of g₂ is probably taken from *Apost.*
Can. 56. See the lower note. 4 χριστοκτόνος] χρηστοκτόνος g₂. 7 ἀσπά-
ζομαι...Πολύκαρπον] g₁g₂g₄l (comp. A); om. g₃. 8 Βιτάλιον] g₁g₃g₄s;
βητάλιον g₂; *vitalium* l; *bitum* A. 9 ἀντίψυχον] g₁g₂; ἀντίψυχος g₃g₄s.
10 ὅτι ὑποτάσσονται] *quoniam obediunt* A; ἔτι συντάσσομαι g; *adhuc dico* l.
19 διὰ] g₁g₃g₄s; δι' g₂. 20 Ῥήγιον] ῤηγιόνα g₂; ῤηγιόνα g₁; *regionem* l.
For συντυχῶν περὶ ῤηγιον g₄ has ἐντυχῶν ἐν ῤηγίῳ, and g₃ συντυχῶν περιρηγείς (sic)

νηστείας πένησιν ἐπιχορηγεῖν, vii. 23
ὑμεῖς δὲ...νηστεύσατε...τετράδα καὶ
παρασκευὴν.

2. εἴ τις κυριακὴν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost.*
Const. vii. 23 τὸ σάββατον μέντοι καὶ
τὴν κυριακὴν ἐορτάζετε...ἐν δὲ μόνον
σάββατον ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, τὸ τῆς τοῦ
Κυρίου ταφῆς, ὅπερ νηστεύειν προσήκει:
comp. v. 15, 18, 20; *Apost. Can.* 66
εἴ τις...κληρικὸς εὐρεθῇ τὴν κυριακὴν
ἡμέραν νηστεύων ἢ τὸ σάββατον, πλὴν
τοῦ ἐνὸς μόνου, καθαιρεῖσθω κ.τ.λ.

5. ἐκταθείησαν] See the note on
Ign. Magn. 14.

8. Βιτάλιον] '*Vitalis*' (comp.

Liban. *Ep.* 60), a very common
Latin name. The termination fol-
lows the ordinary rule where Latin
names are transferred into Greek,
e.g. Apollinaris, Ἀπολλινάριος. Ben-
seler is disposed to make it equi-
valent to Vitellius, but this seems to
be wrong. Βιτάλιος here is obviously
intended for the bishop of Philippi,
and should probably be identified
with the Bítos of *Hero* 8. The Ar-
menian has 'Bitus' here also.

9. τοὺς συνδούλους] See the note
on *Ign. Ephes.* 2.

10. ὅτι ὑποτάσσονται] The Arme-

τῶν χηρῶν ὧν καὶ ὀναίμην. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου
 ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου. ἀπέστειλα ὑμῖν ταῦτά μου τὰ
 γράμματα διὰ Εὐφανίου τοῦ ἀναγνώστου, ἀνδρὸς θεοτιμῆ-
 20 του καὶ πιστοτάτου, συντυχῶν περὶ Ῥήγιον, ἀναγομένου ἐν
 πλοίῳ. μέμνησθέ μου τῶν δεσμῶν, ἵνα τελειωθῶ ἐν Χρι-
 στῷ. ἔρρωσθε σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι, τέλεια φρονούντες,
 ἀποστρεφόμενοι τοὺς ἐργάτας τῆς ἀνομίας, καὶ τοῦ λόγου
 τῆς ἀληθείας φθορεῖς, ἐνδυναμούμενοι ἐν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ
 25 Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

7.

ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΙΣ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ
 Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ, ἐν

τῶν δεσμῶν, omitting the intervening words ἀναγομένου ἐν πλοίῳ. μέμνησθέ μου,
 while A renders *cum quo locutus sum in tempore*. ἀναγομένου] g. The sense
 given by 1A would require ἀναγόμενος, but this may be due to the looseness of the
 rendering. 21 τελειωθῶ] τελειωθῇ g₂.

Subscr. e. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς φιλιππησίους περὶ βαπτί-
 ματος g₁g₂. Nothing in g₃g₄.

προς φιλαδελφεῖς] g₄ (with 5 in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς
 φιλαδελφεῖς g₁ (with 5 in the marg.) g₂s; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιε-
 πισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς φιλαδελφίους 5 g₃; *ad philadel-*
phiensis [ex troia] l (with vv. 11.).

nian has preserved the right read-
 ing: comp. Ign. *Polyc.* 6 ἀντίψυχον
 ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ,
 πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνους, *Magn.* 2 τοῦ
 διακόνου Ζωτίωνος, οὐ ἐγὼ ὀναίμην ὅτι
 ὑποτάσσεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ... καὶ τῷ
 πρεσβυτερίῳ (comp. *Trall.* 13), from
 which passages the Pseudo-Ignatius
 has obviously borrowed. The com-
 mon reading *ἔτι συντάσσομαι* makes
 no good sense.

II. εἴ τις μετὰ Ἰουδαίων κ.τ.λ.]
Apost. Can. 70 εἴ τις...ηστέυει μετὰ
 Ἰουδαίων ἢ ἐορτάζει μετ' αὐτῶν ἢ
 δέχεται αὐτῶν τὰ τῆς ἐορτῆς ξένια, οἶον

ἄζυμα ἢ τι τοιοῦτον, καθαιρεῖσθω. For
 decrees of councils, etc., on these
 points see Cotelier's note here, and
 Ussher's *Proleg.* c. 14.

12. τὰ σύμβολα] The unleavened
 bread, etc., which are so called by
 analogy, just as the eucharistic ele-
 ments are the σύμβολα, 'the outward
 tokens,' of the Christian feast; see
 Suicer's *Thes.* s. v.

15. Φίλων κ.τ.λ.] See the note on
 Ign. *Philad.* II.

19. τοῦ ἀναγνώστου] See the note
 on *Antioch.* 12.

20. Ῥήγιον] See above, II. p. 379.

ἀγάπη ἡλεημένη καὶ ἡδρασμένη ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαλλομένη ἐν τῷ πάθει τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει αὐτοῦ, πεπληροφορημένη ἐν παντὶ ἐλέει· ἣν ἀσπάζομαι ἐν αἵματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἣτις ἐστὶν χαρὰ αἰώνιος καὶ παράμονος· μάλιστα ἐὰν ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσιν σὺν τῷ 5 ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς κατὰ τὸ ἴδιον βούλημα ἐστήριξεν αὐτοῦ βεβαίως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομῇ πνευματικῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ· ἣ συγκλύσαντες οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ οὐκ 10 ἴσχυσαν αὐτὴν ἀνατρέψαι, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἰσχύσειάν ποτε τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐξασθενήσκειαν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

I. Θεασάμενος ὑμῶν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, ἔγνων ὅτι οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων ἡξιώθη τὴν διακονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ 15 κοινὸν ἀνήκουσαν ἐγχειρισθῆναι, οὐδὲ κατὰ κενοδοξίαν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγάπῃ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐγείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν· οὗ καταπέπληγμαί τὴν ἐπιείκειαν, ὃς σιγῶν

2 τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν] II; add. Ἰησοῦ g₁g₃; add. Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ g₂g₄. 5 ἐὰν ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσιν] I; ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσιν (om. ἐὰν) g₁g₂; ἐν ἐνὶ ὧσι g₄; ἐν ἐνὶ οὖσι g₃; *zīs qui sunt in unum* (but *zīs* is wanting in some important MSS) l. The editors, following Morel, have adopted ἐν ἐνὶ οὖσι (which is also the reading of g₃), and Dressel has inserted an article τοῖς ἐν ἐνὶ οὖσι. But there can be no doubt, I think, that the correct emendation is to supply ἐὰν, as in the original Ignatius. The omission would be easy in such a combination of similar letters as ΔΕΑΝΕΝΕΝ.

6 τοῖς] g₁g₂g₃; om. g₄. 8 βούλημα] g₁g₂g₃g₄s. Cureton reads θέλημα which stands in the genuine Ignatius. But since there is no authority for θέλημα here, it seems more probable that βούλημα was an arbitrary alteration of the interpolator, perhaps to get rid of the awkward repetition after θελήματι just before. ἐστήριξεν] g₁g₃g₄s; ἐστήρισεν g₂. 9 οἰκοδομῇ πνευματικῇ] g₃l; οἰκοδομῇ πνεύματι g₁; οἰκοδο πνι (with μῇ in the marg.) g₂. Bryennios has omitted to record the variation of g₄ from inadvertence. 10 συγκλύσαντες] g₁g₃g₄s; συγκλήσαντες g₂s. In l it is *quam flumina inundantia et*

10. οἱ ἄνεμοι κ.τ.λ.] A reference to Matt. vii. 25.

11. τὰ πνευματικὰ κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. vi. 12.

21. ἄμεμπτος κ.τ.λ.] Luke i. 5 ἱερεὺς τις ὀνόματι Ζαχαρίας...καὶ ἡ γυνὴ.....Ἐλισάβετ· ἦσαν δὲ δίκαιοι

ἀμφοτέροι·.....ἄμεμπτοι: comp. *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 3 (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1) συνεξισοῦσθαι τῇ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ζαχαρίου μαρτυρίᾳ· πεπόρευτο γοῦν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιομασί τοῦ Κυρίου ἄμεμπτος.

27. μολυσμὸς κ.τ.λ.] Quoted from

πλέον δύναται τῶν λαλούντων· συνήρμωσται γὰρ ταῖς ἐντο-
 20 λαῖς Κυρίου καὶ τοῖς δικαιώμασιν, ὡς χορδαὶ τῇ κιθάρα, καὶ
 ἔστιν ἄμεμπτος οὐχ ἦττον Ζαχαρίου τοῦ ἱερέως. διὸ μακα-
 ρίζει μου ἡ ψυχὴ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἐπιγνούς
 ἐνάρετον καὶ τελείαν οὖσαν, τὸ ἀκίνητον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἀόρ-
 γητον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

25 II. Ὡς τέκνα οὖν φωτὸς ἀληθείας, φεύγετε τὸν μερισμὸν
 τῆς ἐνότητος καὶ τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας τῶν αἵρεσιωτῶν, ἐξ
 ὧν μόλυσμας ἐξῆλθεν εἰς πάντας τὴν γῆν. ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποι-
 μὴν ἔστιν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε· πολλοὶ γὰρ λύκοι
 κωδίοις ἡμφιεσμένοι ἡδονῇ κακῇ αἰχμαλωτίζουν τοὺς θεο-
 30 δρόμους· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐνότητι ὑμῶν οὐχ ἔξουσιν τόπον.

III. Ἀπέχεσθε οὖν τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν, ἄστινας Ἰησοῦς
 Χριστὸς οὐ γεωργεῖ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀνθρωποκτόνος θῆρ, διὰ τὸ μὴ
 εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτεῖαν πατρὸς ἀλλὰ σπέρμα τοῦ πονηροῦ.
 οὐχ ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μερισμὸν εὐρῶν ταῦτα γράφω, ἀλλὰ προασ-
 35 φαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς ὡς τέκνα Θεοῦ· ὅσοι γὰρ Χριστοῦ εἰσιν,
 οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν· ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἐκκλίνωσιν αὐτοῦ,

flantes venti non valuerunt subvertere. The ed. princ. printed the word *συγκλήσαν-
 tes*, and it has been followed apparently by all editors before Zahn, though Ussher
 in his notes pronounces *συγκλύσαντες* more correct. There is no meaning in *συγ-
 κλήσαντες*.

18 καταπέπληγμαι] καταπέπλειγμαι g_2 . ἐπιείκειαν] $g_1g_3g_4s$;
 ἐπιείκιαν g_2 . 19 πλέον] $g_1g_2s g_3$; πλείον g_4 . τῶν λαλούντων]

with I*; *a loquente* I; τῶν πλέον λαλούντων $g_1g_2s g_3$; τῶν πλείω λαλούντων g_4 .
 22 els] $g_1g_2s g_3$ with I; πρὸς g_4 . 26 ἐνότητος] g_1g_2s ; *unitatis* I; ἐνότητος

g_3 ; νεότητος g_4 . τὰς κακοδιδασκαλίας] with I; τῆς κακοδιδασκαλίας $g_1g_2g_4$;
 τὴν κακοδιδασκαλίαν g_3 ; *malam doctrinam* I (but some MSS *malae doctrinae*, which

is doubtless the prior reading). 28 πρόβατα] $g_1g_3g_4s$ I with I; πρόβατον g_2 .
 33 αὐτοῦς] $g_1g_2g_3g_4$ with I; dub. I. Morel tacitly printed *αὐτὰς*, and he has

been followed apparently by all subsequent editors before Zahn. There is no
 authority for this reading. 34 εὐρῶν] g_1g_3 ; *εὐρων* (so Dressel) g_2 ; *inu-*
niens I; *εὐρον* g_4s . The editors read *εὐρον* after Morel. It is true that *εὐρον*

stands in I, but there is no *ταῦτα γράφω* in his text, and the structure of the
 sentence is thus different.

Jer. xxiii. 15; comp. *Apost. Const.*
 vi. 5 *ἐκ γὰρ τῆς κακίας τῶν αἵρεσιωτῶν*
ἐξῆλθε μόλυσμα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν,
ὡς φησιν Ἱερεμίας ὁ προφήτης.

28. λύκοι κωδίοις κ.τ.λ.] *Matt. vii.*
15; comp. Apost. Const. vi. 13.

33. φυτεῖαν κ.τ.λ.] For φυτεῖαν
 πατρὸς see the note on II. p. 256; for
 σπέρμα τοῦ πονηροῦ comp. *Matt. xiii.*
39 ὁ δὲ ἐχθρὸς ὁ σπεῖρας αὐτὰ ἔστιν ὁ
διάβολος.

καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀσπάσωνται μετὰ τῶν κατηραμένων, οὗτοι
 σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκκοπήσονται· οὐ γάρ εἰσιν γεώργιον Χριστοῦ
 ἀλλ' ἐχθροῦ σπορά· οὐ ῥυσθείητε πάντοτε εὐχαῖς τοῦ προ-
 καθεζομένου ὑμῶν ποιμένος, τοῦ πιστοτάτου καὶ πραοτάτου.
 παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅσοι ἂν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθω- 5
 σιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, προσδέχεσθε αὐτοὺς μετὰ
 πάσης πραότητος, ἵνα διὰ τῆς χρηστότητος καὶ τῆς ἀνεξικα-
 κίας ἀνανήψαντες ἐκ τῆς τοῦ διαβόλου παρίδος, ἄξιος Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ γενόμενοι, σωτηρίας αἰωνίου τύχωσιν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἀδελφοί, μὴ πλανᾶσθε· εἴ τις σχίζει ἀπὸ τῆς 10
 ἀληθείας ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσει· καὶ
 εἴ τις οὐκ ἀφίσταται τοῦ ψευδολόγου κήρυκος, εἰς γέενναν
 κατακριθήσεται· οὔτε γὰρ εὐσεβῶν ἀφίστασθαι χρή, οὔτε δὲ
 δυσσεβέσιν συγκεῖσθαι δεῖ· εἴ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ περι-
 πατεῖ, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν Χριστοῦ, οὔτε τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ κοι- 15
 νῶνός· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀλώπηξ, φθορεὺς ἀμπελώνος Χριστοῦ· τῷ
 τοιούτῳ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθε, ἵνα μὴ συναπόλησθε αὐτῷ, καὶ
 πατήρ ἡ, καὶ υἱός, καὶ ἀδελφός, καὶ οἰκεῖος· οὐ φείσεται
 γὰρ σοῦ, φησὶν, ὁ ὀφθαλμός ἐπ' αὐτόν. τοὺς μισοῦντας οὖν
 τὸν Θεὸν μισεῖν χρή καὶ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτοῦ 20
 ἐκτετηκέναι· οὐ μὴν καὶ τύπτειν αὐτοὺς ἢ διώκειν, καθὼς τὰ

1 ἀσπάσωνται] g₁g₃g₄^s; ἀσπάζωνται g₂^s. The reading ἀσπάζωνται appears in Cureton and Dressel; whether earlier, I do not know. 4 πραοτάτου] πρω-

τάτου g₁. 6 προσδέχεσθε] g₁g₄^s; suscipe l; προσδέξεσθε g₃; προσδέχεσθαι g₂. 10 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] g₁g₂g₃l; Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ g₄. 12 γέενναν] γέεναν g₄.

13 δέ] g₁g₂g₃; om. g₄[l]. 14 συγκεῖσθαι δεῖ] g₁g₂g₃; ἀφ' ἑρπύλλων oportet l; ἀκολουθεῖν (om. δεῖ) g₄. 16 ἀλώπηξ] ἀλώπιξ g₂. 19 ἐπ'] g₁g₂g₃l; ἐν g₄.

20 καὶ ὑμᾶς] g₁; om. Theod-Stud. 21 ἐκτετηκέναι] Theod-Stud.; ἐκτετήκεσθαι g₁g₃; ἐκτετίκεσθαι g₂; ἐκτῆκεσθαι g₄. τύπτειν αὐτοὺς ἢ διώκειν] g; persequi

eos aut percutere l; δὲ διώκειν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἢ τύπτειν Theod-Stud. καθὼς] g; καθάπερ Theod-Stud. 22 τὸν Κύριον καὶ Θεόν] g₁g₂g₃; κύριον τὸν θεόν g₄; deum

2. γεώργιον Χριστοῦ] Comp. 1 Cor. iii. 9.

8. ἀνανήψαντες ἐκ τῆς κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. ii. 26; comp. 1 Tim. iii. 7, [vi. 9].

16. ἀλώπηξ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* v. 13 φθορεῖς ἀλωπέκων μερίδες καὶ

χαμαζήλων ἀμπέλων ἀφανισταί, vi. 1 οἱ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ διαφθείροντες ὡς ἀλώπεκες πικροὶ ἀμπελώνας. The idea is derived from Cant. ii. 15.

18. οὐ φείσεται κ.τ.λ.] Deut. xiii. 8. The context of this passage (ver. 6) has suggested the preceding words

ἔθνη τὰ μὴ εἰδότα τὸν Κύριον καὶ Θεόν· ἀλλ' ἐχθροὺς μὲν
 ἡγέσθαι καὶ χωρίζεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, νουθετεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ
 ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν παρακαλεῖν, ἐὰν ἄρα ἀκούσωσιν, ἐὰν ἄρα
 25 ἐνδῶσιν. φιλάνθρωπος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ πάντας
 ἀνθρώπους θέλει σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας
 ἔλθεῖν· διὸ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροῖς καὶ
 ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ βρέχει [τὸν ὑετὸν] ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους·
 οὗ τῆς χρηστότητος θέλων καὶ ἡμᾶς εἶναι μιμητὰς ὁ Κύριος
 30 λέγει, γίνεσθε τέλειοι, καθὼς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος
 τέλειός ἐστιν.

IV. Ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο
 φρονήσετε· διὸ καὶ θαρρῶν γράφω τῇ ἀξιοθέῳ ἀγάπῃ ὑμῶν,
 παρακαλῶν ὑμᾶς μιᾷ πίστει καὶ ἐνὶ κηρύγματι καὶ μιᾷ εὐχα-
 35 ριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ
 καὶ ἐν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκχυθέν· εἰς γὰρ ἄρτος
 τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐθρύφθη, καὶ ἐν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις διενεμήθη·
 ἐν θυσιαστήριον πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ εἰς ἐπίσκοπος ἅμα
 τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις τοῖς συνδούλοις μου·
 40 ἐπέπερ καὶ εἰς ἀγέννητος, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ· καὶ εἰς μονο-
 γενῆς υἱός, Θεὸς λόγος καὶ ἄνθρωπος· καὶ εἰς ὁ παράκλητος,
 τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας· ἐν δὲ καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα, καὶ ἡ

1; τὸν θεὸν Theod-Stud. 23 δὲ] g₁g₂g₃; τε g₄; et l. 28 τὸν ὑετὸν] g₁g₃g₄;
 om. g₂ (with Matt. v. 45). 1 has simply *pluit*. 29 ἡμᾶς] g₁g₂g₃; nos l;
 ἡμῶν g₄. Ussher wrote ὑμᾶς by an error (which he corrects in his *Emendata*) and

was followed by Voss and later editors before Dressel, who restored ἡμᾶς, without
 however tracing the error to its source. 35 χρῆσθαι] g₁g₂g₄; χρῆσθε g₃; ut
instetis utentes l. 36 ἐκχυθέν· εἰς] These words are displaced in g₃ and stand

after ἡ σὰρξ just above. γὰρ] g₁g₂g₃g₄; etiam l. Morel silently substituted
 καὶ for γὰρ and was followed apparently by all subsequent editors before Zahn.

38 ἅμα] g₁g₂g₃; simul cum l; σὺν g₄.

of our Pseudo-Ignatius, καὶ πατὴρ ἡ
 κ.τ.λ.

19. τοὺς μισοῦντας οὖν κ.τ.λ.] A-
 dapted from Ps. cxxxviii (cxxxix).
 21; comp. *Apost. Const.* vi. 18.

21. καθὼς κ.τ.λ.] I Thess. iv. 5.

22. ἐχθροὺς κ.τ.λ.] Modified from

2 Thess. iii. 15.

25. πάντας κ.τ.λ.] From I Tim. ii. 4.

27. τὸν ἥλιον κ.τ.λ.] Matt. v. 45;
 comp. *Apost. Const.* i. 2, ii. 14.

30. γίνεσθε κ.τ.λ.] Matt. v. 48.

41. ὁ παράκλητος, τὸ πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.]
 John xv. 26; comp. xiv. 17, xvi. 13.

πίστις μία, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ἓν, καὶ μία ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἣν ιδρύσαντο οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἰκείois ἰδρῶσι καὶ πόνοις. καὶ ὑμᾶς οὖν χρή, ὡς λαὸν περιοΐσιον καὶ ἔθνος ἄγιον, ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ πάντα ἐν Χριστῷ ἐπιτελεῖν. αἱ γυναῖκες, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὑποτάγητε ἐν φόβῳ Θεοῦ· αἱ παρθένοι, τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, οὐ βδελυσσόμεναι γάμον ἀλλὰ τοῦ κρείσσονος ἐφίεμεναι, οὐκ ἐπὶ διαβολῇ συναφείας ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τῆς τῶν νόμων μελέτης. τὰ τέκνα, πειθαρχεῖτε τοῖς γονεῦσιν ὑμῶν, καὶ στέργετε αὐτοὺς ὡς συνεργοὺς Θεοῦ εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν γέννησιν. οἱ δοῦλοι, ὑποτάγητε τοῖς κυρίοις ἐν Θεῷ, ἵνα Χριστοῦ ἀπελεύθεροι γένησθε. οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀγαπάτε τὰς γυναῖκας ὑμῶν, ὡς ὁμοδόλους Θεῷ, ὡς οἰκεῖον σῶμα, ὡς κοινωνοὺς βίου καὶ συνεργοὺς τεκνογονίας. αἱ παρθένοι, μόνον τὸν Χριστὸν πρὸ ὀφθαλ-

1 ἡ ἐκκλησία] g₁g₃; ἐκκλησία (om. ἡ) g₂g₄. 2 ἅγιοι] g₁g₂g₃l; om. g₄.
 3 τοῦ] g₁g₂g₃; om. g₄. 4 χρή] g₁g₂g₃g₄; ἐχρή] g₃; oportet l. 8 διαβολῇ] g₁g₃g₄; διαβολῆς g₂. τῶν νόμων] g₁g₂g₃g₄; legis l. The ed. princ. printed τῶν νόμον, which Morel altered silently into τοῦ νόμου. This last has been read by all subsequent editors. The text has been similarly tampered with in *Ps-Magn.* 9 μελέτη νόμων. 10 Θεοῦ] g₁g₂g₃l; om. g₄. 13 καὶ] g₁g₂g₃l; ὡς g₄. 15 ψυχαῖς] Zahn; animabus l; εὐχαῖς g₁g₂g₃; εὐχαῖς ἀγιοσύνης g₄. 16 ἀγιοσύνης] g₁g₂; ἀγιοσύνης g₃; sanctitatis l; ἀγάπης g₄. 19 Εὐδοκίῳ] Εὐδοκίῳ g₂. 20 οὐ ψέγων...τούτων] g₁g₂g₄; οὐ ψέγων δὲ.....ὧν g₃; non detraho

4 λαὸν περιοΐσιον] From Tit. ii. 14; see *Fresh Revision of the New Testament* p. 236 sq. The other expression ἔθνος ἅγιον is from a parallel passage, 1 Pet. ii. 9.

8. ἔνεκα τῆς κ.τ.λ.] i.e. 'that they may have time for the study of God's laws'; comp. *Magn.* 9 μελέτη νόμων χαίρων. It will appear from the passages there quoted (*Apost. Const.* ii. 36, vi. 23, vii. 23, 36), in the note on *σαββατιζέτω κ.τ.λ.*, that the term is not confined to the moral and ceremonial precepts of 'the law' properly so called, but refers chiefly to God's laws as manifested in creation and providence.

11. Χριστοῦ ἀπελεύθεροι] Comp.

1 Cor. vii. 22.

13. ὡς οἰκείον σῶμα] See *Philipp.* 13 ὡς ἴδια μέλη, with the note.

16. ὡς Ἠλία κ.τ.λ.] In the *Pseudo-Clement de Virgin.* i. 6, John the Baptist, John the beloved disciple, S. Paul, Barnabas, Timotheus, Elias, and Elisæus, are mentioned as instances of virginity. Jerome discusses the instances of the two Johns, of Joshua, of Elias and Elisæus, *ad Jovin.* i. 21, 25, 36 (*Op.* ii. pp. 270, 275, 295), and that of Jeremiah, *Dial. c. Pelag.* 28 (*Op.* ii. p. 777). The argument from silence seems to have been the foundation of the belief in many of the examples. The virginity of Titus however is in-

15 μὼν ἔχετε, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, φωτιζόμεναι
 ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος. ὁναίμην ὑμῶν τῆς ἀγιωσύνης, ὡς Ἡλία,
 ὡς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυῆ, ὡς Μελχισεδέκ, ὡς Ἑλισσαίου, ὡς
 Ἰερεμίου, ὡς τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, ὡς τοῦ ἡγαπημένου
 μαθητοῦ, ὡς Τιμοθέου, ὡς Τίτου, ὡς Εὐδοίου, ὡς Κλήμεντος,
 20 τῶν ἐν ἀγνείᾳ ἐξεληθόντων τὸν βίον. οὐ ψέγων τοὺς λοιποὺς
 μακαρίους, ὅτι γάμοις προσωμίλησαν, τούτων ἐμνήσθην
 ἄρτι· εὐχομαι γὰρ ἄξιος Θεοῦ εὑρεθεῖς πρὸς τοῖς ἔχνεσιν
 αὐτῶν εὑρεθῆναι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ὡς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ
 καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὡς Ἰωσήφ καὶ Ἡσαίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προφη-
 25 τῶν, ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων
 τῶν γάμοις προσομιλησάντων· οὐχ ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ
 τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐννοίας ἑαυτῶν τοῦ γένους ἔσχον ἐκεί-
 νους. οἱ πατέρες, ἐκτρέφετε τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας ἐν παιδείᾳ

autem...quorum l. 21 μακαρίους] g₁g₂g₃; τοὺς μακαρίους g₄. προσωμίλη-
 σαν] g₁g₃; προσομίλησαν g₂; ὠμίλησαν g₄. 24 ὡς Ἰωσήφ] g₁g₂s; *sicut ioseph* l;
 καὶ ὡς Ἰωσήφ g₄; καὶ Ἰωσήφ g₃. Ἡσαίου] g₁g₃; Ἰσαίου g₂s (but?); Ἰσαίου g₄s;
isaías (the printed text, but *esaias* some mss) l. Ἰσαίου was printed by Morel, and
 apparently all later editors have followed him in this abnormal spelling. 26 οὐχ
 ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐννοίας ἑαυτῶν τοῦ γένους ἔσχον ἐκείνους]
 οὐχ ὑπὸ προθυμίας δὲ τῆς κ.τ.λ. g₃; *qui non libidinis causa sed posteritatis subrogandae*
gratia conjuges habuerunt l; ἀλλ' ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπ' ἐννοίας
 αὐτοῦς ἔσχον ἐκείνους g₁g₂g₄.

ferred by S. Jerome on Tit. ii. 7 (*Op.* vii. p. 720) from the expression 'in incorruptione' there used of him; that of Timotheus by Theophylact on 1 Tim. iv. 12 from the expression ἐν ἀγνείᾳ applied to this disciple. Jerome however (l.c.) is disposed to infer the opposite of Timothy. The virginity of Euodius appears not to be noticed elsewhere, and was probably a venture of our Ignatian writer. The tradition with respect to Clement seems to be due to the forged *Epistles to Virgins* written in his name; see Epiphan. *Hær.* xxx. 15 (p. 139), Hieron. *adv. Jovin.* i. 12 (*Op.* II. p. 257).

25. καὶ Παύλου] This representation of S. Paul as a married man is

founded on misinterpretations of 1 Cor. ix. 5, Phil. iv. 3; comp. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 6 (p. 535), Orig. *in Rom.* i § 1 (iv. p. 461). The words *et Paulus* are omitted in some Latin copies; see Ussher *Proleg.* c. xvii.

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κ.τ.λ.] Justified by 1 Cor. ix. 5 ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι. The only other Apostle, of whom it is distinctly mentioned on good authority, is Philip (Papias in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39; see *Colossians* p. 45 sq.).

27. ἐκείνους] i.e. τοὺς γάμους. It does not seem necessary to substitute γυναικας, as the editors generally have done.

28. οἱ πατέρες κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes. vi. 4; comp. also *Tars.* 9.

καὶ νοϋθεσία Κυρίου· καὶ διδάσκετε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα καὶ τέχνας, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀργία χαίρειν· καλῶς δέ, φησὶν, ἐκτρέφει πατήρ δίκαιος, ἐπὶ γίῳ συνेतῷ εὐφρανθήσεται ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ. οἱ κύριοι, εὐμενῶς τοῖς οἰκέταις προσέχετε, ὡς ὁ ἅγιος Ἰὼβ ἐδίδαξεν· μία γὰρ φύσις, καὶ ἐν 5 τὸ γένος τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος· ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ οὔτε δοῦλος οὔτε ἐλεύθερος. οἱ ἄρχοντες πειθαρχεῖωσαν τῷ Καίσαρι· οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· ἄρχιερεῦσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι· καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς κλήρος ἅμα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς 10 ἄρχουσι καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τῷ Χριστῷ, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς τῷ πατρί· καὶ οὕτως ἡ ἐνότης διὰ πάντων σώζεται. ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ αἱ χῆραι μὴ ῥεμβοί, μὴ λίχνοι, μὴ περιτροχάδες, ἀλλ' ὡς Ἰουδιθ ἡ σεμνοτάτη, ὡς ἡ Ἄννα ἡ σωφρονεστάτη. ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος διατάσ- 15 σομαι· τίς γὰρ εἰμι ἐγώ; ἢ τίς ὁ οἶκος τοῦ πατρὸς μου; ἵνα ἰσότημον ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνων εἴπω, ἀλλ' ὡς συστρατιώτης ὑμῶν, ὑποφωνητοῦ τάξιν ἐπέχων.

V. Ἀδελφοί μου, λίαν ἐκκέχυμαι ἀγαπῶν ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὑπεραγαλλόμενος ἀσφαλίζομαι ὑμᾶς· οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ, ἀλλὰ δι' 20 ἐμοῦ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, ἐν ᾧ δεδεμένος φοβοῦμαι μᾶλλον.

2 ἀργία] g₁g₃g₄^s; ἀργεῖα g₂. 3 πατήρ] g₁g₂g₄ (with Prov. xxiii. 24); om. g₃. 7 πειθαρχεῖωσαν] πειθαρχήτωσαν g₂. 9 ἀρχιερεῖσιν] g₁g₂g₃g₄; *ut*

(v. l. *et*) *sacerdotibus* l. In g₁ the sentence is rightly punctuated after πρεσβυτέροις, so as to connect ἀρχιερεῖσιν with what follows. Owing to wrong punctuation l inserts *ut* (or *et*) to make sense. Zahn, following l, reads ὡς ἱερεῖσιν. 13 ῥεμβοί] So all the MSS. μὴ λίχνοι] g₁g₂; μηδὲ λίχνοι g₄; μὴ λίχνοι g₃; *neque gulosae* [l]. 14 Ἰουδιθ] lδιδ g₄. 17 ἑαυτὸν] g₁g₂; ἑμαντὸν g₃g₄^s. 18 ἐπέχων] g₁g₂g₃; *continens* l; ἔχων g₄. 23 ἀπαρτίσει] ἀπαρτήσει g₂.

2. τέχνας] According to a precept of the Jewish rabbis, which enjoined that every boy should be taught a trade; see Farrar's *Life of Christ* I. p. 82, *St Paul* I. p. 23.

καλῶς κ.τ.λ.] Quoted from Prov. xxiii. 24, but not accurately.

5. Ἰὼβ ἐδίδαξεν] In Job xxxi. 13 sq.

6. οὔτε δοῦλος κ.τ.λ.] Gal. iii. 28,

Col. iii. 11.

13. αἱ χῆραι κ.τ.λ.] *Ap. Const.* iii. 6 ἡ χῆρα μὴ περιτροχὰς ἢ ῥεμβομένη κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων οἰκίας κ.τ.λ. For ῥεμβὸς comp. *Antioch.* 11.

14. ὡς ἡ Ἄννα κ.τ.λ.] Anna is given as an instance of a virtuous widow in *Ap. Const.* iii. 1, and Judith in *Ap. Const.* iii. 7.

16. τίς κ.τ.λ.] Quoted, but not

ἔτι γάρ εἰμι ἀναπάρτιστος, ἀλλ' ἡ προσευχὴ ὑμῶν εἰς Θεόν
 με ἀπαρτίσει, ἵνα ἐν ᾧ ἐκλήθην ἐπιτύχω, προσφυγὼν τῷ
 εὐαγγελίῳ ὡς σαρκὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις
 25 ὡς πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐκκλησίας. καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας δὲ ἀγαπῶ,
 ὡς Χριστὸν καταγγείλαντας, ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ πνεύματος μετα-
 σχόντας, οὗ καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι. ὡς γὰρ οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται
 καὶ οἱ ψευδαπόστολοι ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἵλκυσαν πονηρὸν καὶ
 ἀπατηλὸν καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ
 30 οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἀγαθὸν καὶ
 ἡγεμονικόν, ἀληθές τε καὶ διδασκαλικόν, ἔλαβον παρὰ
 Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐγθές πνεῦμα· εἰς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς
 παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης· εἰς ὁ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀν-
 θρώπων, εἷς τε δημιουργίαν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν, καὶ πρό-
 35 νοιαν πρόσφορον καὶ κατάλληλον· εἷς δὲ καὶ ὁ παράκλητος,
 ὁ ἐνεργήσας ἐν Μωσῇ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις. πάν-
 τες οὖν οἱ ἅγιοι ἐν Χριστῷ ἐσώθησαν, ἐλπίσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν
 καὶ αὐτὸν ἀναμείναντες· καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας ἔτυχον,
 ὄντες ἀξιογάπητοι καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστοι ἅγιοι, ὑπὸ Ἰησοῦ
 40 Χριστοῦ μεμαρτυρημένοι ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος.

VI. Ἐάν τις Θεὸν νόμον καὶ προφητῶν κηρύττη ἕνα,
 Χριστὸν δὲ ἀρνεῖται υἱὸν εἶναι Θεοῦ, ψεύστης ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ

24 σαρκί] σαρή g₄.

(but with v. l. *presbyteros*) l.

25 πρεσβυτερίῳ] g₁g₂g₃; πρεσβυτέρῳ g₄; *presbyterium*

31 τε] g₁g₂g₃; et [l]; om. g₄.

ἔλαβον

παρὰ Θεοῦ] g₁g₂g₃; *acceperunt* l; om. (altogether) g₄.

32 εὐθές πνεῦμα] g₁g₂g₄; om. g₃; *spiritum* l (but omitting *spiritum* in the previous part of the sentence).

36 Μωσῇ] μωσεὶ g₁.

39 ἀξιογάπητοι] ἀξιοαγάπητοι g₄.

καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστοι] g₁g₂g₄; et *digni laude* l; θαύμαστοι g₃.

Ἰησοῦ

Χριστοῦ] g₁g₂g₃; *christo jesu* l; χριστοῦ g₄.

41 κηρύττη] g₄; κηρύττει

g₂g₃; κηρύττει g₁.

42 ἀρνεῖται] g₁g₂g₃; ἀρνῆται g₄.

verbatim, from 2 Sam. vii. 18.

18. ὑποφωνητοῦ] Judith xvi. 14
 ἐξήρχεν Ἰουδιθ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν ταύ-
 την ἐν παντὶ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ὑπεφώνει
 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς κ.τ.λ. Hence ὑποφωνητής
 is properly 'succentor'; comp. ὑπο-
 φήτης. Here it signifies 'a humble
 follower,' rather than 'an applauder'
 or 'an encourager,' as it is some-

times taken.

31. ἡγεμονικόν] The epithet is
 taken from Ps. l (li). 10. The epithet
 εὐθές also, which occurs below, is
 from the same psalm, ver. 11.

32. εἰς κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. ii. 5;
 comp. *Tars.* 4.

42. ψεύστης ἐστίν κ.τ.λ.] A refer-
 ence to John viii. 44.

ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ὁ διάβολος· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος τῆς κάτω
 περιτομῆς, ψευδοῖουδαῖος. ἐάν τις ὁμολογῇ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν
 Κύριον, ἀρνεῖται δὲ τὸν Θεὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν,
 οὐκ εἶναι λέγων τὸν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ποιητὴν πατέρα τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ οὐχ ἔστηκεν, ὡς καὶ ὁ 5
 πατήρ αὐτοῦ ὁ διάβολος· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος Σίμωνος τοῦ
 μάγου, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος, μαθητής. ἐάν τις λέγῃ
 μὲν ἓνα Θεόν, ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ψιλὸν δὲ
 ἄνθρωπον εἶναι νομίζῃ τὸν Κύριον, οὐχὶ Θεὸν μονογενῆ καὶ
 σοφίαν καὶ λόγον Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος αὐτὸν 10
 εἶναι νομίζῃ, ὁ τοιοῦτος ὅφρις ἐστίν, ἀπάτην καὶ πλάνην
 κηρύττων ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος πένης
 τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡς ἐπὶ κλην Ἐβίων. ἐάν τις ταῦτα μὲν ὁμο-
 λογῇ, φθορὰν δὲ καὶ μολυσμὸν καλεῖ τὴν νόμιμον μίξιν καὶ
 τὴν τῶν παίδων γένεσιν, ἣ τινὰ τῶν βρωμάτων βδελυκτά, 15
 ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔνοικον ἔχει τὸν δράκοντα τὸν ἀποστάτην. ἐάν

2 ὁμολογῇ] g₁s g₂s g₄s; ὁμολογεῖ g₃. 3 ἀρνεῖται] g₁g₂g₃; ἀρνήται g₄s. 7 τοῦ
 ἀγίου πνεύματος] g₁g₂g₃l; τοῦ χριστοῦ g₄. λέγῃ] g₁s g₄s; λέγει g₂g₃. 8 ὁμο-
 λογεῖ] g₁g₂g₃; ὁμολογῇ g₄s. 9 νομίζῃ] g₁g₂g₄s; νομίζει g₃. 10 αὐτὸν]
 txt g₁g₂g₃g₄l (but some mss add *solunt*). The editors have added *μόνον* after
 Morel. 11 νομίζῃ] g₁g₃g₄s; νομίζει g₂. 12 κηρύττων] g₁g₂g₃; κηρύττη
 g₄. 13 ἐπὶ κλην Ἐβίων] Morel; ἐπὶ κλήν βίων g₁g₂g₄; ἐπικαλεῖται Ἐβίων
 g₃; *vocatur et adinventor ipsius erroris ebion* l. ὁμολογῇ] g₁g₄s; ὁμολογεῖ
 g₂g₃. 14 καλεῖ] g₁g₃; καλῇ g₂s g₄s. 15 γένεσιν] g₁g₂s g₃; γέννη-
 σιν g₄. 17 ὁμολογῇ] g₁s g₂s g₄s; ὁμολογεῖ g₃. 18 ἐπαινῇ] g₁s g₂s g₄s; ἐπαινεῖ

6. Σίμωνος τοῦ μάγου] Who was regarded as the parent of all the heresies; Iren. i. 23. 2, ii. præf. i, iii. præf. i.

7. ἐάν τις λέγῃ κ.τ.λ.] For the heresies here enumerated comp. *Apost. Const.* vi. 26 (comp. c. 10), which has many resemblances to this passage of our Pseudo-Ignatius.

10. ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος] The theory of our author is that the Divine Logos took the place of the human soul in Christ (Θεὸς λόγος ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι κατέκειτο...ὡς ψυχὴ ἐν σώματι κ.τ.λ.); and hence he re-

gards it as a heresy to maintain that our Lord 'consisted of soul and body.' Not understanding this, Morel added *μόνον* after *σώματος*, and he has been followed herein by many later editors. So also in *Philiph.* 5, after ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος the Greek MSS (like the editors here) add *μόνον*; while lower down, τὸν οὐκ ἀνθρωπείαν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα, the Greek MSS omit οὐκ, and the Armenian Version leaves out the whole sentence. Our author's view is quite different from Apollinarianism, which recognized the *tripartite* division of

τις πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ὁμολογῇ καὶ τὴν
κτίσιν ἐπαινῇ, δόκησιν δὲ λέγει τὴν ἐνσωμάτωσιν καὶ τὸ
πάθος ἐπαισχύνεται, ὃ τοιοῦτος ἡρνηται τὴν πίστιν οὐχ
20 ἦττον τῶν χριστοφόνων Ἰουδαίων. ἐάν τις ταῦτα μὲν ὁμο-
λογῇ, καὶ ὅτι Θεὸς λόγος ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι κατῴκει, ὦν
ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος, ὡς ψυχὴ ἐν σώματι, διὰ τὸ ἐνοικον εἶναι
Θεὸν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἀνθρωπεῖαν ψυχὴν, λέγει δὲ τὰς παρανόμους
μίξεις ἀγαθόν τι εἶναι καὶ τέλος εὐδαιμονίας ἡδονὴν τίθεται,
25 οἷος ὁ ψευδώνυμος Νικολαΐτης· οὗτος οὔτε φιλόθεος οὔτε
φιλόχριστος εἶναι δύναται, ἀλλὰ φθορεὺς τῆς οἰκείας σαρκὸς
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κενὸς καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἀλλότριος. οἱ τοιοῦτοι πάντες στῆλαι εἰσι καὶ τάφοι νε-
κρῶν, ἐφ' οἷς γέγραπται μόνον ὀνόματα νεκρῶν ἀνθρώπων.
30 φεύγετε οὖν τὰς κακοτεχνίας καὶ ἐνέδρας τοῦ πνεύματος
τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς γίοις τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, μὴ
ποτε οἱ θλιβέντες ἐξασθενήσητε ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ· ἀλλὰ πάντες
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε ἐν ἀμερίστῳ καρδίᾳ καὶ ψυχῇ θελούσῃ,

g₃. λέγει] g₂g₃; λέγη g₁g₄. ἐνσωμάτωσιν] g₁g₂g₃l; ἐνσώματον g₄.
19 ἐπαισχύνεται] g₁g₃; ἐπαισχύνηται g₂g₄. 20 ὁμολογῇ] g₁g₂g₄; ὁμολογεῖ g₃.
22 αὐτῷ] g₄; ἐαυτῷ g₁g₂g₃; al. l. ὡς] g₁g₂g₄; ὥσπερ καὶ g₃; *sicut et* l.
23 ἀνθρωπεῖαν] ἀνθρωπῖαν g₁g₂g₃. λέγει] g₂g₃; λέγη g₁g₄. 24 τί-
θεται] g₁g₂g₃; τιθῆται g₄. 26 οἰκείας] g₁g₃g₄; οἰκίας g₂. 27 διὰ
τοῦτο] g₁g₂g₃l; om. g₄. 32 θλιβέντες] θλιβοντες g₄. ἐξασθενήσητε]
g₄; ἐξασθενήσετε g₁g₂g₃. The aorist imperative, ἐξασθενήσατε, suggested by Zahn
would be a solecism with μὴ.

the human being and substituted the Divine Logos, not for the ψυχὴ, but for the νοῦς. For the Christology of our Ignatian writer, and for this point especially, see Zahn on *Philépp.* 5, and *I. v. A.* p. 138 sq. In his language here he copies *Apost. Const.* vi. 26 ἀσεβοῦσι, ψιλὸν ἀνθρωπον εἶναι φανταζόμενοι τὸν Χριστόν, ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζοντες.

13. ὡς ἐπὶ κλην] 'according to his surname'; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 27 τοῦ Ἑβριωναίου ὀνόματος τὴν τῆς διανοίας πτωχείαν αὐτῶν ὑποφαίνοντος, ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐπὶ κλην ὁ πτωχὸς παρ'

Ἑβραίοις ὀνομάζεται, *Eccl. Theol.* i. 14 (p. 75). This account of the name מְצִיבָא was derived by Eusebius from Origen; see the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 1.

22. ὡς ψυχῇ] The substitution of ὥσπερ καὶ for ὡς was prompted by the like motive which suggested the insertion of μόνον above.

25. ὁ ψευδώνυμος Νικολαΐτης] *Apost. Const.* vi. 8 οἱ νῦν ψευδώνυμοι Νικολαῖται: see the note on *Trall.* 11.

30. τοῦ πνεύματος κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Ephes. ii. 2.

κύψυχοι, το ἔν φρονοῦντες, πάντοτε τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δοξάζοντες, ἐν τε ἀνέσει καὶ κινδύνοις, καὶ ἐν λύπαις καὶ ἐν χαρμοναῖς. εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι εὐσυνειδήτός εἰμι ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τις καυχῆσασθαι οὔτε λάθρα οὔτε φανερώς, ὅτι ἐβάρησά τινα ἢ ἐν μικρῷ ἢ ἐν μεγάλῳ. καὶ πᾶσιν ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησα εὐχομαι, ἵνα μὴ εἰς μαρτυρίαν αὐτὸ κτήσωνται.

VII. Εἰ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα με ἠθέλησάν τινες πλανῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμά μου οὐ πλανᾶται· παρὰ γὰρ Θεοῦ αὐτὸ εἴληφα· οἶδε γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει, καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἰο ἐλέγχει. ἐκραύγασα μεταξὺ ὧν, ἐλάλουν μεγάλη φωνῇ· οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. οἱ δὲ ὑποπτεύοντές με ὡς προμαθόντα τὸν μερισμὸν τινῶν λέγειν ταῦτα· μάρτυς μοι δι' ὃν δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ στόματος ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔγνων· τὸ δὲ 15 πνεῦμα ἐκήρυξέ μοι, λέγον τάδε· Χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε· τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν Θεοῦ τηρεῖτε· τὴν ἔνωσιν ἀγαπάτε, τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε· μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε Παύλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

VIII. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἴδιον ἐποίουν, ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς 20 ἔνωσιν κατηρτισμένος· ἐπιλέγων καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ διάστασις

2 ἀνέσει] g₁g₃l; ἀνέσει g₄; om. g₂. 3 εὐχαριστῶ] g₃g₄sl; εὐχαριστῶς g₂; εὐχαρίστως g₇. 8 με] g₁g₃g₄sl with I; μὲν g₂. 11 ἐκραύγασα] txt

g₁g₂g₄ with I; add γὰρ g₃l. ὧν I*; ὧν g₁ (but it punctuates after the

word) g₂g₄ (but as no variation is noticed, it probably punctuates as g₁); οὓς (sic) g₃ (punctuating after μεταξὺ); eos quibus (either ὧν or οὓς) l. 12 τῷ πρεσβυ-

τερίῳ] g₁g₂g₃l (with v.l. *presbyteris*); τοῖς πρεσβυτεροῖς g₄. 13 οἱ δὲ ὑπο-

πτεύοντες] I*; *hi vero despexerunt* l; εἰ δὲ ὑποπτεύετε g. The interpolator seems to have left the broken sentence which he found in the text of the genuine Ignatius: see above, II p. 267. 16 λέγον] g₁g₃g₄s; λέγων g₂ (comp. I*).

23 ἀφίησιν] g₁g₃g₄s; ἀφίει g₂. 24 συνεδρεῖαν] g₁ (altered from συνεδρίαν)

g₃g₄s; συνεδρίαν g₂; *concessum* l; συνέδριον I. 25 ἡμῶν] g₁g₂g₃g₄sl; ὑμῶν I.

1. σύμφυχοι κ.τ.λ.] Phil. ii. 2; comp. *Philipp.* i.

34. πρόκειται] 'are preferable to.' The word is used in a different sense in the original Ignatius; see the note

above, II p. 273.

35. σκληρὸν τὸ κ.τ.λ.] From Acts xxvi. 14. In Acts ix. 5 the words are an interpolation.

38. καὶ οἱ τοῦ λόγου διάκονοι] The

γνώμης καὶ ὀργῇ καὶ μῖσος, ἐκεῖ Θεὸς οὐ κατοικεῖ. πᾶσιν
οὖν τοῖς μετανοοῦσιν ἀφήσιν ὁ Θεός, ἐὰν συνδράμωσιν εἰς
ἐνότητα Χριστοῦ καὶ συνεδρεῖαν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. πιστεύω
25 τῇ χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι λύσει ἀφ' ἡμῶν πάντα σύν-
δεσμον ἀδικίας· παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν κατ' ἐριθείαν
πράσσετε, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν· ἤκουσα γάρ τινων
λεγόντων, ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὗρω τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,
οὐ πιστεύω· τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις ἐγὼ λέγω, ὅτι ἐμοὶ ἀρχαία
30 ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, οὗ παρακοῦσαι πρόδηλος ὁλεθρος.
ἄθικτόν μοι ἐστὶν ἀρχεῖον ὁ σταυρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καὶ
ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ περὶ τούτων· ἐν οἷς θέλω ἐν
τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν δικαιωθῆναι. ὁ ἀπιστῶν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ
πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ ἀπιστεῖ· οὐ γὰρ πρόκειται τὰ ἀρχαία τοῦ πνεύ-
35 ματος. σκληρὸν τὸ πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν, σκληρὸν τὸ
Χριστῷ ἀπιστεῖν, σκληρὸν τὸ ἀθετεῖν τὸ κήρυγμα τῶν ἀπο-
στόλων.

IX. Καλοὶ μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ τοῦ λόγου διάκονοι·
κρείσσων δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων,
40 ὃς μόνος πεπίστευται τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ. καλαὶ αἱ λειτ-
ουργικαὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεις. ἅγιος ὁ παράκλητος, καὶ ἅγιος

There is no authority for ὑμῶν in the interpolator's text. 26 ἐριθείαν] g_{4s};
ἐριθίαν g_{1g2g3}. 27 πράσσετε] g_{1g2sg4s} with I; πράττετε g₃. χριστομαθίαν]
g_{2g3} I; χριστομάθειαν g_{1g4s}; christi dimicationem (χριστομαχίαν) l. 28 τοῦ
εὐαγγελίου] g_{1g2g4}; τὸ εὐαγγέλιον g_{3l}; ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ I. 31 ἄθικτον] g_{1g2}; τὰ
ἄθικτα I (the construction being different); αὐθεντικὸν g_{3g4s}; om. l (unless indeed
it is represented by *et irremissibilis* (ἄθικτος?) attached to the previous sentence).
34 πρόκειται] g_{1g2g4}, and so I (but with a different meaning and connexion);
προκρίνεται g₃; *praejudicatur* [l]. 35 τὸ Χριστῷ] Morel, and so g_{4s}; τῷ
Χριστῷ (τῷ Χριστῷ) g_{1g2g3}. 38 ἱερεῖς] ἱρεῖς g₂. 39 κρείσσων] g_{4s}; κρείττων
g₃; *melior* l; κρείσσω g_{1g2}; κρείσσων I*. 40 λειτουργικαὶ] g_{1g3g4s}; λειτουρ-
γείαι καὶ g₂, and so app. l, which translates *etiam officia virtutis dei*, and seems
therefore to read δυνάμεις-also. 41 ἅγιος pri.] g_{1g2g4}; add. δὲ g₃; add.
quoque [l].

interpolator has entirely misunder-
stood the meaning of the genuine
Ignatius, who intended the Levitical
priesthood by the *ἱερεῖς* and Christ
by the *ἀρχιερεὺς* (see the note on the

passage). Misapplying the words
to the presbyters and bishops, he
finds it necessary to insert a mention
of the deacons also.

ὁ λόγος, ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς υἱός, δι' οὗ ὁ πατὴρ τὰ πάντα πεποιή-
 κεν καὶ τῶν ὅλων προνοεῖ· οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα
 ἄγουσα ὁδός, ἡ πέτρα, ὁ φραγμός, ἡ κλείς, ὁ ποιμήν, τὸ
 ἱερεῖον, ἡ θύρα τῆς γνώσεως, δι' ἧς εἰσῆλθον Ἀβραὰμ καὶ
 Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, Μωσῆς καὶ ὁ σύμπας τῶν προφητῶν 5
 χορός, καὶ οἱ στύλοι τοῦ κόσμου οἱ ἀπόστολοι, καὶ ἡ νύμφη
 τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς, φέρνης λόγῳ, ἐξέχεεν τὸ οἰκεῖον αἷμα,
 ἵνα αὐτὴν ἐξαγοράσῃ. πάντα ταῦτα εἰς ἐνότητά τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ
 μόνου ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ. ἐξαίρετον δέ τι ἔχει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,
 τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ πάθος, 10
 αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνάστασιν. ἃ γὰρ οἱ προφῆται κατήγγειλαν,
 λέγοντες, ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία
 ἐθνῶν, ταῦτα ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ πεπλήρωται· πορευθέντες
 μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα
 τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. πάντα 15
 οὖν ὁμοῦ καλά, ὁ νόμος, οἱ προφῆται, οἱ ἀπόστολοι, τὸ πᾶν
 συνάθροισμα τὸ δι' αὐτῶν πιστεῦσαν· μόνον ἐὰν ἀγαπῶμεν
 ἀλλήλους.

X. Ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα
 ἃ ἔχετε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπηγγέλη μοι εἰρηνεύειν τὴν 20
 ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, πρέπον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν,
 ὡς ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ, χειροτονῆσαι ἐπίσκοπον εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῦ-

2 τῶν] g₁g₂g₃; om. g₄. 3 κλείς] κλῖς g₁. 11 κατήγγειλαν] I; κατήγ-
 γειλον g₂; κατήγγεelon g₁g₄; κατήγγελλον g₃. 12 ᾧ] g₁g₃g₄l; ὁ g₂. In Gen.
 xlix. 10 (LXX) it is ἕως ἐὰν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.
 20 Χριστῷ] g₁g₃g₄s with I; τῷ χριστῷ g₂; domino l. ἀπηγγέλη] I;
 ἀπηγγέλει g₄; ἀπηγγέλλη g₁g₃; ἀπηγγέλλει g₂. 22 ἐκκλησίᾳ] g₁g₂g₃l I;
 ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ g₄. 25 καὶ] g₁g₂s: om. g₃l. 27 οὐ πᾶσιν ἀδύνατον]
 g₁g₄s; οὐ πᾶσαν ἀδύνατον g₂; οὐ πᾶσιν (ἀδύνατον γὰρ) g₃; quod non est omnibus

1. δι' οὗ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii.
 25 Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς σου, δι' οὗ καὶ
 τὰ πάντα ἐποίησας καὶ τῶν ὅλων προ-
 νοεῖς.

3. ὁ φραγμός, ἡ κλείς] 'The fence'
 of the Church, 'the key' of Heaven.
 For φραγμός see Is. v. 5, lviii. 12;

for κλείς, Is. xxii. 22.

12. ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ κ.τ.λ.] Gen. xlix.
 10, where the LXX has ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ
 τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ. Some copies
 however have, as here, ᾧ ἀπόκειται
 for τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ; see Field
Orig. Hexapl. i. p. 70. It is so

σαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν εἰς τὸ συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενομένοις, καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ. μακάριος
 25 ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς κατηξιώθη τῆς τοιαύτης διακονίας· καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ σπουδάσαντες ἐν Χριστῷ δοξασθήσεσθε. θέλουσιν δὲ ὑμῖν οὐ πᾶσιν ἀδύνατον, ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Θεοῦ, ὡς καὶ αἱ αἰ ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησῖαι ἔπεμψαν ἐπισκόπους, αἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους.

30 XI. Περὶ δὲ Φίλωνος τοῦ διακόνου, ἀνδρὸς ἀπὸ Κιλικίας μεμαρτυρημένου, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐν λόγῳ ὑπηρετεῖ μοι, ἅμα Γαῖῳ καὶ Ἀγαθόποδι, ἀνδρὶ ἐκλεκτῷ, ὃς ἀπὸ Συρίας μοι ἀκολουθεῖ, ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ βίῳ, οἱ καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν ὑμῖν· καὶ γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ περὶ ὑμῶν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐδέξασθε αὐτούς· προσ-
 35 δέχεται καὶ ὑμᾶς ὁ Κύριος. οἱ δὲ ἀτιμάσαντες αὐτοὺς λυτρωθείησαν ἐν τῇ χάριτι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ΜΗ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΤὸΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν. ἀσπάζεται καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούργου πεμφθέντος ἅμα ἀπὸ Ἐφεσίων καὶ
 40 Σμυρναίων εἰς λόγον τιμῆς· οὗς ἀμείψεται ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἰς ὃν ἐλπίζουσιν σαρκί, ψυχῇ, πνεύματι, πίστει, ἀγάπῃ, ὁμονοίᾳ. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν, ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι.

impossible 1; οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδύνατον I. Perhaps we should read παντάπασιν (the conj. of P. Young) for πᾶσιν. 30 δὲ] g₁g₂g₄l with I; καὶ g₃. Κιλικίας]

g₁g₂g₄l I; κοιτίας g₃. 31 ὑπηρετεῖ] ὑπηρετῇ g₂. Γαῖῳ] g₃l;

γανῖα g₁g₂g₄; βάλῳ I*: see above, II p. 279. 33 ἀποταξάμενοι] g₁g₂g₃l;

ἀποταξάμενος g₄. 37 τὸν] g₃g₄ (comp. Ezek. xxxiii. 11 οὐ βούλομαι τὸν

θάνατον); εἰς τὸν g₁g₂. 40 ἀμείψεται] g₁g₂g₃ (comp. τιμήσει in I);

ἀμείψαιτο g₄; redimat l.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς φιλαδελφεῖς g₁ (adding the number 5) g₂. Nothing in g₃g₄.

quoted also *Apost. Const.* vi. 11, 23. Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 120 (p. 348 sq.), mentions both readings, giving the preference to φ' ἀπόκειται: and so he himself quotes it elsewhere, *Apol.* i. 32 (p. 73), 54 (p. 89).

13. πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε] From

Matt. xxviii. 19.

31. Γαῖῳ καὶ Ἀγαθόποδι] For the insertion of the conjunction see the note on II p. 280 sq.

36. μὴ βουλομένου κ.τ.λ.] Loosely quoted from Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

8.

ΠΡΟΣ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΥΣ.

ΙΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ πατρὸς ὑψίστου καὶ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡλεημένη ἐν παντὶ χαρίσματι, πεπληρωμένη ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ, ἀνυστερήτῳ οὐσῇ παντὸς χαρίσματος, θεοπρεπε- 5 στατή καὶ ἀγιοφόρῳ, τῇ οὐσῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν ἀμώμῳ πνεύματι καὶ λόγῳ Θεοῦ πλεῖστα χαίρειν.

I. Δοξάζω τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸν δι' αὐτοῦ οὕτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα· ἐνόησα γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πίστει, ὥσπερ καθηλωμένους 10 ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι καὶ ἐδρασμένους ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, πεπληροφορημένους ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱόν, τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, τὸν Θεὸν λόγον, τὸν μονογενῆ υἱόν· ὄντα δὲ ἐκ γένους Δαυεὶδ 15 κατὰ σάρκα, ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως ἄνευ ἁμαρτίας, καὶ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου καθηλωμένον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐν σαρκὶ ἀληθῶς· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν, ἀπὸ τοῦ θεομακα- 20 ρίστου αὐτοῦ πάθους, ἵνα ἄρῃ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας

προς σμυρναίους] g₄ (with ζ in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς σμυρναίους g₁g₂; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς σμυρναίους. ζ. g₃.

4 πεπληρωμένη] So all the four mss with I; but many edd. πεπληροφορημένη after Morel. 6 τῆς] repeated in g₂. 9 αὐτοῦ] g; *seipsum* (αὐτοῦ) l.

11 Κυρίου] txt l with I*; add. ἡμῶν g. Χριστοῦ] g₂g₃g₄ l I; om. g₁. 12 ἐδρασμένους] g₂g₃; ἐδρασμένους g₁; ἡδρασμένους g₄ with I.

14. τὸν πρωτότοκον] Col. i. 15; vii. 37, 41; see *Ps-Magn.* 11, with comp. *Tars.* 4, *Ps-Ephes.* 20. the note.

17. πληρωθῇ κ.τ.λ.] A reference to 21. ἄρῃ σύσσημον] See above, 11. p. 292.

πολιτευσάμενον κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* 30. εἰπόντος] The passages which

διὰ τῆς ἀναστάσεως εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους καὶ πιστοὺς αὐτοῦ,
εἴτε ἐν Ἰουδαίοις εἴτε ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι τῆς ἐκ-
κλησίας αὐτοῦ.

25 II. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἔπαθεν δι' ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν
καὶ οὐ δοκήσει, ὡς καὶ ἀληθῶς ἀνέστη· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὲς
τῶν ἀπίστων ἐπαισχυνόμενοι τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πλάσιν καὶ
τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θάνατον λέγουσιν, ὅτι δοκήσει
καὶ οὐκ ἀληθείᾳ ἀνείληφε τὸ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου σῶμα καὶ τὸ
30 δοκεῖν πέπονθεν, ἐπιλαθόμενοι τοῦ εἰπόντος, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ
ἐγένετο, καὶ, λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον καὶ δια τριῶν ἡμερῶν
ἐγερῶ αὐτόν, καὶ, ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, πάντας ἐλκύσω
πρὸς ἐμαυτόν. οὐκοῦν ὁ λόγος ἐν σαρκὶ ὥκησεν· ἡ σοφία
γὰρ ἐαυτῇ ὠκοδόμησεν οἶκον. ὁ λόγος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ναὸν
35 λυθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν χριστομάχων Ἰουδαίων ἀνέστησεν τῇ
τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὁ λόγος, ὑψωθείσης αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς κατὰ
τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ χαλκοῦν ὄφιν, πάντας εἵλκυσεν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
εἰς σωτηρίαν αἰώνιον.

III. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἐν τῷ γεννᾶσθαι καὶ σταυροῦσθαι
40 γινώσκω αὐτὸν ἐν σώματι γεγονέναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ
τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. καὶ
ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· λάβετε, ψηλα-
φήσατέ με, καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἄσώματον.
πνεῦμα γὰρ σὰρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς ἐμέ θεωρεῖτε
45 ἔχοντα· καὶ τῷ Θωμᾷ λέγει· φέρε τὸν δάκτυλόν σου [ᾧδε]

See the note on *Smyrn.* 13 (II p. 325).

13 πεπληροφορημένους] *g*₁*g*₄^s with I; πεπληροφορουμένους *g*₂; πεπληρωφορημένους *g*₃.

*g*₁*g*₂*g*₃; τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ *g*₄.

15 Δαυεὶδ] δαδ *g*₁.

17 πολιτευσάμενον] *g*₃; πολιτευσάμενος *g*₁*g*₂; πολιτευσάμενον *g*₄.

19 καθηλωμένον] I; καθηλωμένον *g*₃; καθηλωμένου *g*₁*g*₂*g*₄.

29 τὸ δοκεῖν] *g*₂ with I*; τῷ (τῷ) δοκεῖν *g*₁*g*₃*g*₄^s.

36 σαρκὸς] *g*₃ adds ὑπὸ τῶν χριστομάχων ἰουδαίων here also.

45 ᾧδε] *g*₁*g*₃ with Joh. xx. 27; om. *g*₂*g*₄ 1.

follow are from John i. 14 (ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.), John ii. 19 (λύσατε κ.τ.λ.), John xii. 32 (ἐὰν ὑψωθῶ κ.τ.λ.).

33. ἡ σοφία κ.τ.λ.] Prov. ix. 1, quoted also *Philiph.* 3.

42. λάβετε κ.τ.λ.] For this uncan-

onical quotation found in the genuine Ignatius see above, II p. 294 sq. The interpolator here connects it with Luke xxiv. 39 πνεῦμα σὰρκα κ.τ.λ., John xx. 27 φέρε τὸν δάκτυλον κ.τ.λ., and John xx. 28 ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.

εἰς τὸν τύπον τῶν ἡλῶν καὶ φέρε τὴν χειρὰ σοῦ καὶ βάλε εἰς τὴν πλεγρὰν μου. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπίστευσαν ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη ὁ Χριστός. διὸ καὶ Θωμᾶς φησὶν αὐτῷ, ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ θανάτου κατεφρόνησαν· μικρὸν γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὑβρεῶν καὶ πληγῶν. οὐ μὴν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ 5 τὸ ἐπιδεῖξαι ἑαυτὸν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀληθῶς ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐγγεγερται, καὶ συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν ἄχρις ἡμερῶν ὅλων τεσσαράκοντα· καὶ οὕτως σὺν τῇ σαρκὶ βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸν ἀποστείλαντα αὐτόν, σὺν αὐτῇ πάλιν ἐρχόμενος μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως. φασὶν γὰρ τὰ λόγια, 10 οὔτως ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀφ' ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν οὔτως ἐλεῖσεται, ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. εἰ δὲ ἄνευ σώματος φασὶν ἐρχεσθαι ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος, πῶς αὐτὸν καὶ ὄψονται οἱ ἐκκентήσαντες καὶ ἐπιγινόντες κόψονται ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς; ἀσωμάτων 15 γὰρ οὔτε εἶδος οὔτε χαρακτήρ ἐστὶν ἢ σχῆμα ζώου μορφήν ἔχοντος διὰ τὸ ἀπλοῦν τῆς φύσεως.

IV. Ταῦτα δὲ παραινῶ ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτως ἔχετε· προφυλάσσω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων, οὓς οὐ μόνον ἀποστρέφεσθαι χρή ἀλλὰ 20 καὶ φεύγειν· μόνον δὲ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰάν πως

1 βάλε] $g_1 g_2 s g_4 s$; βάλλε g_3 .

$g_1 g_2$.

6 τὸ δοκεῖν] g_2 ; τῷ (or τῷ) δοκεῖν $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$.

2 ἐπίστευσαν] $g_3 g_4 s$ l with I; ἐπίστευσεν

8 οὕτως] g_3 ; οὕτω

$g_1 g_2 s g_4 s$.

11 ὁ Ἰησοῦς] $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$ with Acts i. 11; Ἰησοῦς (om. ὁ) g_2 .

14 ὄψονται] ὄψονται g_2 .

15 ἐπιγινόντες] $g_1 g_3$; ἐπιγινώσκοντες (sic) g_2 ; cognos-

centes l; ἐπιγινώσκονται καὶ g_4 .

16 σχῆμα] $g_1 g_2 g_4$; σῆμα g_3 . The

paraphrase of l, *effigies... aliqua animalis formae... in qua fixura clavorum vel lanceae foramen appareat*, seems to be a combination of $g_1 g_2 g_4$ and g_3 .

20 οὓς]

$g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4$ with I. There is therefore no authority for ἄ which the edd. commonly read after Morel, unless indeed *quas* of l (agreeing with *bestiis*) can be so regarded.

21 προσεύχεσθε] $g_4 s$ l (comp. I*); προσευχεσθαι $g_1 g_2 g_3$.

22 τὸ δοκεῖν] g_2 with

I*; τῷ (τῷ) δοκεῖν $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$.

23 τὸ δοκεῖν pri.] τῷ (τῷ) δοκεῖν $g_1 g_2 s$ (but?)

8. βλεπόντων αὐτῶν] From Acts i. 9; the quotation which follows, οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς κ.τ.λ., being taken from the same context, i. 11.

13. εἰ δὲ ἄνευ κ.τ.λ.] See *Ps-Magn.* 6, with the note.

14. ὄψονται κ.τ.λ.] From Zach. xii. 10, not however as translated in the LXX, but substantially as quoted in Joh. xix. 37, Rev. i. 7.

16. σχῆμα] I have ventured on this conjecture (which is partially

μετανοήσωσιν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐν σώματι γέγονεν ὁ Κύριος
καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐσταυρώθῃ, καὶ γὰρ τὸ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι. τί δὲ καὶ
ἐμὰντὸν ἐκδοτον δέδωκα τῷ θανάτῳ, πρὸς πῦρ, πρὸς μάχαι-
25 ραν, πρὸς θηρία; ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι πάντα ὑπο-
μένω διὰ Χριστὸν εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ, αὐτοῦ με ἐνδυνα-
μοῦντος· οὐ γάρ μοι τοσοῦτον σθένος.

V. Ὅντινες ἀγνοοῦντες ἠρνήσαντο, καὶ συνηγοροῦσι
τῷ ψεύδει μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· οὓς οὐκ ἔπεισαν αἱ προφη-
30 τεῖαι οὐδ' ὁ νόμος ὁ Μωσέως, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι νῦν τὸ εὐαγγέ-
λιον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα παθήματα· καὶ
γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονοῦσι. τί γὰρ ὠφελεί, εἰ ἐμὲ
ἐπαινεῖ τις τὸν δὲ Κύριόν μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν
σαρκοφόρον Θεόν; ὁ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ λέγων τελείως αὐτὸν
35 ἀπῆρνηται, ὡς νεκροφόρος. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν, ὄντα
ἄπιστα, νῦν οὐκ ἔδοξε μοι ἐγγράψαι· μηδὲ γένοιτό μοι αὐτῶν
μνημονεύειν, μέχρις οὗ μετανοήσωσιν.

VI. Μηδεὶς πλανάσθω, ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσῃ Χριστὸν
'Ιησοῦν ἐν σαρκὶ πεπολιτεῦσθαι καὶ ὁμολογήσῃ τὸν σταυ-
40 ρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ αἷμα ὃ ἐξέχεεν ὑπὲρ τῆς
τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίας· ὅτι ζωῆς αἰωνίου οὐ τεύξεται, καὶ

g₃g₄^s. τὸ δοκεῖν sec.] I* ; τῷ (τῷ) δοκεῖν g₁g₂^s (but ?) g₃g₄^s. 24 ἐκ-
δοτον...θανάτῳ] ἐκδέδωκα τῷ Δο (sic) θανάτῳ g₂. 25 τὸ δοκεῖν] g₂; τῷ (τῷ)
δοκεῖν g₁g₃g₄^s. 28 συνηγοροῦσι] g₁g₂g₃; *consentiunt* 1; συνηγόρου-
g₄. 31 τῶν] g₁g₂g₄ with I; τὰ g₃. παθήματα] g₁g₂g₃ 1 with I;
μαθήματα g₄; see the note on Clem. Rom. 2. 36 μοι sec.] g₄ with I; με
g₁g₂^sg₃. 37 μετανοήσωσιν] g₃g₄^s with I; μετανοήσουσιν g₁g₂. 38 πισ-
τεύσῃ] g₁g₃g₄^s; πιστεύσει g₂. 39 πεπολιτεῦσθαι] πεπολιτεῦθαι g₄. ὁμο-
λογήσῃ] g₁g₃g₄^s; ὁμολογήσει g₂. 41 ὅτι] g; om. I. The emendation
οὐ τῆς (for ὅτι), adopted in the common editions and retained even by Zahn, is
due to Morel: see the next note. οὐ] 1; om. g. The οὐ would easily be
omitted after the preceding αἰωνίου; comp. Clem. Rom. 39 (Syr.). I have there-
fore adopted this mode of correcting the text in preference to the reading of
Morel, which involves a solecism in the position of the article.

supported by the Latin Version and
by g₃), because *τμήμα* 'a portion,'
'a section,' can hardly stand. If re-
tained, it must mean 'an incision,'
and refer to the piercing of the side,

etc., as the Latin translator para-
phrases it; but such a connexion is
very awkward. For the combination
of *σχῆμα* and *μορφή* see the passages
quoted *Philippians* p. 127, 129 (ed. 4).

βασιλεὺς ἦ καὶ ἱερεὺς, καὶ ἄρχων καὶ ἰδιώτης, καὶ δεσ-
 πότης ἦ δούλος, [καὶ ἀνὴρ] ἦ γυνή. ὁ χωρὼν χωρεῖτω,
 ὁ ἀκογῶν ἀκογέτω. τύπος καὶ ἀξίωμα καὶ πλούτος μη-
 δένα φυσιοῦντω· ἀδοξία καὶ πενία μηδένα ταπεινούτω· τὸ
 γὰρ ὅλον ἐστὶν πίστις ἢ εἰς Θεὸν καὶ ἢ εἰς Χριστὸν 5
 ἐλπίς, ἢ τῶν προσδοκωμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσις, ἀγάπη τε
 περὶ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸ ὁμόφυλον· ἀγαπήσεις γὰρ Κύριον τὸν
 Θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς
 σεαυτόν· καὶ ὁ Κύριος φησὶν, αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ, τὸ
 γινώσκειν τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλεν 10
 Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· καὶ, ἐντολὴν καινὴν δίδωμι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγα-
 πάτε ἀλλήλους· ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἀγὰς ἐντολαῖς ὁλος ὁ νόμος
 καὶ οἱ προφῆται κρέμανται. καταμάθετε οὖν τοὺς ἑτεροδοξ-
 ούντας, πῶς νομοθετοῦσιν ἄγνωστον εἶναι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ, πῶς ἄπιστον ἔχθραν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἔχουσιν. ἀγάπης 15
 αὐτοῖς οὐ μέλει, τῶν προσδοκωμένων ἀλογοῦσι, τὰ παρόντα
 ὡς ἐστῶτα λογιζονται, τὰς ἐντολὰς παρορῶσιν, χῆραν
 καὶ ὀρφανὸν περιορῶσιν, θλιβόμενον διαπτύουσιν, δεδεμένον
 γελῶσιν.

VII. Τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπαισχύνονται, τὸ πάθος χλευάζουσι, 20

2 καὶ ἀνὴρ] Morel; seu vir 1; om. g₁g₂g₃g₄^s.

4 πενία] g₁g₃g₄^s; πένεια g₂.

7 ἀγαπήσεις] ἀγαπήσης g₂.

8 καρδίας σου] txt g₁g₃g₄^s 1; add. καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς

διανοίας σου g₂. 12 ὁλος] g₁g₂g₄^s 1; om. g₂.

16 τὰ παρόντα ὡς ἐστῶτα

λογίζονται] g (except that g₃ has ἐνεστῶτα for ἐστῶτα). But 1 translates the whole sentence ἀγάπης...λογίζονται, *dilectionem enim futurorum negligunt, praesentia dissimulant, quae ventura sunt tanquam praesentia* (v. l. *nunc instantia*) *esse putant et tanquam somnium et phantasiam existimant*. This suggests (after allowance made for faulty punctuation, etc.,) that some words have fallen out from the latter part of the Greek text, and that it should be read τὰ παρόντα [κλέπτουσιν, τὰ μέλλοντα] ὡς ἐνεστῶτα λογίζονται [καὶ φαντάζονται], and the omissions might be explained by homeoteleuton. The Greek however, as it stands, makes better sense and may be substantially correct. Perhaps however the word φαντάζονται

2. ὁ χωρὼν] The two clauses are loosely quoted, the first from Matt. xix. 12, the second from Matt. xiii. 43, etc.

7. ἀγαπήσεις κ.τ.λ.] See Luke x. 27; comp. Matt. xxii. 37 sq., Mark xii. 30, 31. See *Ps-Ephes.* 14.

9. φησὶν] The passages which follow are taken from John xvii. 3 αὕτη ἐστὶν κ.τ.λ., John xiii. 34 ἐντολήν κ.τ.λ., Matt. xxii. 40 ἐν ταύταις κ.τ.λ.

21. ἀρχεκάκου] Comp. *Ps-Trall.* 10, with the note.

23. τοῦ τὸν Ἀβελ κ.τ.λ.] *Philipp.*

τὴν ἀνάστασιν κωμωδοῦσιν· ἔγγονοί εἰσι τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου
 πνεύματος, τοῦ τὸν Ἀδὰμ διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἐντολῆς ἐξώ-
 σαντος, τοῦ τὸν Ἀβελ διὰ τοῦ Κάϊν ἀποκτείναντος, τοῦ τῷ
 25 Ἰὼβ ἐπιστρατεύσαντος, τοῦ κατηγοροῦντος Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ἰω-
 σεδέκ, τοῦ ἐΞΑΙΤΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ CINIACΘῆΝΑΙ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν
 πίστιν, τοῦ τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν πλῆθος ἐπεγείραντος τῷ Κυρίῳ, τοῦ
 καὶ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς γίοις τῆς ἀπειθείας· ὧν ῥύσεται
 ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ λεηθεὶς μὴ ἐκλείπειν τὴν
 30 πίστιν τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὐχ ὡς μὴ αὐταρκῶν φυλάξαι αὐτὴν
 ἀλλ' ὡς χαίρων τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεροχῇ. πρέπον οὖν ἐστὶν
 ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν τοιούτων, καὶ μήτε κατ' ἰδίαν περὶ αὐτῶν
 λαλεῖν μήτε κοινῇ, προσέχειν δὲ νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ τοῖς
 εὐαγγελισμαμένοις ὑμῖν τὸν σωτήριον λόγον.

VIII. Τὰς δὲ δυσωνύμους αἰρέσεις καὶ τοὺς τὰ σχίσματα
 35 ποιοῦντας φεύγετε, ὡς ἀρχὴν κακῶν. πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ
 ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς τῷ πατρί· καὶ τῷ πρεσ-
 βυτερίῳ δὲ ὡς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· τοὺς δὲ διακόνους ἐντρέπεσθε,
 ὡς Θεοῦ ἐντολὴν διακονοῦντας. μηδεὶς χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τι
 πρassoσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐκείνη βεβαία

should be substituted for λογίζονται, as suggested by l.

18 θλιβόμενον]

g₁sg₃g₄s; *tribulatum* l; θλιβομένων g₂.

διαπτύουσιν] g₁; διαπτύουσι

g₂g₃g₄s.

δεδεμένον] g₁g₃g₄s l; δεδεμένων g₂.

21 κωμωδοῦσιν] κομο-

δοῦσιν g₂.

22 ἐξώσαντος] g₃g₄s; ἐξεώσαντος g₁g₂; comp. *Mart. Ant.* 6

(with the note, II p. 485).

24 τοῦ κατηγοροῦντος] g₁g₂sg₄s; τοῦ καταργή-

σαντος g₃; *qui...resistere temptavit* l.

τοῦ] g₄; τοῦ τῷ g₁g₂; om. g₃.

There is no authority for υἱοῦ which the editors have adopted after Morel, though l has *filio*. The τῷ seems to be a duplication of the first syllable of ἰωσεδεκ.

26 τοῦ τὸ] τοῦτο g₂.

28 ἡμᾶς] g₁g₂sg₄s l; ὑμᾶς g₃. Dressel omits the

word by accident, but corrects his error in the Addenda.

30 πρέπον]

πρέπον g₂.

31 περὶ] g₁g₂g₄ with I; μετ' g₃; *cum* l.

33 ὑμῖν]

g₁g₂s l; ὑμῖν g₃g₄.

36 ὁ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς] g₁g₂g₃; *jesus christus* l; ὁ χριστὸς

g₄.

II ὁ τῷ Ἀβελ ἐπαναστήσας τὸν ἀνθρω-
 ποκτόνον Κάϊν, ὁ τῷ Ἰὼβ ἐπιστρατεύ-
 σας.

τοῦ τῷ Ἰὼβ κ.τ.λ.] See *Apost. Const.* vi. 5, where Satan is mentioned as attacking Job, Joshua the son of Josedek, and 'us' the Apostles.

25. ἐξαιτησαμένου κ.τ.λ.] Luke xxii.

32 ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐξηγήσατο ὑμᾶς τοῦ σι-
 νιάσαι κ.τ.λ. Just below there is a
 reference to the next verse, ἐγὼ δὲ
 ἐδεήθην περὶ σοῦ κ.τ.λ.]

26. τοῦ ... νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος. κ.τ.λ.]
 Ephes. ii. 2; comp. *Philipp.* 4.

εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὔσα, ἣ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ· ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλήθος ἔστω· ὥσπερ ὅπου ὁ Χριστός, πάντα ἡ οὐράνιος στρατιὰ παρέστηκεν ὡς ἀρχιστρατήγῳ τῆς δυνάμεως Κυρίου καὶ διανομεῖ πάσης νοσητῆς φύσεως. οὐκ ἔξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε προσφέρειν οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν· ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν ἐκείνῳ δοκῇ κατ' εὐαρέστησιν Θεοῦ, ἵνα ἀσφαλὲς ᾦ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν, ὅς' ἂν πράσσετε.

IX. Εὐλογόν ἐστι λοιπὸν ἀνανῆψαι ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔτι καιρὸν ἔχομεν εἰς Θεὸν μετανοεῖν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ ᾧ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐξομολογόμενος· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ πρό προσώπου αὐτοῦ. τίμα, φησὶν, γιέ, τὸν Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ δὲ φημί, Τίμα μὲν τὸν Θεὸν ὡς αἷτιον τῶν ὅλων καὶ Κύριον, ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ὡς ἀρχιερέα Θεοῦ εἰκόνα φοροῦντα, κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν, Θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερατεῦειν, Χριστοῦ· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τιμᾶν χρὴ καὶ βασιλέα. οὔτε γὰρ Θεοῦ τις κρείττων ἢ παραπλήσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν, οὔτε δὲ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπισκόπου τι μείζον ἱερωμένου Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς σωτηρίας, οὔτε βασιλέως τις παραπλήσιος ἐν ἄρχουσιν εἰρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις πρυτανεύοντος. ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκο-

1 εὐχαριστία] $g_1 g_3 g_4^s$; εὐχαριστία g_2 .

τρέψει $g_2 g_3$.

ἔστω] $g_1 g_2^s g_4^s$ with I; *congregetur* I; ἔσται g_3 .

$g_1 g_2 g_3$ I; ἐκέλευε πᾶσα g_4 .

νομή g_3 .

4 διανομεῖ] $g_1 g_2^s g_4^s$; *ipse est dispensator* I; δια-

νομή g_3 .

6 θυσίαν] οὐσίαν g_2 .

$g_1 g_3$.

8 ἀσφαλὲς] ἀσφαλὲς g_2 .

ὅς' ἂν] ὁ δ' ἂν $g_1 g_2$ (written however ὁ δ' ἂν) g_4 ; ὁ τ' ἂν g_3 . The sentence in I runs *ergo omnia quaecunque agitis et facitis, jam rationabilia sunt, ut corrigamus nos in deo, cum tempus habemus poenitendi*. In I the words are ὁ πράσσετε (πράσσεται), being attached to the previous sentence (see above II p. 314). It seems impossible with the MSS to connect πράσσετε with the next sentence on account of the first persons, ἡμᾶς, ἔχομεν; and

4. ἀρχιστρατήγῳ] So Christ is called by Justin Martyr *Dial.* 34 (p. 251), 61 (p. 284), from an application of Josh. v. 13, 14, 15, to Him, *ib.* 62 (p. 286).

7. δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν] See the note above, II p. 312.

10. ἐν...τῷ ᾧ κ.τ.λ.] Loosely

quoted from Ps. vi. 6. Of the passages which follow, ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος κ.τ.λ. (quoted in the same way in *Apost. Const.* ii. 14) is a loose quotation from Is. lxii. 11; and τίμα κ.τ.λ. is cited, likewise loosely, from Prov. xxiv. 21.

22. εἰ γὰρ ὁ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.*

πον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τιμηθήσεται, ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ ἀτιμάζων αὐτὸν
 ὑπὸ Θεοῦ κολασθήσεται. εἰ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεγει-
 ρόμενος κολάσεως ἄξιος δικαίως γενήσεται, ὥς γε παραλίῳν
 τὴν κοινὴν εὐνομίαν, πόσῳ δοκεῖτε χείρονος ἀζιωθήσεται
 25 τιμωρίας ὁ ἄνευ ἐπισκόπου τι ποιεῖν προαιρούμενος καὶ τὴν
 ὁμόνοιαν διασπῶν καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν συγχέων; ἱερωσύνη γάρ
 ἐστὶν τὸ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀναβεβηκός· ἥς ὁ
 καταμανεὶς οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀτιμάζει ἀλλὰ Θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν
 30 Ἰησοῦν τὸν πρωτότοκον καὶ μόνον τῇ φύσει τοῦ πατρὸς
 ἄρχιερέα. πάντα οὖν ὑμῖν μετ' εὐταξίας ἐπιτελείσθω ἐν
 Χριστῷ. οἱ λαϊκοὶ τοῖς διακόνοις ὑποτασσέσθωσαν· οἱ διά-
 κονοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὁ
 ἐπίσκοπος τῷ Χριστῷ, ὡς αὐτὸς τῷ πατρί. καθά με ἀνεπαύ-
 σατε, ἀδελφοί, καὶ ὑμᾶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. ἀπόντα με καὶ
 35 παρόντα ἡγαπήσατε· ἀμείψεται ὑμᾶς ὁ Θεός, δι' ὃν ταῦτα εἰς
 τὸν δέσμιον αὐτοῦ ἐνεδείξασθε· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ εἰμι ἱκανός,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς προθυμίας ὑμῶν μέγα· ὁ τιμῶν γὰρ προφήτην
 εἰς ὄνομα προφήτου μισθὸν προφήτου λήψεται· δηλονότι
 καὶ ὁ τιμῶν δέσμιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτύρων λήψεται
 40 μισθόν.

I have therefore substituted ὅς' ἂν for ὁ δ' ἂν.

(which however omits ἂν); πράσσητε g₁g₄^s.

I; ἄλογόν g₄. ἡμᾶς] g₁g₂^sg₄^s l with I*; ὑμᾶς g₃.

l with I; ἔχοντας g₃. ᾗδῃ] ᾗδῃ g₁.

ἐπισκόπου τι μείζον] g₁g₂g₃; τι μείζον ἐπισκόπου g₄.

om. g₄.

22 βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεγειρόμενος] g₁; *contra regem insurgens* l; 'βασι-

λεῦσιν ἐπαγειρόμενος g₃; βασιλεῦσι μὴ ἐπεγειρόμενος g₂ (see Dressel's Addenda) g₄.

With this last reading ἐπεγειρόμενος must mean 'rising to do honour to.' 23 κο-

λάσεως] g₁g₂g₃ l; καὶ κολάσεως g₄. ἄξιος δικαίως] g₁g₃g₄^s; ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως

g₂; *āignis* l. 24 χείρονος] χειρόνως g₂.

and so apparently l *summa omnium bonorum*.

θᾶμε (sic) g₂; καθά με g₃.

35 παρόντα] txt g₁g₃g₄^s l; add. με g₂.

vi. 2 εἰ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεγειρό-

μενος κολάσεως ἄξιος, κἂν υἱὸς ἢ κἂν

φίλος, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ ἱερεῦσιν ἐπανισ-

τάμενος· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἱερωσύνη βασιλείας

ἀμείνων κ.τ.λ.

24. πόσῳ δοκεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] From Heb.

x. 29.

πράσσετε] g₂g₃ [l] with I

9 εὐλογόν] g₁g₂^sg₃ [l] with

10 ἔχομεν] g₁g₂g₄^s

17 ἐν sec.] g₁g₂g₃ l; om. g₄.

19 τις] g₁g₂g₃ l;

23 κο-

λάσεως] g₁g₂g₃ l; καὶ κολάσεως g₄.

24 χείρονος] χειρόνως g₂.

27 πάντων] πᾶν τῶν g₂,

and so apparently l *summa omnium bonorum*.

33 καθά με] g₁g₄; κα-

35 παρόντα] txt g₁g₃g₄^s l; add. με g₂.

29. τῇ φύσει κ.τ.λ.] See *Ps-Magn.* 4, with the note.

37. ὁ τιμῶν κ.τ.λ.] Matt. x. 41, loosely quoted.

39. μαρτύρων λήψεται κ.τ.λ.] For this belief see *Apost. Const.* v. 1, where it is stated at length.

X. Φίλωνα καὶ Γάϊον καὶ Ἀγαθόποδα, οἱ ἐπηκολούθησαν μοι εἰς λόγον Θεοῦ διάκονοι Χριστοῦ ὄντες, καλῶς ἐποιήσατε ὑποδεξάμενοι ὡς διακόνους Χριστοῦ· οἱ καὶ σφόδρα εὐχαριστοῦσιν τῷ Κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀνεπαύσατε κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. οὐδὲν ὑμῖν παραλογισθήσεται 5 ὧν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατε· ἀφ' ἧν ὑμῖν ὁ Κύριος εἰρεῖν ἔλεος παρὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμά μου, καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἃ οὐχ ὑπερηφανήσατε οὐδὲ ἐψησχύνθητε· διὸ οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς ἐπαισχυνθήσεται ἡ τελεία ἐλπίς, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός.

10

XI. Αἱ προσευχαὶ ὑμῶν ἤγγισαν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιοχείαν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ εἰρηνεύεται· ὅθεν δεδεμένος πάντας ἀσπάζομαι, οὐκ ὧν ἄξιος ἐκείθεν εἶναι, ἔσχατος αὐτῶν ὢν· κατὰ θέλημα κατηξιώθην, οὐκ ἐκ συνειδήσεως ἐμῆς ἀλλ' ἐκ χάριτος Θεοῦ· ἦν εὐχομαι τελείαν μοι δοθῆναι, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς προσευ- 15 χαῖς ὑμῶν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ὅπως οὖν ὑμῶν τὸ ἔργον τέλειον γένηται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πρέπει εἰς Θεοῦ τιμὴν χειροτονῆσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑμῶν θεοπρεσβύτην εἰς τὸ γενόμενον ἐν Συρίᾳ συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς, ὅτι εἰρηνεύουσι καὶ ἀπέλαβον τὸ ἴδιον μέγεθος καὶ ἀπεκατεστήθη αὐτοῖς τὸ ἴδιον 20 σωματίον. ὃ ἐφάνη μοι ἄξιον, τοῦτο ἐστίν· ὥστε πέμψαι τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων μετ' ἐπιστολῆς, ἵνα συνδοξάσῃ τὴν κατὰ Θεὸν αὐτοῖς γενομένην εὐδίαν, καὶ ὅτι λιμένος εὐόρμου τετύχηκα Χριστοῦ διὰ τῶν προσευχῶν ὑμῶν. τέλειοι ὄντες,

7 τὸ πνεῦμά μου] txt g₁g₂g₃ l; τὸ πνεῦμα μα (sic) μου g₄. Add. καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα μου g₄; om. g₁g₂g₃ l.

8 ὑπερηφανήσατε] I*; ὑπερηφανεύσατε g₁g₂g₃g₄.

9 ἐψησχύνθητε] g₁g₃g₄; ἐπαισχύνητε g₂; see the note on II. p. 316 sq. 12 εἰρηνεύεται] g₁g₃g₄; εἰρηνεύετε g₂; *pacifici estis* l.

g. ὧν] g₁g₂g₃ with I; om. g₄ l. κατὰ] txt g₁g₂g₄; add. δὲ g₃ l; see above, II. p. 318.

14 θέλημα] txt g₁g₂g₄ with I; add. τοῦ Θεοῦ g₃ l; see the note on *Ερῆς*. 20 (II. p. 85).

16 ὑμῶν τὸ ἔργον] g₁g₂g₃ (comp. I); τὸ ἔργον ὑμῶν g₄.

20 ἀπεκατεστάθη] g₁g₂g₃ with I; ἀποκατεστάθη g₃g₄.

22 συνδοξάσῃ] g₁g₄; συνδοξάσει g₂g₃.

23 εὐδίαν] g₁g₃g₄;

εὐδελαν g₂.

25 ἔτοιμος ὁ Θεός] ἔτοιμοις g₁g₂; ἔτοιμος g₄; ἔτοιμός ἐστιν (sic)

ὁ θεὸς g₃; θεὸς ἔτοιμος I; *deus paratus est* l. The reading adopted will account for the two variations, ἔτοιμοις and ἔτοιμός ἐστιν ὁ θεός. The repetition of similar letters explains the corruptions. The insertion of καὶ in the interpolator shows that

6. δὲ...ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. i. 18, quoted also *Herò* 9.

25 τέλεια καὶ φρονεῖτε· θέλουσι γὰρ ὑμῖν εἶδὲν πράττειν, καὶ ἔτοιμος ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ παρασχεῖν.

XII. Ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν διὰ Βούργου, ὃν ἀπεστείλατε μετ' ἐμοῦ ἅμα Ἐφεσίοις τοῖς συναδέλφοις ὑμῶν· ὃς κατὰ
30 πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν. καὶ ὅφελον πάντες αὐτὸν ἐμιμοῦντο, ὄντα ἐξεμπλᾶριον Θεοῦ διακονίας. ἀμείψεται αὐτὸν ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου κατὰ πάντα. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀξιόθεον ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν Πολύκαρπον καὶ τὸ θεοπρεπὲς πρεσβυτέριον καὶ τοὺς χριστοφόρους διακόνους τοὺς συνδούλους μου, καὶ τοὺς κατὰ
35 ἄνδρα καὶ κοινῇ πάντας, ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ αἵματι, πάθει τε καὶ ἀναστάσει σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ, [ἐν] ἐνότητι Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν. χάρις ὑμῖν, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη, ὑπομονή, διὰ παντὸς ἐν Χριστῷ.

XIII. Ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου σὺν
40 γυναιξίν καὶ τέκνοις, καὶ ἀειπαρθένους καὶ τὰς χήρας. ἔρρωσθέ μοι ἐν δυνάμει πατρός. ἀσπάζεταιται ὑμᾶς Φίλων ὁ συνδιάκονος, ὁ ὢν σὺν ἐμοί. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν οἶκον Γαῦτας, ἣν εὖχομαι ἡδραῖσθαι πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ. ἀσπάζομαι Ἀλκην, τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα, καὶ Δάφνον
45 τὸν ἀσύγκριτον καὶ Εὐτεκνον καὶ πάντας κατ' ὄνομα. ἔρρωσθε ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πεπληρωμένοι πνεύματος ἀγίου καὶ σοφίας θείας καὶ ἱερᾶς.

he tampered with the original text of Ignatius here.

27 ὑμῶν] g₁g₂g₃ l I; ἡμῶν g₄.

29 συναδέλφοις] g₁g₂g₄; ἀδελφοῖς g₃ with I; *fratribus* l. The word however appears to be accentuated *συναδελφοῖς* in g₁g₂g₄, and this excites suspicion.

34 χριστοφόρους] χρηστοφόρους g₂. τοὺς συνδούλους μου] g₁g₃g₄ l with I; om. g₂.

κατὰ ἄνδρα] g₁g₂g₃; κατ' ἄνδρα g₄ I.

35 καὶ κοινῇ] l with I; κοινῇ (om. καὶ) g. Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ] g₁g₂g₃; ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ g₄ l with I.

τῇ σαρκὶ] l with I; τῆς σαρκὸς g. 37 ἐν] I; *in* [I]; om. g.

40 ἀειπαρθένους] *virgines* l; τὰς παρθένους I; ἀειπαρθένους g₁g₂ (for Dressel's ἀειπαρθένους, though uncorrected in the Addenda, is an obvious misprint) g₃g₄.

41 πατρός] I (but with a v. l. πνεύματος); *dei patris* l; πνεύματος g: see above II. p. 324.

43 καὶ ἀγάπῃ σαρκικῇ τε] g₁g₂g₃ with I; *et dilectione carnali* l; σαρκικῇ ἀγάπῃ g₄.

44 Ἀλκην] g₂; ἀλκην g₁g₃g₄.

Subscr. τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς σμυρναίους (σμυρνεύς g₂) g₁g₂, to which g₁ adds the number ζ. No subscription in g₃g₄.

40. ἀειπαρθένους] The Vestals are so called, Dion Cass. lix. 3, lx. 5.

9.

ΠΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΝ.

ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας, ὁ καὶ μάρτυς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Πολυκάρπῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων, μᾶλλον ἐπισκοπημένῳ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, πλείστα χαίρειν.

I. Ἀποδεχόμενος τὴν ἐν Θεῷ σου γνώμην ἡδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν ἀκίνητον, ὑπερδοξάζω καταξιωθεὶς τοῦ προσώπου σου τοῦ ἀμώμου, οὗ ὀναίμην ἐν Θεῷ. παρακαλῶ σε ἐν χάριτι ἢ ἐνδεδυσαι προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου, καὶ πάντας παρακαλεῖν ἵνα σώζωνται. ἐκδίδει σου τὸν τόπον ¹⁰ ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ σαρκικῇ τε καὶ πνευματικῇ. τῆς ἐνώσεως φρόντιζε, ἧς οὐδὲν ἄμεινον. πάντας βάσταζε, ὡς καὶ σε ὁ Κύριος· πάντων ἀνέχου ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ ποιεῖς. προσευχαῖς σχόλαζε ἀδιαλείπτως. αἰτοῦ σύνεσιν πλείονα ¹⁵ ἧς ἔχεις. γρηγόρει ἀκοίμητον πνεῦμα κεκτημένος. τοῖς κατὰ ¹⁵ ἄνδρα κατὰ ὁμοίθειαν λάλει Θεοῦ. πάντων τὰς νόσους βάσταζε, ὡς τέλειος ἀθλητής, ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος πάντων· αὐτὸς γάρ, φησί, τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἡμῶν ἐβάστασεν. ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺ κέρδος.

II. Καλοὺς μαθητὰς εἶναι φιλήεις, χάρις σοι οὐκ ἔστιν. ²⁰

προς πολυκαρπον] πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης (with η in the marg.) g₄; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης g₁g₂ (numbered η in g₁); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης. ἡ. g₃.

4 ἐπισκοπημένῳ] g₁g₃g₄; ἐπισκοπημένῳ g₂s. Ἰησοῦ] txt g₁g₃g₄ I; praef. κυρίου g₂; def. I: see II. p. 331. 9 προσθεῖναι] g₄s; προσθῆναι g₁g₂g₃. 10 σώζωνται] g₁g₃g₄s; σώζονται g₂.

14 ἀδιαλείπτως] g₁g₂s g₃ I; ἀδιαλείπτως g₄ I; see above, II. p. 334. 16 ὁμοίθειαν] g; adiutorium (βοήθειαν) I; see above, II. p. 335.

17 ὁ] g₁g₂s g₄s; om. g₃. 19 ἡμῶν] g₁g₂s I; ὑμῶν g₃; om. g₄ (with Matt. viii. 17). πλείων] πλείον (sic) g₂. πολὺ] g₁g₂g₃ with I; πλείων g₄; maius [I]. 21 πραῦτητί] g₁g₂s g₄s; πραῖτητι

17. αὐτὸς...τὰς ἀσθενείας κ.τ.λ.] Is. liii. 4, not as it stands in the LXX, but as quoted in Matt. viii. 17,

μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς λοιμοτέρους ἐν πραύτητι ὑπότασσε. οὐ πᾶν
 τραῦμα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐμπλάστρῳ θεραπεύεται· τοὺς παροξυσμοὺς
 ἐμβροχαῖς παῦε. φρόνιμος γίνου ὡς ὁ ὄφεις ἐν πᾶσιν, καὶ
 ἀκέραιος εἰσαεὶ ὡς ἡ περιστέρα. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ
 25 σώματος εἶ, σαρκικός καὶ πνευματικός, ἵνα τὰ φαινόμενά
 σοι εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπανορθώσης, τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα αἰτεῖ ἵνα
 σοι φανερωθῇ· ἵνα μηδέν σοι λείπη, καὶ παντὸς χαρίσ-
 ματος περισσεύης. ὁ καιρὸς ἀπαιτεῖ σε εὐχέσθαι· ὥσπερ
 γὰρ κυβερνήτῃ ἄνεμος συμβάλλεται, καὶ ὡς νηὶ χειμα-
 30 ζομένη λιμένες εὐθετοὶ εἰς σωτηρίαν, οὕτω καὶ σοὶ τὸ ἐπι-
 τυχεῖν Θεοῦ. νῆφε ὡς Θεοῦ ἀθλητῆς· οὐ τὸ θέλημα ἀφ-
 θαρσία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος· περὶ ἧς καὶ σὺ πέπεισαι. κατὰ
 πάντα σοῦ ἀντίψυχος ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ δεσμά μου ἀ ἡγάπησας.

III. Οἱ δοκοῦντες ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι καὶ ἐτεροδιδασκα-
 35 λοῦντες μὴ σε καταπλησέτωσαν· στῆθι δὲ ἐδραῖος ὡς
 ἄκμων τυπτόμενος. μεγάλου ἐστὶν ἀθλητοῦ δέρεσθαι καὶ
 νικᾶν· μάλιστα δὲ ἔνεκεν Θεοῦ πάντα ὑπομένειν ἡμᾶς δεῖ,
 ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναμείνῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν. πλεῖον
 πρόσθε τῇ σπουδῇ οὐ εἶ· συντονώτερον δράμε. τοὺς και-
 40 ροὺς καταμάνθανε· ὡς ἐνταῦθα εἶ, νίκησον· ὧδε γάρ ἐστιν
 τὸ στάδιον, ἐκεῖ δὲ οἱ στέφανοι. προσδόκα Χριστὸν τὸν
 υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὸν ἄχρονον ἐν χρόνῳ· τὸν ἀόρατον τῇ
 φύσει, ὁρατὸν ἐν σαρκί· τὸν ἀψηλάφητον καὶ ἀναφῆ ὡς
 ἀσώματον, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ ἅπτον καὶ ψηλαφητὸν ἐν σώματι·

g₃. 22 τῇ αὐτῇ] g₁g₂sg₄s I; τῷ αὐτῷ g₃: see II. p. 337. ἐμπλάστρῳ]
 ἐμπλάστρῳ g₂. θεραπεύεται] g₁g₂sg₃ l I; θεραπεύετε g₄. 23 ἐμ-
 βροχαῖς] g₃g₄s; *embroche* (or *embrochae*) l; ἐν βροχαῖς g₁g₂. φρόνιμος] φρόνημος
 g₂. γίνου] g₁g₂sg₃ I; γενοῦ g₄. ὁ ὄφεις] g₁g₃ (see II. p. 338); ὄφεις (om. ὁ)
 g₂g₄ (but g₄ transposes, ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ ὄφεις). 24 ἀκέραιος] ἀκαίρεος g₂. εἰσαεὶ]
 g₁g₂g₃ (see II. p. 338); ἀεὶ g₄; om. [I]. 26 ἐπανορθώσης] ἐπανορθώσῃ g₃;
 ἐπανορθώσαι g₁; ἐπανορθοῦσαι (sic) g₂; *corrīgas* l; *κολακεύης*
 I. αἰτεῖ] g₄ I; *pete* l; αἰτῇ g₁; αἰσῆς g₂s; αἰτήσῃ g₃. 27 φανερω-
 θεῖ] g₁g₂g₃; φανερωθῇ g₄ with I. 30 τὸ ἐπιτυχεῖν] txt g₁g₂g₄; præf. ἡ
 εὐχὴ πρὸς g₃. These words are omitted in l, in which however the whole context is
 confused. 33 ἀντίψυχος] So all the four MSS, but I has ἀντίψυ-
 χον. 35 καταπλησέτωσαν] g₁g₂sg₃ I; καταπληττέτωσαν g₄. 36 δέ-
 ρεσθαι] δέρρεσθαι g₄. 37 ἔνεκεν] ἔνεκε g₂. ἡμᾶς] g₁g₂s l I; ὑμᾶς g₃g₄.

τὸν ἀπαθῆ ὡς Θεόν, δι' ἡμᾶς δὲ παθητὸν ὡς ἄνθρωπον· τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομέναντα.

IV. Αἱ χῆραι μὴ ἀμελείσθωσαν· μετὰ τὸν Κύριον σὺ αὐτῶν φροντιστῆς ἔσο. μηδὲν ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης σου γινέσθω, μηδὲ σὺ ἄνευ Θεοῦ γνώμης τι πράσσει· ὅπερ οὐδὲ 5 πράττετε. εὐστάθει. πυκνότερον συναγωγαί γινέσθωσαν· ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας ζῆτει. δούλους καὶ δούλας μὴ ὑπερηφάνει· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ φυσιοῦσθωσαν, ἀλλ' εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πλείονα δουλευέτωσαν, ἵνα κρείττονος ἐλευθερίας τύχωσιν ἀπὸ Θεοῦ. μὴ ἐράτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι, 10 ἵνα μὴ δούλοι εὐρεθῶσιν ἐπιθυμίας.

V. Τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεύγε, μᾶλλον δὲ περὶ τούτων ὁμιλίαν ποιοῦ. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου προσλάλει ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Κύριον, καὶ τοῖς συμβίοις ἀρκεῖσθαι σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι. ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παράγγελλε ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ 15 Χριστοῦ ἀγαπᾶν τὰς συμβίους ὡς ὁ Κύριος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. εἴ τις δύναται ἐν ἀγνείᾳ μένειν εἰς τιμὴν τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐν ἀκαυχησίᾳ μενέτω· ἐὰν καυχήσῃται, ἀπώλετο· καὶ ἐὰν γνωσθῇ πλὴν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἔφθαρται. πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμούσαις μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπι- 20 σκόπου τὴν ἔνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾗ κατὰ Κύριον καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν. πάντα εἰς τιμὴν Θεοῦ γινέσθω.

1 ὡς ἄνθρωπον] 1 breaks off at these words.

δρόμον g₄.

4 γινέσθω] g₁g₃g₄^s I; γενέσθω g₂^s.

2 τρόπον] g₁g₂g₃ I;

ὥσπερ g₄.

5 ὅπερ] g₁g₂g₃ I;

6 πράττετε] g₁g₂^sg₃g₄^s, though the other form *πρᾶσσε* appears just above. As I has *πράσσεις* here, this must have been an arbitrary alteration of the interpolator, who forgot at the same time to alter the *πρᾶσσε* and thus produced an incongruous result.

πυκνότερον] ποικνότερον g₂.

7 πάντας

ζῆτει] πάντα ἐξῆτει g₂ (apparently; see Dressel).

9 πλείονα] g₁g₂g₄;

πλέον I (see II. p. 345); def. g₃. The editors read *πλεῖον* here without any authority.

10 ἀπὸ pri.] g₁g₂^sg₄^s; παρὰ g₃.

ἐράτωσαν] g₂ I; αἰρέτω-

σαν g₁g₄^s; αἰρέσθωσαν g₃. The editors have commonly acquiesced in *αἰρέτωσαν*, but have not explained what they understood by it. It is an obvious corruption of *ἐράτωσαν*, and has been further corrected into *αἰρέσθωσαν*. This last is intended, I suppose, for *αἰρεῖσθωσαν*, which would at least be intelligible.

κοι-

νοῦ] κυρίου g₃, which stands quite alone in this reading.

11 εὐρεθῶσιν]

g₁g₃g₄^s with I; ἐλευθερωθῶσιν g₂.

12 φεύγε] g₁g₂^sg₃ I; φεύγετε g₄.

13 ποιού] g₂g₄ I; μὴ ποιού g₁g₃; see II. p. 347.

20 γαμούσαις] g₂g₃g₄^s;

VI. Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ προσέχετε, ἵνα καὶ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῖν.
 ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτερίῳ,
 25 διακόνοις· μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο ἔχειν παρὰ Θεῷ.
 συγκοπιᾶτε ἀλλήλοις, συναθλεῖτε, συντρέχετε, συμπάσχετε,
 συγκοιμᾶσθε, συνεγείρεσθε, ὡς Θεοῦ οἰκονόμοι καὶ πάρεδροι
 καὶ ὑπηρέται. ἀρέσκετε ᾧ στρατεύεσθε, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ
 ὀψώνια κομίσεσθε. μήτις ὑμῶν δεσέρτωρ εὔρεθῇ. τὸ βᾶπ-
 30 τισμα ὑμῶν μενέτω ὡς ὄπλα, ἢ πίστις ὡς περικεφαλαία, ἢ
 ἀγάπη ὡς δόρυ, ἢ ὑπομονὴ ὡς πανοπλία· τὰ δεπόσιτα ὑμῶν
 τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν, ἵνα τὰ ἄκεπτα ὑμῶν ἄξια Θεοῦ κομίσησθε.
 μακροθυμεῖτε οὖν μετ' ἀλλήλων ἐν πραύτητι, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς
 μεθ' ὑμῶν. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός.

VII. Ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας
 εἰρηνεύει, ὡς ἐδηλώθη μοι, διὰ τῆς προσευχῆς ὑμῶν, καὶ γὰρ
 εὐθυμότερος ἐγενόμην ἐν ἀμεριμνίᾳ Θεοῦ, εἰάν περ διὰ τοῦ
 παθεῖν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω, εἰς τὸ εὔρεθῆναί με ἐν τῇ αἰτήσει
 ὑμῶν μαθητῇ. πρέπει, Πολύκαρπε θεομακαριστότατε, συμ-
 40 βούλιον ἀγαγεῖν θεοπρεπέστατον, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι, εἴ τινα
 ἀγαπητὸν λίαν ἔχετε καὶ ἄοκνον, ὃς δυνίσκεται θεόδρομος
 καλεῖσθαι· τοῦτον καταξιώσαι πορευθῆναι εἰς Συρίαν, ἵνα
 πορευθεὶς εἰς Συρίαν δοξάσῃ ὑμῶν τὴν ἄοκνον ἀγάπην εἰς

γαμόνους (sic) g_1 : see the note II. p. 350.

22 τιμὴν Θεοῦ] $g_1 g_2 s g_3 I$; θεοῦ

τιμὴν g_4 .

24 ἐπισκόπῳ...διακόνοις] $g_1 g_2 g_3$ (comp. I); τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ πρεσ-

βυτερίῳ τοῖς διακόνοις g_4 .

25 ἔχειν] $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$; ὄχειν (sic) g_2 . Perhaps $σχεῖν$

may be the right reading, as in I.

Θεῷ] g_2 ; θεοῦ $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$. The dative comes

nearer to the reading of I, ἐν θεῷ.

29 ὀψώνια] ὀψόνια g_2 . κομίσεσθε]

$g_1 g_3 g_4 s$; κομίσησθε g_2 .

δεσέρτωρ] δεσέλτωρ $g_2 g_4$; δεσελτωρ (without accent)

g_1 . For δεσέρτωρ εὔρεθῇ g_3 substitutes διασαλευθῇ, just as it gets rid of all the other Latin words in the context. It may however have read so owing to the obliteration of some letters δαισα[ι]λ[τωρ]ευνθῇ. The reading of g_1 is falsely given in the editio princeps as δεσελτωρευνθῇ.

g_2 .

31 δεπόσιτα] πολεμικά g_3 .

32 ἄκεπτα] $g_1 I$; ἄσκεπτα g_2 ;

a g_4 (leaving a blank and not finishing the word); ἄθλα g_3 .

33 μακρο-

θυμεῖτε] $g_1 g_3 g_4 s$; μακροθυμήτε g_2 .

πραύτητι] $g_1 g_2 s g_4 s$; πραδότητι g_3 .

37 εὐ-

θυμότερος] εὐθυμότερος g_2 .

38 αἰτήσῃ] $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4 s$. There is no authority for

ἀναστάσει in this recension: see II. p. 355 sq.

39 θεομακαριστότατε] θεομα-

καριστώτατε g_1 .

41 λίαν ἔχετε] $g_1 g_2 g_3 I$; ἔχετε λίαν g_4 .

43 δοξάσῃ]

$g_1 g_3 g_4 s$; δοξάσει g_2 .

δόξαν Θεοῦ. ὁ χριστιανὸς ἐξουσίαν ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ Θεῷ σχολάζει. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Θεοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ ὑμῶν, ὅταν αὐτὸ ἀπαρτίσητε. πιστεύω γὰρ τῇ χάριτι, ὅτι ἔτοιμοί ἐστε εἰς εὐποιίαν Θεῷ ἀνήκουσαν. εἰδὼς ὑμῶν τὸ σύντομον τῆς ἀληθείας δι' ὀλίγων ὑμᾶς γραμμάτων παρεκάλεσα. 5

VIII. Ἐπεὶ οὖν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ ἡδυνήθην γράψαι διὰ τὸ ἐξαίφνης πλεῖν με ἀπὸ Τρωάδος εἰς Νεάπολιν, ὡς τὸ θέλημα προστάσσει, γράψεις ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐκκλησίαις, ὡς Θεοῦ γνώμην κεκτημένος, εἰς τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι—οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι πεζοὺς πέμψαι, οἱ δέ, ἐπιστολὰς 10 διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ σοὶ πεμπομένων, ἵνα δοξασθῇτε ἐν αἰωνίῳ ἔργῳ—ὡς ἄξιός ὢν. Ἀσπάζομαι πάντας ἐξ ὀνόματος, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἐπιτρόπου σὺν ὄλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἀσπάζομαι Ἀτταλον τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου· ἀσπάζομαι τὸν μέλλοντα καταξιούσθαι εἰς Συρίαν πορεύεσθαι· ἔσται ἡ χάρις 15 μετ' αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός, καὶ τοῦ πέμποντος αὐτὸν Πολυκάρπου. ἔρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς ἐν Θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ εὐχομαι, ἐν ᾧ διαμεῖνῃτε ἐν ἐνότητι Θεοῦ καὶ ἐπισκοπῇ. ἀσπάζομαι Ἀλκην, τὸ ποθητόν μοι ὄνομα. ἀμήν· ἢ χάρις. ἔρρωσθε ἐν Κυρίῳ. 20

3 αὐτὸ ἀπαρτίσητε] g₁g₂g₄^s I; αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσητε g₃. 4 σύντομον] So g₁g₂g₃g₄^s. The word in I is σύντονον, and this is perhaps the right reading here also, but it is without authority in this recension. 5 ὑμᾶς γραμμάτων] g₁g₃g₄^s I; ὑμῶν πραγμάτων g₂. 8 τὸ θέλημα] g₁g₂^sg₄^s with I; τὸ θεοῦ θέλημα g₃. γράψεις] g₁g₂g₄^s with I; add. συ g₃. 9 κεκτημένος] g₁g₂g₄^s with I; κεκτημέναις g₃. 15 ἡ χάρις] txt g₁g₂g₃ I; add. τοῦ θεοῦ g₄. 16 αὐτὸν] αὐτὸν αὐτὸν g₂. 18 διαμεῖνῃτε] I; διαμεινέτε g₁g₂; διαμεινάτε g₃g₄^s. ἐπισκοπῇ] g₁g₂^sg₃g₄^s. There is no authority for reading ἐπισκόπου in this recension, though it is found in several editions. 19 Ἀλκην] g₁^sg₂^s; ἀλκὴν g₃g₄. ἀμήν· ἡ χάρις] g₁g₂g₄^s; ἡ χάρις μεθ' ἡμῶν· ἀμήν g₃. Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος Ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς πολύκαρπον ἐπίσκοπον σμύρνης g₁g₂. In g₁ the number η is added. Nothing in g₃g₄.

19. ἀμήν· ἡ χάρις] For this unusual mode of expression and for the incident connected with it see the note on *Ps-Ephes.* 21.

IO.

ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ.

ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡλεημένη ὑπὸ Θεοῦ,
ἐκλελεγμένη ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ, παροικουσῇ ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ
πρώτῃ Χριστοῦ ἐπωνυμίαν λαβούσῃ, τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, ἐν
25 Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ χαίρειν.

I. Ἐλαφρά μοι καὶ κούφα τὰ δεσμὰ ὁ Κύριος πεποί-
ηκεν, μαθόντι εἰρηνεύειν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ὁμονοίᾳ σαρκικῇ
τε καὶ πνευματικῇ διάγειν. παρακαλῶ οἷον ὑμεῖς ἐγὼ ὁ
δέσμιος ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἀξίως περιπατῆσαι τῆς κλήσεως ἧς ἐκ-
30 λήθητε· φυλαττόμενοι τὰς εἰσχωμασάσας αἰρέσεις τοῦ
πονηροῦ ἐπ' ἀπάτῃ καὶ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν πειθομένων αὐτῷ·
προσέχειν δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδαχῇ, καὶ νόμῳ καὶ
προφήταις πιστεύειν· πᾶσαν Ἰουδαϊκὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικὴν

ΠΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ] g₄ (with *θ* in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἀντιοχεῖς
(with *θ* in the marg.) g₁g₂; τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως
ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἀντιοχεῖς. *θ*. g₃; *ad antiochiam urbem* A. For L see
P. 51.

23 ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ] g₁g₂g₄s; *a christo* L; διὰ χριστοῦ g₃. [A] translates by the
same preposition as in ὑπὸ θεοῦ (transposing the clauses, ἐκλελεγμένη ὑπὸ χριστοῦ,
ἡλεημένη ὑπὸ θεοῦ). In l the text runs *misericordiam a christo consecutae*,
omitting θεοῦ, ἐκλελεγμένη ὑπὸ (or διὰ). It seems probable therefore that l also
had ὑπὸ, since the repetition of the same word would account for the omis-
sion.

27 μαθόντι] g₂g₄; μαθόντα g₁g₃; *discenti* L; *cum didicissem* l; *quando*
didici A.

30 εἰσχωμασάσας] εἰσκομασάσας g₁g₂; εἰσκομισάσας g₃; εἰσχωμά-
σας g₄; *inductis* (εἰσκομισθεῖσας) L; *introeuntibus* l. In A the whole sentence
φυλαττόμενοι...τοῦ πονηροῦ is translated *ut custodiamur ab iniquis et malis haere-*
ticis.

31 ἐπ' ἀπάτῃ] g₁g₂s g₃; ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ g₄. ἀπωλείᾳ] ἀπολεῖα g₁.
33 Ἰουδαϊκὴν καὶ Ἑλληνικὴν] gl A; *gentilem et judaicum* L.

24. πρώτη Χριστοῦ κ.τ.λ.] See *Ps-
Magn.* IO, with the note.

26. Ἐλαφρά μοι κ.τ.λ.] Borrowed
from the commencement of a letter
written by Alexander of Jerusalem
early in the third century to the
Antiochenes and preserved in Euseb.
H. E. vi. 11 Ἐλαφρά μοι καὶ κούφα

τὰ δεσμὰ ὁ Κύριος ἐποίησε κατὰ τὸν
καιρὸν τῆς εἰρκῆς κ.τ.λ.

28. παρακαλῶ κ.τ.λ.] From Ephes.
iv. 1.

30. εἰσχωμασάσας] As in *Tars.* 2 ;
comp. Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* ii. 12 (p. 241).
See also Suicer *Thes.* s. v.

ἀπορρίψαι πλάνην· καὶ μήτε πλήθος θεῶν ἐπεισάγειν μήτε τὸν Χριστὸν ἀρνείσθαι προφάσει τοῦ ἐνὸς Θεοῦ.

II. Μωσῆς τε γὰρ ὁ πιστὸς θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰπών, Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου Κύριος εἷς ἐστίν· καὶ τὸν ἕνα καὶ μόνον κηρύξας Θεόν, ὡμολόγησεν εὐθέως καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν 5 λέγων, Κύριος ἔβρεξεν ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα παρὰ Κυρίου πῦρ καὶ θείον· καὶ πάλιν, [καὶ] εἶπεν ὁ Θεός, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν· καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεός τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· καὶ ἐξῆς, ἐν εἰκόνι Θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον. καὶ ὅτι γενήσεται 10 ἄνθρωπος, φησίν· προφῆτην ἡμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐμέ.

III. Οἱ δὲ προφῆται, εἰπόντες ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐγὼ Θεός πρῶτος, καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα, καὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἐστίν Θεός, περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων λέγουσιν. καὶ 15 περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, γίός, φησίν, ἐδόθη ἡμῖν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἀνωθεν, καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ΒΟΥΛΗΣ ἄγγελος, θαυμαστός, σύμβουλος, Θεός ἰσχυρός, ἐξουσιαστής. καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως αὐτοῦ, ἰδοὺ ἡ

3 τε] g; om. L[C][A].
καὶ] g (all the four mss).

7 καὶ εἶπεν] *et dixit* L1; *quod dixit* A; εἶπεν (om. 8 ἡμετέραν] txt gA; add. *et secundum similitudinem* L; add. *et similitudinem nostram* 1; from Gen. i. 26 καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν. 9 καὶ ἐξῆς] g₁g₂g₄; καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς g₃; *et paulo post* 1; *et deinceps quoniam* L; def. A.

10 ἐποίησα] g₁g₂g₄; *feci* L; *fecit* 1; def. g₃A. The edd. generally give *ἐποίησε* in the Greek, and *fecit* in L. This is quite wrong. The passage quoted is Gen. ix. 6, not Gen. v. 1.

16 φησίν] g (all the four mss); *ait* L; *idem...dicit* [A]; *rursum prophetae proclamaverunt dicentes* 1. The editors read *φασίν*, without any authority.

17 ἡ ἀρχὴ ἀνωθεν] *initium est desuper* 1; *principium desuper* L; *imperium suum super humeros suos* A; ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἀνωθεν g₁g₂g₃g₄. Thus A substitutes ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ for ἀνωθεν from Is. ix. 6, while the mss of g combine both forms.

19 ἐξουσιαστής] txt gL; add. *princeps pacis* 1A.

20 ἐν γαστρὶ] g₁g₃ L1; om. g₂g₄. A has only one word *conci- pisset* for ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται.

22 ἀμνός] txt g₁g₂g₃ L1 A; add. *ἀμωμος* g₄.

4. Κύριος ὁ Θεός κ.τ.λ.] Deut. vi. 4, quoted also Mark xii. 29; but σου is here substituted for ἡμῶν.

6. λέγων] The passages which follow are taken from Gen. xix. 24 Κύριος ἔβρεξεν κ.τ.λ., Gen. i. 26, 27 καὶ εἶπεν

κ.τ.λ., Gen. ix. 6 ἐν εἰκόνι κ.τ.λ., Deut. xviii. 15 προφῆτην κ.τ.λ., in which last passage the form is influenced by the quotations in Acts iii. 22, vii. 37.

13. εἰπόντες] The passages which follow are taken from Is. xlv. 6 ἐγὼ

20 παρθένος [ἐν γαστρὶ] λήψεται καὶ τέζεται γίόν, καὶ καλέσουσι
τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἑμμανουήλ. καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάθους, ὡς πρό-
βατον ἐπὶ σφαγῇ ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος
αὐτὸν ἄφρωνος· καί, ἐγὼ ὡς ἀρνίον ἀκακὸν ἀρόμενον τοῦ
θύεσθαι.

25 IV. Οἱ τε εὐαγγελισταί, εἰπόντες τὸν ἕνα πατέρα μόνον
ἀληθινὸν Θεόν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Κύριον ἱμῶν οὐ παρέλιπον,
ἀλλ' ἔγραψαν· Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν
Θεὸν καὶ Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος· οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν·
πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν.
30 καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως· ὁ λόγος, φησί, σὰρξ ἐγένετο
καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν· καί, Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
γιοῦ Δαυεὶδ, γιοῦ Ἀβραάμ· οἱ δὲ ἀπόστολοι, εἰπόντες ὅτι
Θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν, εἶπον οἱ αὐτοὶ ὅτι εἷς καὶ μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ
ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τὴν ἐνσωμάτωσιν καὶ τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἐπησ-
35 χύνθησαν· τί γὰρ φησιν; ἀνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ
δοῦς ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς.

V. Πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ἕνα καταγγέλλει Θεὸν ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει
τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ θεότητος γίός ἐστιν διαβόλος καὶ ἐχθρὸς

23 καί, ἐγὼ] καὶ γὰρ g₁g₂g₄^s; καί (om. ἐγὼ) g₃; *et ego* L; *et iterum de se ipso referens dicit, ego autem* I; def. A. In Jerem. xi. 19 it is ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς ἀρνίον κ.τ.λ. (but some MSS omit δὲ). ὡς] ὡς ὡς g₂. 26 παρέλιπον] g₁g₃g₄^s; παρέλειπαν g₂.

29 οὐδὲ ἓν] txt LI; add. ὁ γέγονεν (γέγονε) g (all four MSS) A. An argument for omitting ὁ γέγονεν here is the fact that in early writers these words were commonly connected not with the preceding, but with the following sentence. 31 γενέ-

σεως] g₁g₃; γενέσεως g₄; γεννήσεως g₂; *generationis* LIA. 32 Δαυεὶδ] δαῦδ g₁. 33 ὅτι] g₁g₃g₄^s LIA; ὅ (sic) g₂. εἷς] glA; om. L.

35 τί γὰρ φησιν] g; *quid enim ait* L; *sed potius fiducialiter subjunxerunt dicentes* I; *veluti quando dicunt* A. 36 ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς] with Joh. vi. 51;

pro seculi vita I; *pro mundi vita* L; ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας g (all four MSS); *pro mundo* A. 37 ἕνα] LIA; add. καὶ μόνον g.

38 θεότητος] g₁g₂g₃ LIA; δυνάμεως g₄. υἱός ἐστιν διαβόλου] *filius est diaboli* I; *hi filii veri sunt satanae* A; διάβολος g; see the lower note.

Θεὸς πρῶτος κ.τ.λ., from Is. ix. 6 υἱὸς ἐδόθη κ.τ.λ., from Is. vii. 14 ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος κ.τ.λ., from Is. liii. 7 ὡς πρόβατον κ.τ.λ., and from Jer. xi. 19 ἐγὼ ὡς ἀρνίον κ.τ.λ.

27. ἔγραψαν] The following quo-

tations are taken from Joh. i. 1 sq. Ἐν ἀρχῇ κ.τ.λ., from Joh. i. 14 ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ., from Matt. i. 1 Βίβλος γενέσεως κ.τ.λ., from 1 Tim. ii. 5, 6, εἷς Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.

38. υἱός...διαβόλου κ.τ.λ.] The ex-

πάσης δικαιοσύνης· ὁ τε ὁμολογῶν Χριστὸν οὐ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸν κόσμον υἱὸν ἀλλ' ἑτέρου τινὸς ἀγνώστου, παρ' ὃν ἐκήρυξεν ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφήται, οὗτος ὄργανόν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ διαβόλου· ὁ τε τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν παραιτούμενος καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπαισχυνόμενος, δι' ὃν δεδεμαι, οὗτός 5 ἐστιν ἀντίχριστος· ὁ τε ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον λέγων τὸν Χριστὸν ἐπάρατός ἐστι κατὰ τὸν προφήτην, οἷον ἐπὶ Θεῷ πεποιθώς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπῳ· διὸ καὶ ἄκαρπός ἐστιν, παραπλησίως τῇ ἀγριομυρική.

1 ποιήσαντος] ποιήσαντον g₂.

dictum prophetae 1A; om. g₄.

imus (παραπλήσιος) L.

9 ἀγριομυρική] ἀγριομυρική g₂.

ὁ g₂; *cum sim* (ὦν) l; τῇ g₄ (thus making νεολαία a dative).

olivae 1; νεολαία g₃g₄; νεολέα g₁g₂; *juventus* L; *novi pueri* A. For the reasons which have decided me to adopt the less supported reading νεολαία see the lower note.

11 ὑμῖν] ὑμῶν g₃.

7 κατὰ τὸν προφήτην] g₁g₂g₃ L; *secundum*

8 ἀνθρώπῳ] ἀνῶν g₂.

paraplesiōs] *proximus* (παραπλήσιος) L.

10 ὦ] g₁g₃LA;

νεολαία] *novellum*

14 ὁ θεὸς ἡ κοιλία, καὶ] AL* (see p. 637); *deus*

pressions are taken from Acts xiii. 10. For the other reading διάβολος comp. Joh. vi. 70.

7. ἐπάρατος κ.τ.λ.] Jer. xvii. 5 ἐπικατάρατος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃς τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχει ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον...καὶ ἀπὸ Κυρίου ἀποστή ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἀγριομυρική ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κ.τ.λ. Comp. *Ps-Trall.* 11, with the note on ἀνθρωπολάτρας.

10. νεολαία] '*young olive*,' the metaphor being suggested by the previous ἀγριομυρική; comp. *Ps.* cxxvii (cxxviii). 3 ὡς νεόφυτα ἐλαιῶν. The devout servant of God is elsewhere compared to an olive-tree; *Ps.* li (lii). 9 ὥσει ἐλαία κατάκαρπος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ (comp. *Hos.* xiv. 6), *Jer.* xi. 16 ἐλαίαν ὠραίαν εὐσκιον, *Ecclus.* xxiv. 14 ὡς ἐλαία εὐπρεπὴς ἐν πεδίῳ (of wisdom), l. 10 ὡς ἐλαία ἀναθάλλουσα κάρπους. See also Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* iv. i (vii. p. 58) for the typical character of the olive tree. On the other hand for νεολαία comp. *Clem. Alex. Protr.* 9 (p. 69) ἤκετε, ἤκετε, ὦ νεολαία ἡ ἐμή, *Euseb. V. C.* iv. 43 τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀνθούντα κάλλη τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ νεολαίας.

12. βλέπετε κ.τ.λ.] A combination of *Phil.* ii. 2 βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας, βλέπετε τοὺς κακοὺς ἐργάτας, and *Phil.* ii. 18, 19 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς κ.τ.λ., with *Is.* lvi. 10 κύνες ἐνεοί.

κακεντρεχεῖς] '*quick, nimble, clever, in mischief*,' and so '*wily*.' The word occurs as early as *Epicharmus*; *Bekker Antiatt.* p. 105. Like so much of the peculiar diction of our Pseudo-Ignatius, it is a Eusebian word; *Praef. Ev.* iv. 1 (p. 132) τὸ δεινὸν καὶ κακεντρεχὲς τῶν περὶ τὴν κακότεχνον ταύτην διατριβὴν τευταζόντων.

15. τοὺς κύνας τοὺς ἐνεοὺς] The 'dumb dogs' of *Is.* lvi. 10 are introduced again, *Ps-Ephes.* 7 κύνες ἐνεοί, οὐ δυνάμενοι ὑλακτεῖν, λυσσῶντες λαθροδῆκται. Here ἐνεοὺς is rendered *rabidos* by l (but not by L in *Ephes.* 7, as stated by Ussher, for ἐνεοί does not occur there in the genuine Ignatius, and 'rabidi' is a translation of λυσσῶντες). This seems to be explained by *Epiphanius Haer.* lxxviii. 3 (p. 1035 sq.) οἱ μὲν αὖθις μανέντες, δίκην λυσσητήρων κυνῶν, ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον αὐτῶν δεσπότην ὑλακτοῦσι, καθάπερ

10 VI. Ταῦτα γράφω ὑμῖν, ὃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νεελαία, οὐ
 συνειδὼς ὑμῖν τὸ τοιοῦτο φρόνημα, ἀλλὰ προφυλαττόμενος
 ὑμᾶς, ὡς πατὴρ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τέκνα. Βλέπετε οὖν τοὺς κακεν-
 τρεχεῖς ἐργάτας, τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταγροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
 ὧν το τέλος ἀπώλεια, ὧν [ὁ Θεὸς ἡ κοιλία, καὶ] ἡ δόξα ἐν
 15 τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὔτων. Βλέπετε τοὺς κύνας τοὺς ἐνεοῦς, τοὺς
 ὄφεις τοὺς συρομένους, τὰ φολιδωτὰ δρακόντια, τὰς ἀσπίδας,
 τοὺς βασιλίσκους, τοὺς σκορπίους· οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσι θῶες
 ἄλωποί, ἀνθρωπόμοιοι πίθηκοι.

VII. Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου γεγόνατε μαθηταί· μὴ ἀπο-

venier est, quorum 1; om. g. The words are perhaps an insertion to complete the quotation, but the coincidence of authorities in their favour gives them a claim to consideration.

15 τοὺς κύνας] om. g₃. ἐνεοῦς] ἐννεοῦς g₄. 16 φολι-
 δωτὰ] *squamosos* 1A; φιλόδωρα g₁g₃; φιλόδωρα g₂sg₄; *infoveatos* L (see the lower note).

19 γεγόνατε] g; *fiatis* L; *estis* 1A. ἀπολέσητε] g₁g₃g₄; ἀπολέσεται g₂.

ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς Ἰουδαῖοι τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες
 κέκληνται Κύνες ἐννεοί... φασὶ γὰρ τοὺς
 λυσσῶντας κύνas ἐννεοὺς καλεῖσθαι διὰ
 τὸ νωδούς ἀποτελεῖσθαι ἐκ τῆς καταλι-
 πανούσης αὐτοὺς διανοίας. This is an
 entire misunderstanding of the mean-
 ing of the prophet; but the supposed
 secondary sense, which was thus at-
 tached to the word, accounts for the
 employment of it in these two pas-
 sages of the spurious Ignatius, where
 ‘madness,’ not ‘sloth’ or ‘remiss-
 ness,’ is the idea.

16. συρομένους] ‘trailing,’ as e.g.
 Antiphilus in *Anthol.* II. p. 175
 πᾶσα δὲ νηδὺς συρομένη; comp. LXX
 Micah vii. 17 ὡς ὄφεις σύροντες γῆν.
 Later lexicographers and others seem
 to have confused σύρειν, σύρεσθαι,
 with συρίζειν. So perhaps the Scho-
 liast on Lycophr. 217 σύρονσαν ἄλμη
 κάπῃ ροιζοῦσαν πάτρη, who has the
 gloss, συρομένην, συρίζουσαν τῇ πατρίδι.
 The confusion was assisted by such
 passages as Job xxvii. 23 συριεῖ αὐτὸν
 ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ, Is. v. 26 συριεῖ
 αὐτοὺς (v. l. αὐτοῖς) ἀπ’ ἄκρου τῆς γῆς.
 See the notes of Ussher and Cotelier

here. There is no sufficient ground
 however for ascribing this confusion
 to our Ignatian writer.

φολιδωτὰ] Arist. *de Part. An.* iv.
 12 (p. 692) τὰ μὲν τριχωτὰ ἐστί, τὰ δὲ
 φολιδωτὰ, τὰ δὲ λεπιδωτὰ, οἱ δὲ ὄρνιθες
 πτερωτοί. The φολίς is the horny
 scale of a reptile as opposed to the
 λεπίς the thin scale of a fish; *ib.* iv.
 11 (p. 691) ἐστί δ’ ἡ φολίς ὁμοίον
 χώρα λεπίδος, φύσει δὲ σκληρότερον.
 The ‘infoveatos’ of L is explained
 by the fact that Suidas (p. 1521
 Gaisford) under φολιδωτὸς writes,
 ὁ δὲ κροκόδειλος τὰς χειμερίους ἡμέρας
 μ’ φωλεύει κατὰ γῆς ἐγκεκρυμμένος,
 and that at a later point (p. 1534)
 some copies in connexion with φω-
 λεά, φωλεύειν, etc., give φωλῖς· καὶ
 φωλιδωτός.

18. ἄλωποι] ‘fox-like’: see Hesych.
 ἄλωπος· ἄλωπεκώδης, πανούργος· Σο-
 φοκλῆς Θυέστη Ἰνάχω, and similarly
Etym. Magn. s. v. It is a fit epithet
 of the jackal (θῶς).

19. Παύλου κ.τ.λ.] *Ps-Magn.* 10
 Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου θεμελιούντων τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν [τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ]. For S.

λέσητε τὴν παραθήκην. μνημονεύσατε Εὐδορίου τοῦ ἀξιομακαρίστου ποιμένος ὑμῶν, ὃς πρῶτος ἐνεχειρίσθη παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ὑμετέραν προστασίαν. μὴ κατασχύνωμεν τὸν πατέρα· γενώμεθα γνήσιοι παῖδες, ἀλλὰ μὴ νόθοι. οἴδατε ὅπως συνανεστράφημ' ἐμὴν· ἃ παρὼν ἔλεγον 5 ὑμῖν, ταῦτα καὶ ἀπὼν γράφω· εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, ἦτω ἀνάθεμα. μιμηταί μοι γίνεσθε. ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν γενοίμην, ὅταν Ἰησοῦ ἐπιτύχω. μνημονεύετε μοι τῶν δεσμών.

VIII. Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ποιμάνετε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον, ἵνα ἕως ἀναδείξῃ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχιν ὑμῶν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σπένδομαι, ἵνα Χριστὸν κερδήσω. οἱ διάκονοι γνωσκέτωσαν οἶον εἰσὶν ἀξιώματος, καὶ σπουδαζέτωσαν ἄμειπτοι εἶναι, ἵνα ὧσιν μιμηταί Χριστοῦ. ὁ λαὸς ὑποτασσέσθω τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις. αἱ παρθέναι γνω- 15 σκέτωσαν τίνι καθιέρωσαν ἑαυτάς.

IX. Οἱ ἄνδρες στεργέτωσαν τὰς ὁμοζύγους, μνημο-

- 2 ὑμῶν] g₁g₃LlA: ἡμῶν g₂g₄. 3 ὑμετέραν] g₁sg₂sLlA: ἡμετέραν g₃g₄.
 5 ἃ] quae L; et quae A; quae ergo I; ὡς g₁g₂g₄; ὡς οὖν g₃. 7 ἦτω]
 g₁g₂g₄; ἔστω g₃. 8 Ἰησοῦ] g; christum I; iesum christum A;
 deo L. 12 σπένδομαι] add. et tempus resolutionis meae instat L. This
 addition is wanting in g₁A. For σπένδομαι g₃ has σπεύδομαι, and I festino.
 13 ἄμειπτοι] g₁A; immaculati (ἄμωμοι?) L. 19 σάρκα ἰδίαν] g₁L: sarra
 abrahamum A (comp. 1 Pet. iii. 6). Petermann supposes that the Greek text of A
 was Σάρρα ἴδιον. 20 σφρονεύωσαν] g₄; castificent L; erubescant [A];

Paul see Acts xi. 26, xiii. 1, etc.; for S. Peter, Gal. ii. 11. It is not however strictly accurate to say that either 'founded' the Church of Antioch: comp. Acts xi. 20 sq.

I. Εὐδορίου] The constant tradition, whatever may be its worth, makes Euodius or Euhodius the first bishop of Antioch after the Apostles; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 22, *Chron.* II. p. 152 (Schoene). Accordingly Socrates, *H. E.* vi. 8, writes Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἐπίσκοπος, and Origen *Hom. vi. in Luc.* (III p. 938)

doubtless means the same, though he says τὸν Ἰγνάτιον...τὸν μετὰ τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας δευτέρον ἐπίσκοπον (just as Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 22, 36, calls him δεύτερος ἐπίσκοπος, not reckoning in S. Peter, and so also *Mart. Rom. Ign.* 1). A more precise statement is hazarded in *Apost. Const.* vii. 47 Ἀντιοχείας δὲ Εὐόδιος μὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρον, Ἰγνάτιος δὲ ὑπὸ Παύλου.

5. ἃ παρὼν κ.τ.λ.] Similarly 2 Cor. xiii. 2; comp. 1 Cor. v. 3.

6. εἴ τις οὐ φιλεῖ κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

νεύοντες ὅτι μία ἐνί, οὐ πολλὰ ἐνί, ἐδόθησαν ἐν τῇ κτίσει.
αἱ γυναῖκες τιμάτωσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς σάρκα ἰδίαν, μηδὲ
20 ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτοὺς τολμάτωσαν καλεῖν, σωφρονεῖτωσαν δέ,
μόνους ἄνδρας τοὺς ὁμοζύγους εἶναι νομίζουσai, οἷς καὶ
ἡνώθησαν κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ. οἱ γονεῖς, τὰ τέκνα παι-
δεύετε παιδεῖαν ἱεράν. τὰ τέκνα, τιμᾶτε τοὺς γονεῖς, ἵνα
εὔ ὡμῖν ᾤ.

25 X. Οἱ δεσπόται, μὴ ὑπερηφάνως τοῖς δούλοις προσέ-
χετε, μιμούμενοι τὸν τλητικὸν Ἰωβ εἰπόντα, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐφαγ-
λικά κρίμα θεράποντός μοι ἦ θεραπαίνης μοι, κρινομένων
αἰτῶν πρὸς με· τί γάρ ποιήσω, ἐὰν ἔτασιν μοι ὁ Κύριος
ποιήσεται; καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἐπίστασθε. οἱ δούλοι, μὴ παρορ-
30 γίζετε τοὺς δεσπότας ἐν μηδενί, ἵνα μὴ κακῶν ἀνηκέστων
ἑαυτοῖς αἰτιοὶ γένησθε.

XI. Μηδεὶς ἀργὸς ἐσθιέτω, ἵνα μὴ ῥεμβὸς γένηται
καὶ πορνοκόπος. μέθη, ὀργή, φθόνος, λοιδορία, κραυγή,
βλασφημία, μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω ἐν ὡμῖν. αἱ χῆραι μὴ σπα-

σωφρονίζέτωσαν $g_1sg_2sg_3$; *sciant* (φρονεῖτωσαν?) l. The edd. have retained *σωφρο-*
νίζέτωσαν, though a transitive verb makes no sense. 25 προσέχετε] g

(comp. 1A); *praeferamini* (προέχετε). 26 τὸν τλητικὸν] gAl; om. L.

Ἰωβ] $g_1g_2g_3LlA$; *υἱὸν* g_4 . 27 θεραπαίνης] *θεραπένης* g_1 . 29 ποι-

ήσεται] $g_1sg_3g_4s$; *ποιήσεται* g_2 . 30 ἐν μηδενί] gl; *propter res nihili* A (prob.
an interpretation of ἐν μηδενί); *in ira* L. 31 ἑαυτοῖς] $g_1g_3g_4sLl$; αὐτοῖς g_2 ;

om. A. 32 ῥεμβός] $g_1g_3g_4$; *ῥεμπτός* g_2 . 33 πορνοκόπος] g_2 ; *πορνοσκόπος*
 $g_1sg_3g_4s$, and so the edd., but see Steph. *Thes.* s. v. (ed. Hase et Dind.).

34 βλασφημία] glA; *blasphemiae* L.

7. μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε] 1 Cor. iv.
16, xi. 1.

8. μνημονεύετέ μου κ.τ.λ.] From
Col. iv. 18.

10. ποιμάνετε κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Pet.
v. 2.

11. ἐγὼ γάρ κ.τ.λ.] 2 Tim. iv. 6,
followed by Phil. iii. 8.

19. ὡς σάρκα ἰδίαν] Comp. Ephes.
v. 29.

μηδὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος κ.τ.λ.] *Apost.*
Const. vi. 29 ὡς ἡ ἁγία Σάρρα τὸν
Ἀβραὰμ ἐτίμα οὐδ' ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν
ὑπομένουσα καλεῖν ἀλλὰ κύριον αὐτὸν

προσαγορεύουσα κ.τ.λ. (comp. 1 Pet.
iii. 6). This passage will account for
the substitution in the Armenian.

23. ἵνα εὖ ὡμῖν ᾤ] Exod. xx. 12;
comp. Ephes. vi. 3.

26. εἰ δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Job xxxi.
13, 14.

32. μηδεὶς ἀργὸς κ.τ.λ.] Suggested
by 2 Thess. iii. 10.

34. μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω κ.τ.λ.] From
Ephes. v. 3.

σπαταλάτωσαν, καταστρηνιάσωσι]
These two words in this connexion
are borrowed from 1 Tim. v. 6, 11.

ταλάτωσαν, ἵνα μὴ καταστρηνιάσωσι τοῦ λόγου. τῷ Καίσαρι ὑποτάγητε, ἐν οἷς ἀκίνδυνος ἡ ὑποταγή. τοὺς ἄρχοντας μὴ ἐρεθίζετε εἰς παροξυσμόν, ἵνα μὴ δώτε ἀφορμὴν τοῖς ζητοῦσι καθ' ὑμῶν. περὶ δὲ γοητείας ἢ παιδεραστίας ἢ φόνου περιττὸν τὸ γράφειν, ὅποτε ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν 5 ἀπηγόρευται πράττειν. ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς ἀπόστολος παρακελεύομαι, ἀλλ' ὡς σύνδουλος ὑμῶν ὑπομιμνήσκω ὑμᾶς.

4 ὑμῶν] g₃LA; ἡμῶν g₁g₂g₄. The ἀφορμὴν is repeated after ζητοῦσιν καθ' ἡμῶν by LA, being probably a reminiscence of 2 Cor. xi. 12 ἵνα ἐκκόψω ἀφορμὴν τῶν θελόντων ἀφορμὴν. δέ] g₁A; om. L. γοητείας] g₄s; γοητίας g₁g₂g₃.

I. τῷ Καίσαρι κ.τ.λ.] See *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6 (p. 515), and the remarks, II. p. 379.

3. εἰς παροξυσμόν] This expression occurs Heb. x. 24 in a different connexion. The words which follow, ἵνα μὴ κ.τ.λ., are an echo of 2 Cor. xi. 12. So again περιττὸν τὸ γράφειν is borrowed from 2 Cor. ix. 1, and καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κ.τ.λ. is suggested by 1 Cor. v. 1.

9. τὸ ποθεινόν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. Hero. For the expression see *Ign. Polyc.* 8 with the note II. (p. 361).

II. ὑποδιακόνους κ.τ.λ.] See the enumeration of the Church officers at Rome (A.D. 251) by Cornelius in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43 πρεσβυτέρους τεσσαράκοντα ἕξ, διακόνους ἑπτὰ, ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτὰ, ἀκολουθούς δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ἐξορκιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἅμα πυλωροὺς δύο καὶ πενήκοντα, χήρας σὺν θλιβομένοις ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας πεντακοσίας. Of these offices the acolytes were confined to the Western Church and so are not mentioned here. On the other hand the 'deaconesses' seem to have been confined to the Eastern Church at this time. See also *Apost. Const.* iii. 11 τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικοῖς...οἷον ἀναγνώσταις ἢ ψάλταις ἢ πυλωροῖς ἢ ὑπηρέταις κ.τ.λ., viii. 12 πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακό-

νων, ὑποδιακόνων, ἀναγνώστων, ψαλτῶν, παρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν κ.τ.λ., *ib.* ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἔπειτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι καὶ οἱ ἀναγνώσται καὶ οἱ ψάλται καὶ οἱ ἀσκηταί, καὶ ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἱ διακόνισσαι καὶ αἱ παρθέναι καὶ αἱ χήραι; comp. viii. 19—28, 31, *Apost. Can.* 43, *Conc. Laodic. Can.* 24 τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τάξεως ἕως ὑπηρετῶν ἢ ἀναγνώστων ἢ ψαλτῶν ἢ ἐπορκιστῶν ἢ θυρωρῶν ἢ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν ἀσκητῶν, *Conc. Antioch. Can.* 10. Of these lower orders the 'sub-deacons' are first mentioned in the middle of the third century, in the passage of Cornelius already quoted and in the contemporary letters of Cyprian. On the cause of the institution of this office see *Philippians* p. 188 sq. The 'readers' occur as early as Tertullian *de Praescr.* 41 'hodie diaconus, qui cras lector,' where the language shows that this was already a firmly established order in the Church. Of the 'singers' the notices in the *Apostolical Constitutions* are probably the most ancient. The 'door-keepers,' like the subdeacons, seem to be first mentioned in the letter of Cornelius. The κοπιῶντες first appear a full century later; see the next note. The 'exorcists,' as we have seen, are mentioned as a distinct order by Cornelius, while in *Apost. Const.*

XII. Ἀσπάζομαι τὸ ἅγιον πρεσβυτέριον. ἀσπάζομαι τοὺς ἱερούς διακόνους, καὶ τὸ ποθεινόν μοι ὄνομα, ὃν ἐπίδοιμι
 10 ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ, ὅταν Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω· οὐ
 ἀντίψυχον γενοίμην. ἀσπάζομαι ὑποδιακόνους, ἀναγνώστας,
 ψάλτας, πυλωρούς, τοὺς κοπιῶντας, ἐπορκιστάς, ὁμολογητάς.

7 ὑμᾶς] ἡμᾶς g₃.

9 ἐπίδοιμι] *reservavi* l (ἐφειδόμην) pointing to an intermediate reading ἐφίδοιμι (ἐφείδοιμι).

12 ἐπορκιστάς] g₁g₂sg⁴⁵; ἐξορκιστάς g₃;

exorcistas Ll; om. A (substituting *religiosos* for the two words, ἐπορκιστάς, ὁμολογητάς): see the lower note.

viii. 26 it is ordered that they shall not be ordained, because it is a spiritual function which comes direct from God and manifests itself by its results. The name and the function however appear much earlier in the Christian Church; e.g. Justin Mart. *Apol.* ii. 6 (p. 45). The forms ἐπορκιστής and ἐξορκιστής are convertible; e.g. Justin Mart. *Dial.* 85 (p. 311) οἱ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐπορκισταὶ ... ἐξορκίζονσι κ.τ.λ. The 'confessors' hardly deserve to be reckoned a distinct order, though accidentally they are mentioned in proximity with the different grades of clergy in *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 already quoted. Perhaps the accidental connexion in this work has led to their confusion with the offices of the Christian ministry in our false Ignatius. In *Apost. Const.* viii. 23 διατάσσομαι περὶ ὁμολογητῶν ὁμολογητῆς οὐ χειροτονεῖται κ.τ.λ., they are treated in much the same way as the exorcists, being regarded as in some sense an order and yet not subject to ordination. Possibly however the word ὁμολογηταὶ has here a different sense, 'chanters,' as the corresponding Latin '*confessores*' seems sometimes to have, e.g. in the Sacramentary of Gregory 'Oremus et pro omnibus episcopis, presbyteris, diaconibus, acolythis, exorcistis, lectoribus, ostiariis, confessoribus, virginibus, viduis, et pro omni populo sancto Dei'; see Ducange *Gloss.*

Lat. s. v. (II. p. 530, Henschel).

12. τοὺς κοπιῶντας] '*the labourers*,' i.e. '*grave-diggers*' or '*sextons*.' In a law of the year 357 (*Cod. Theod.* xiii. 1) mention is made of '*clerici qui copiatæ appellantur*,' and another law of the year 361 (*Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2. 15) runs '*clerici vero vel his quos copiatas recens usus instituit nuncupari*' etc. From these passages it is clear that the name was not in use much before the middle of the fourth century, though the office under its Latin name '*fossores*' or '*fossarii*' appears somewhat earlier. Even later Epiphanius (*Expos. Fid.* 21) writes καὶ κοπιатаί, οἱ τὰ σώματα περιστέλλοντες τῶν κοιμωμένων, as if the word still needed some explanation. In accordance with these facts Zahn (*I. v. A.* p. 129) correctly argues with regard to our Ignatian writer, urging that on the one hand he would not have ascribed such language to Ignatius if the word had been quite recent, while on the other hand his using the participle (τοὺς κοπιῶντας) rather than the substantive indicates that it had not yet firmly established itself. For these '*copiatæ*' see especially de Rossi *Roma Sotterranea* III. p. 533 sq., Gothofred on *Cod. Theod.* II. cc., and for the Latin '*fossores*' Martigny *Dict. des Antiq. Chrét.* s.v. See also the inscriptions, *C. I. G.* 9227, *Bull. de Corr. Hellen.* VII. p. 238, *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* VI. p. 362.

ἀσπάζομαι τὰς φρουροὺς τῶν ἀγίων πυλῶνων, τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ διακόνους. ἀσπάζομαι τὰς χριστολήμπτους παρθένους, ὧν οὐαίμην ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ. ἀσπάζομαι τὰς σεμνοτάτας χήρας. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀδελφάς μου ἐν Κυρίῳ. 5

XIII. Ἀσπάζομαι Κασσιανὸν καὶ τὴν ὁμόζυγον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ φίλτατα αὐτοῦ τέκνα. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Πολύκαρπος ὁ ἀξιοπρεπὴς ἐπίσκοπος, ᾧ καὶ μέλει περὶ ὑμῶν, ᾧ καὶ παρεθέμην ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ· καὶ πᾶσα δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία Σμυρναίων μνημονεύει ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἐν Κυρίῳ. ἀσπά- 10 ζεται ὑμᾶς Ὀνήσιμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων ποιμήν. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Δαμᾶς ὁ Μαγνησίας ἐπίσκοπος. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Πολύβιος ὁ Τραλλαίων. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Φίλων καὶ Ἀγαθόπους, οἱ διάκονοι οἱ συνακόλουθοί μου. ἀσπᾶσαθε ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀγίῳ φιλήματι. 15

1 τὰς pri.] τοὺς g₁g₂g₃g₄, but the feminine is wanted, for the clause clearly stands in apposition with τὰς ἐν χριστῷ διακόνους, as A and L translate it. I must have read τοὺς φρουροὺς τῶν ἀγίων πυλῶν ὄντας ἐν χριστῷ διακόνους (ΠΥΛΩΝΟΝΤΑΣ for ΠΥΛΩΝΩΝΤΑΣ). This is intelligible in itself, but inappropriate here; for both the male deacons and the male door-keepers have been saluted already.

2 χριστολήμπτους] g₂; χριστολήπτους g₁g₃g₄. 3 ἀσπάζομαι τὰς σεμνοτάτας χήρας] saluto venerabilissimas viduas L; saluto pudicissimas viduas I (comp. *Hero* inscr.); saluto verecundas viduas A. The clause is omitted in all the Greek MSS. 6 Κασσιανὸν] gLl. Zahn writes Κασσιανόν, but see above, p. 149. 7 φίλτατα αὐτοῦ] gLA; om. L.

8 ὁ] g₁g₂g₃; om. g₄. μέλει] μέλλει g₄; 'μελλει erat in V [i.e. g₂]' Dressel. 9 ἡ] g₁g₃g₄; om. g₂. 12 Δαμᾶς] damas I; δημᾶς g; demas A; om. L (doubtless owing to the homoeoteleuton -μας). See *Magn.* 2, *Hero* 8.

13 Τραλλαίων] g₁g₂g₃g₄; trallaeorum L; trallianorum I; tralanorum A. ἀσπάζεται] g₁g₂g₄; salutai I; ἀσπάζονται g₃; salutant LA. It is difficult to decide between the two. Internal probability is divided, grammatical strictness being set off against diplomatic conformity. 14 ἀσπά-

I. τὰς φρουροὺς κ.τ.λ.] This function of door-keeping was especially assigned to the deaconesses; *Apost. Const.* viii. 28 διακόνισσα οὐκ εὐλογεῖ οὐδὲ τι ὧν ποιοῦσιν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἢ οἱ διάκονοι ἐπιτελεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ φυλάττειν τὰς θύρας κ.τ.λ. It was only the women's gate however, which they kept; *Apost. Const.* ii. 57 στηκέτωσαν

δὲ οἱ μὲν πυλωροὶ εἰς τὰς εἰσόδους τῶν ἀνδρῶν φυλάσσοντες αὐτάς, αἱ δὲ διάκονοι εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν κ.τ.λ., and accordingly they placed the women in their seats, *ib.* 58. Comp. Ziegler *de Diaconis et Diaconissis* xix. 10 (p. 352 sq.).

2. χριστολήμπτους] 'Christ-possessed'; as in *Method. Conv.* i. 5 (p. 13

XIV. Ταῦτα ἀπὸ Φιλίππων γράφω ὑμῖν. ἔρρωμένους ὑμᾶς ὃ ὦν μόνος ἀγέννητος διὰ τοῦ πρὸ αἰώνων γεγεννημένον διαφυλάξαι πνεύματι καὶ σαρκί, καὶ ἴδοιμι ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείᾳ. ἀσπάζομαι τὸν ἀντ' ἐμοῦ μέλλοντα 20 ἄρχειν ὑμῶν· οὐ καὶ ὀναίμην ἐν Χριστῷ. ἔρρωσθε Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ, πεφωτισμένοι τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

I I.

ΠΡΟΣ ΗΡΩΝΑ.

IGNATIOS, ὃ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῷ θεοτιμῇτῳ καὶ ποθεινο-
τάτῳ, [σεμνοτάτῳ,] χριστοφόρῳ, πνευματοφόρῳ, ΓΝΗΣΙΩ

σασθε] $g_1 g_2 s g_3$; ἀσπάξεσθε g_4 . 18 διαφυλάξαι] *custodiat* L1; διαφυλάξει g :
dub. A. 19 βασιλείᾳ] $gl[A]$; *adventu* (παρουσίᾳ) L. 20 καὶ pri.] gl :
om. L; def. A. ἔρρωσθε] ἔρρωσθαι $g_1 g_4$. Θεῷ] gl ; *in deo* L; *gratia dei*
patris A. 21 πεφωτισμένοι] $g_3 g_4 s$; *illuminati* L1; πεφωτισμένον $g_1 g_2$;
al. A.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς ἀντιοχείς. θ. $g_1 g_2$. No-
thing in $g_3 g_4 LA$.

προς ηρωνα] *ad urionem* A; πρὸς ἥρωνα διάκονον ἀντιοχέα (with ι in the
marg.) g_4 ; τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς ἥρωνα διάκονον ἀντιοχείας $g_1 g_2$ (with ι in the
marg. of g_1); τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας
ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς ηρωνα (sic) διάκονον ἀντιοχείας. l. g_3 ; *ignatius eroni diacono ecclesiae*
antiochenorum L* (see p. 55).

24 σεμνοτάτῳ] $g_1 g_4 s$; *prudico* l; *pruro* A; om. $g_2 g_3 L$. The omission is probably
owing to homöoteleuton. πνευματοφόρῳ] $g_1 g_2 g_4 s L1$; om. $g_3 A$. Again the
homöoteleuton may account for the omission. γνησίῳ τέκνῳ] gA ; om. l; *filio*
(om. γνησίῳ) L.

Jahn) ὁ χριστόληπτος... Ἰωάννης. The
word is framed on the analogy of μουσό-
ληπτος, φοιβόληπτος, θεόληπτος, etc.

6. Κασσιανόν] See the note on
Ign. Mar. 5.

14. ἀσπάσασθε κ.τ.λ.] See *Tars.*
10, with the note.

20. Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ] The dative
of that whereby or wherein the per-
son is strengthened, 'Fare ye well

in God and Christ'; e.g. Plut. *Vit.*
Porcl. 23 ἔρρωσθῃ χρήμασιν.

24. γνησίῳ κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. i.
2 (comp. Tit. i. 4). This letter is
largely borrowed from the Pastoral
Epistles of S. Paul, as also from the
Epistle of the genuine Ignatius to
Polycarp. The form of salutation
χάρις ἔλεος [καὶ] εἰρήνη is derived from
these epistles.

ΤΕΚΝΩ ἘΝ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ καὶ ἀγάπῃ, Ἡρωῖ διακόνω Χριστοῦ, ὑπηρέτῃ Θεοῦ, χάρις, ἔλεος, καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐξέλθῃται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ, καὶ 5 σῶσῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον.

I. Παρακαλῶ σε ἐν Θεῷ προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου, καὶ ἐκδικεῖν σου τὸ ἀξίωμα. τῆς συμφωνίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀγίους φρόντιζε· τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους βάσταζε, ἵνα πληρώσῃς τὸν νόμον [τοῦ] Χριστοῦ. νηστεύεις καὶ δεήσεσι σχόλαζε, 10 ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀμέτρως, ἵνα μὴ σαυτὸν καταβάλης· οἶνου καὶ κρεῶν μὴ πάντα ἀπέχου· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν βδελυκτά· τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ τῆς γῆς, φησί, φάγεσθε· καί, ἔδεσθε κρέα ὡς λάχανα· καί, οἶνος εὐφραίνει καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ἔλαιον ἱλαρύνει, καὶ ἄρτος στηρίζει· ἀλλὰ μεμετρημένως καὶ εὐτάκτως, ὡς Θεοῦ 15 χορηγοῦντος· τίς γὰρ φάγεται ἢ τίς πίεται παρὲς αὐτοῦ; ὅτι εἴ τι καλόν, αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἴ τι ἀγαθόν, αὐτοῦ. τῇ ἀναγνώσει πρόσχε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς εἰδῇς τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις

I Ἡρωῖ] g₁g₃g₄s; Ἡρωῖ g₂; eroni L (and so generally, but see p. 58); urioni A. Χριστοῦ] g₁A; jesu christi L. ὑπηρέτῃ] g₁; præf. et

LA. 3 Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ] g₁; Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ L* A. 4 τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν] g₁A; nobis et peccatis nostris L. 6 σῶσῃ] g₄s; salvaret L;

salvos faceret I; σώσει g₁g₂g₃; invitavit [A]. 7 προσθεῖναι] g₂s g₄s; προσθεῖναι g₁g₃.

9 φρόντιζε] g₁g₂L; φρόνθιζε g₃; φροντίσετε g₄; curam gerere I; studere [A]; but from the connexion I A must have had the singular, if indeed they did not read φροντίζεν.

10 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] g₂s g₃; χριστοῦ g₁g₄.

11 μὴ sec.] g₁A; om. L. καταβάλης] καταβάλλης g₃. 12 ἐστὶν g₁;

ἐστι g₂g₄s; εἰσι g₃. 13 φησί, φάγεσθε] g₁g₂g₃; φάγεσθε. φησι g₄.

4. τοῦ δόντος κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. i. 4.

7. προσθεῖναι κ.τ.λ.] Modified from Ign. Polyc. i. Several of the injunctions in this chapter are derived from this same epistle.

9. βάσταζε, ἵνα κ.τ.λ.] Modified from Gal. vi. 2.

12. τὰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ κ.τ.λ.] See Apost. Const. vii. 20, where the same passages are quoted, τὰ ἀγαθὰ κ.τ.λ.

from Is. i. 19, ἔδεσθε κ.τ.λ. from Gen. ix. 3, τίς φάγεται κ.τ.λ. from Eccles. ii. 25, ὅτι εἴ τι καλόν κ.τ.λ. from Zech. ix. 17. The remaining quotation, οἶνος κ.τ.λ. (from Ps. ciii (civ). 15), is not found there.

15. μεμετρημένως κ.τ.λ.] Apost. Const. i. 9 εὐτάκτως... μεμετρημένως.

17. τῇ ἀναγνώσει πρόσχε] Borrowed from 1 Tim. iv. 13.

19. νήφε] I have supplied the

αὐτοὺς ἐξηγῇ. νῆφε ὡς Θεοῦ ἀθλητής. οὐδεὶς στρατεγόμενος
 20 ἐμπλέκεται ταῖς τοῦ βίου πραγματείαις, ἵνα τῷ στρατολογή-
 σαντι ἀρέσῃ· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀθλῇ τις, οὐ στεφανοῖται, ἐὰν μὴ
 νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ. ἀντίψυχόν σου ἐγὼ ὁ δέσμιος.

II. Πᾶς ὁ λέγων παρὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα, καὶ ἀξιόπιστος
 ἦ, καὶ νηστεύῃ, καὶ παρθενεύῃ, καὶ σημεῖα ποιῇ, καὶ προ-
 25 φητεύῃ, λῦκος σοι φανέσθω ἐν προβάτοῦ δορᾷ, προβάτων
 φθορὰν κατεργαζόμενος. εἴ τις ἀρνεῖται τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ
 τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχύνεται, ἔστω σοι ὡς [αὐτὸς] ὁ ἀντικείμενος·
 καὶ ψωμίῃ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα πτωχοῖς, καὶ ὄρη μεθιστᾷ, καὶ
 παραδῶ τὸ σῶμα εἰς καύσιν, ἔστω σοι βδελυκτός. εἴ τις
 30 φαυλίζει τὸν νόμον ἢ τοὺς προφῆτας οὓς ὁ Χριστὸς παρὼν
 ἐπλήρωσεν, ἔστω σοι ὡς ὁ ἀντίχριστος. εἴ τις ἀνθρωπον
 λέγει ψιλὸν τὸν Κύριον, Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν χριστοκτόνος.

III. Χήρας τίμα τὰς ὄντως χήρας· ὀρφανῶν προΐστασο·
 ὁ Θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν πατὴρ τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ κριτὴς τῶν χηρῶν.
 35 μηδὲν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπισκόπων πράττε· ἱερεῖς γάρ εἰσιν, σὺ δὲ
 διάκονος τῶν ἱερέων· ἐκεῖνοι βαπτίζουσιν, ἱεουργοῦσιν,

15 στερῇ] στερεῖ g ₂ .	18 εἰδῆς] g ₁ g ₃ g ₄ ^s ; οἶδες g ₂ .	19 νῆφε]
νῆγίλα A; om. gLl: see the lower note.	20 πραγματείαις] g ₁ g ₃ g ₄ ^s ;	
πραγματίας g ₂ .	21 ἀρέσῃ] g ₁ g ₄ ^s ; ἀρέσει g ₂ g ₃ .	ἀθλῇ] g ₁ g ₂ ^s g ₄ ^s ;
ἀθλεῖ g ₃ .	22 ἀθλήσῃ] g ₁ g ₄ ^s ; ἀθλήσει g ₂ g ₃ .	ἀντίψυχόν] g ₁ g ₂ g ₃ ; ἀντι-
ψυχός g ₄ .	24 ἦ] om. g ₃ .	26 ἀρνεῖται] ἀρνεῖτε g ₁ .
ὁ ἀντικείμενος] g; adversarius 1A; antichristus et adversarius L.		27 αὐτὸς
χριστος] g ₁ g ₂ g ₃ (comp. 1 Joh. ii. 22, 2 Joh. 7); ἀντίχριστος (om. ὁ) g ₄ ^s . The		31 ὁ ἀντι-
edds. omit the definite article.	32 λέγει] g ₂ g ₃ g ₄ ; λέγῃ g ₁ ^s .	ψιλὸν] g ₄ ;
nudum L; merum A; tantum 1; om. g ₁ g ₂ g ₃ .		

word from the Armenian. Patrick Young had suggested the insertion of *κακοπάθησον*, supposing the passage to be borrowed from 2 Tim. ii. 3; but it is taken word for word from Ign. *Polyc.* 2.

οὐδεὶς κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. ii. 4, 5.

23. ἀξιόπιστος] See the note on Ign. *Philad.* 2 II. (p. 254).

25. λύκος κ.τ.λ.] From Matt. vii. 15; comp. *Ps-Ephes.* 5.

28. καὶ ψωμίῃ κ.τ.λ.] Adapted

from 1 Cor. xiii. 2, 3.

33. χήρας τίμα κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. v. 3.

34. πατὴρ κ.τ.λ.] Adapted from Ps. lxvii (lxviii). 5.

35. μηδὲν κ.τ.λ.] See Ign. *Magn.* 7, with the note (II. p. 122).

36. ἱεουργοῦσιν] Used especially of celebrating the eucharist; e.g. Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* 11 (p. 105). So too ἱεουργία; e.g. Euseb. *V.C.* iv. 45 *μυστικαῖς ἱεουργίαις*.

χειροτονοῦσιν, χειροθετοῦσιν· σὺ δὲ αὐτοῖς διακόνει, ὡς
Στέφανος ὁ ἅγιος ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰακώβῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσ-
βυτέροις. τῶν συνάξεων μὴ ἀμέλει· ἐξ ὀνόματος πάντας
ἐπιζήτει. μηδεὶς σοῦ τῆς νεότητος καταφρονεῖτω, ἀλλὰ
τύπος γίνου τῶν πιστῶν ἐν λόγῳ, ἐν ἀναστροφῇ. 5

IV. Οἰκέτας μὴ ἐπαισχύνου· κοινωνεῖ γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ
αὐτοῖς ἡ φύσις· γυναικας μὴ βδελύττου· αὐταί σε γὰρ
γεγεννήκασιν καὶ ἐξέθρεψαν. ἀγαπᾶν οὖν χρή τὰς αἰτίας τῆς
γεννήσεως, μόνον ἐν Κυρίῳ· ἄνευ δὲ γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ οὐ παιδο-
ποιεῖ. τιμᾶν οὖν χρή τὰς συνεργοὺς τῆς γεννήσεως. οὔτε 10
ἀνὴρ χωρὶς γυναικὸς οὔτε γυνή χωρὶς ἀνδρός, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν
πρωτοπλάστων· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀδάμ τὸ σῶμα ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων
στοιχείων, τῆς δὲ Εὔας ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς τοῦ Ἀδάμ. καὶ ὁ
παράδοξος δὲ τοκετὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐκ μόνῃς τῆς παρθένου,
οὐ βδελυκτῆς οὔσης τῆς νομίμου μίξεως, ἀλλὰ θεοπρεποῦς 15
τῆς γεννήσεως· ἔπρεπε γὰρ τῷ δημιουργῷ μὴ τῇ συνήθει

1 χειροτονοῦσιν] gl; om. LA. διακόνει] g₂; διακονῇ g₁g₄; ministra L;
ministrabis (or ministres) A; διακονεῖς g₃; ministras (v.l. ministrans) l. 2 Στέ-
φανος] g₁g₂g₃; ὁ στέφανος g₄. 4 καταφρονεῖτω] καταφρονήτω g₃. 6 κοι-
νωνεῖ] g₃; κοινωνή (sic) g₁; κοινῇ (sic) g₂; κοινῇ g₄; communis est (sic) lA; communis
L. 7 αὐταί] g₁g₂g₃; ἑαυταί l₁; αὐται (sic) g₄; illae A. σε γὰρ] g₁g₃g₄s;
γὰρ σε g₂. 8 γεγεννήκασιν] g₁g₃g₄s; γεγέννηκαν g₂. 9 μόνον] txt l₁;
add. δὲ gA. 13 Εὔας] Εὐὰ g₃. 16 τῇ συνήθει] g₁g₃g₄s; consueta L;
τῇ συνηθείᾳ g₂; secundum humanam consuetudinem l; al. A. 19 ὑπερη-

I. χειροτονοῦσιν, χειροθετοῦσιν] *Apost. Const.* viii. 28 ἐπίσκοπος...χειροθετεῖ, χειροτονεῖ, προσφέρει. While χειροθεσία is used of 'laying on of hands,' e.g. in Confirmation, χειροτονία is said of Ordination; e.g. *Apost. Const.* viii. 27 ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ τριῶν ἢ δύο ἐπισκόπων χειροτονεῖσθω, comp. *Apost. Can.* I, 2. Referring originally to the election of the Clergy, χειροτονια came afterwards to be applied commonly, as here, to their ordination; see Suicer *Thes.* s. vv. χειροτονεῖν, χειροτονία, with the passages there quoted.

ὡς Στέφανος κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ps-*

Trall. 7. The example of Stephen as a deacon is given in *Apost. Const.* viii. 18.

3. ἐξ ὀνόματος κ.τ.λ.] See the note (II. p. 345) on Ign. *Polyc.* 4, whence this injunction is borrowed.

4. μηδεὶς σου κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. iv. 12.

10. τὰς συνεργοὺς κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vi. 29 ὡς κοινωνοὺς βίου καὶ συνεργοὺς πρὸς γενέσιν παιδῶν.

οὔτε ἀνὴρ κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. xi. 11, from which passage also some ideas in the context are borrowed.

12. τὸ σῶμα κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* viii. 12 τῆς μὲν [ψυχῆς] ἐκ τοῦ μὴ

ἀποχρήσασθαι γεννήσει ἀλλὰ τῇ παραδόξῳ καὶ ξένῃ, ὡς δημιουργῶ.

V. Ὑπερηφανίαν φεύγε· ὑπερηφάνοις γὰρ ἀντιτάσσεται
 20 ΚΥΡΙΟΣ. ψευδολογίαν βδελύττον· ἀπολείς γὰρ πάντας τοὺς
 ΛΑΛΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΤΟ ΨΕΥΔΟΣ. φθόνον φυλάττον· ἀρχηγὸς γὰρ αὐτοῦ
 ὁ διάβολος, καὶ διάδοχος ὁ Κάϊν, ἀδελφῶ βασκάνας καὶ ἐκ
 φθόνου φόνον κατεργασάμενος. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου παραίνει
 ἀγαπᾶν τὸν Θεὸν καὶ μόνον ἀρκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἰδίους ἀνδράσιν·
 25 'μοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παραίνει ἀρκεῖσθαι ταῖς ὁμο-
 ζύγοις. παρθένους φύλαττε, ὡς Χριστοῦ κειμήλια. μακρό-
 θυμος ἔσο, ἵνα ᾗς πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει. τῶν πενήτων μὴ
 ἀμέλει, ἐν οἷς αὖ εὐπορήσῃ. ἐλεημοσύναις γὰρ καὶ πίστεσιν
 ἀποκαθαίρονται ἁμαρτίαι.

30 VI. ΣΕΛΥΤὸΝ ἈΓΝὸΝ ΤΗΡΕΙ, ὡς Θεοῦ οἰκητήριον· ναὸς
 Χριστοῦ ὑπάρχεις, ὄργανον εἰ τοῦ πνεύματος. οἶδας ὅπως
 σε ἀνέθρεψα· εἰ καὶ ἐλάχιστός εἰμι, ζηλωτῆς μου γενοῦ·

φανίαν] g₃g₄s; ὑπερηφανείαν g₁g₂.

20 γὰρ] txt g₁g₂g₄L; add. φησί g₃l; enim ait l (but ait is wanting in some important mss). A cannot have had φησί, for he mends the passage by substituting a third person *etenim perdit dominus* etc.

21 αὐτοῦ] g₁g₃g₄; ἰψίους L; ejus IA; om. g₂. In g₁g₃g₄[A] ἔστιν is added; om. g₂Ll.

22 ὁ διάβολος] here, g₁g₃; before αὐτοῦ, g₄. For g₂ see the last note.

βασκάνας] g₁g₂s; βασκαίνας g₃; βασκήνας g₄. 24 τοῖς ἰδίους ἀνδράσιν· ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου παραίνει ἀρκεῖσθαι] om. L by homœoteleuton.

29 ἀποκαθαίρονται] g₁g₃g₄s; ἀποκαθαίρωνται g₂. 31 ὄργανον εἰ] g; et organum...existens l; organumque L; et ciithara A.

ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ [σώματος] ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων.

13. ὁ παράδοξος κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Philiph.* 8.

19. ὑπερηφανίαν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 5 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὑπερήφανος· ὑπερηφάνοις γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται. This same passage (Prov. iii. 34) is quoted in the genuine Ignatius, *Ephes.* 5 (see the note, II. p. 45).

20. ψευδολογίαν κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 4 οὐ ψεύσῃ· Ἀπολείς γάρ, φησί, πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος (Ps. v. 6).

22. Κάϊν] See Clem. Rom. 4 with

the notes.

23. ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς μου κ.τ.λ.] Borrowed from Ign. *Polyc.* 5; see also *Apost. Const.* viii. 32.

26. μακρόθυμος κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 8 γίνου μακρόθυμος, ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει, based on Prov. xiv. 29 (LXX) μακρόθυμος ἀνὴρ πολὺς ἐν φρονήσει.

27. τῶν πενήτων κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 12 ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου δός... ἐλεημοσύναις γὰρ κ.τ.λ., a quotation from Prov. xv. 27 (xvi. 6).

30. σεαυτὸν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. v. 22.

μίμησαί μου τὴν ἀναστροφήν· οὐ καυχῶμαι ἐν κόσμῳ ἀλλ' ἐν Κυρίῳ. Ἦρωνι τῷ ἐμῷ τέκνῳ παραινῶ· ὁ δὲ καυχώμενος ἐν Κυρίῳ καυχάσθω. ὀναίμην σου, παιδίον ποθεινόν· οὐ φύλαξ γένηται ὁ μόνος ἀγέννητος Θεὸς καὶ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. μὴ πᾶσιν πίστευε, μὴ πᾶσιν θάρρει, μηδὲ ἂν τις ὑποκορίζηται σε· πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν ὑπηρέται τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ ὁ ταχὺ ἐμπιστεύων κοῦφος τῇ καρδίᾳ.

VII. Μέμνησο τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις ποτέ. μὴ γίνου δίψυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου, μακάριος γὰρ ὁ μὴ διστάσας. πιστεύω γὰρ εἰς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ υἱόν, ὅτι δείξει μοι ὁ Θεὸς Ἦρωνα ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μου· πρόσθες οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ. παραγγέλλω σοι ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὄλων καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν ταγμάτων· φυλαζόν μου τὴν παραθήκην, ἣν ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Χριστός παρεθέμεθά σοι, καὶ μὴ ἐαυτὸν ἀνάξιον κρίνης τῶν δοχθέντων περὶ σοῦ Θεῷ. παρατίθημί σοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Ἀντιοχείων. Πολυκάρπῳ παρεθέμην ὑμᾶς ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.

VIII. Ἀσπάζονται σε οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, Ὀνήσιμος, Βίτος, 20

2 Ἦρωνι τῷ ἐμῷ τέκνῳ] g₁g₂g₄s; Ἦρωνι τὸ ἐμὸν τέκνον g₃; heroni (eroni) filio meo L; heronem filium meum I; filium meum urionem A. Both the Latin versions have the same verb *moneo*.

4 γένηται] g₁g₂g₃; γένοιτο g₄. 6 ὑποκορίζηται σε] ὑποκορίζεται σε g₃; ὑποκορύζεται σε g₁; ὑποκορίζηται σε g₂; ὑποκορύζητέ σου g₄. 10 Κυρίου] g; add. *nostri* L[A]. 11 μονογενῆ] g; add. *ipsius* L; add. *ejus* 1A.

15 φύλαζόν] g₁g₂g₃; φύλαξal g₄. 16 τῶν δοχθέντων] g₁g₂; τῶν δοθέντων g₄; τῶν δεχθέντων g₃; *expectatis* L; *eorum quae ostensa sunt* (δειχθέντων) I. In A the sentence is translated *indignum ejus in quo et deo gratus vere es*.

17 Θεῷ] g₁g₂g₄; τῷ Θεῷ g₃. 18 Ἀντιοχείων] ἀντιοχειαῶν g₁g₃. Πολυκάρπῳ]

πολυκαρπου g₂. C begins at this point. 21 Δαμάς] δάμας g₁g₂g₃g₄s;

see II, p. 110sq. 22 ὁθεν...σοι] om. C. καὶ] gA; om. L; def. C.

2. ὁ δὲ καυχώμενος κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. x. 17; comp. 1 Cor. i. 31.

7. ὁ ταχὺ κ.τ.λ.] From Ecclus. xix. 4.

9. μὴ γίνου κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 11 μὴ γίνου δίψυχος ἐν προσευχῇ σου...λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἐμοὶ Πέτρῳ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, Ὀλιγόψυχε, εἰς τί ἐδίστασας;

13. ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Suggested by 1 Tim. v. 21.

15. φύλαζόν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. vi. 21.

20. Βίτος] See the note on *Philipp.* 14.

29. Ἰσχυε] The injunction of Moses to Joshua, Deut. xxxi. 7; comp. Josh. i. 6, 7, 9.

Δαμᾶς, Πολύβιος, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀπὸ Φιλίππων, ἐν Χριστῷ, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπέστειλά σοι. ἄσπασαι τὸ θεοπρεπὲς πρεσβυτέριον. ἄσπασαι τοὺς ἁγίους συνδιακόνους σου, ὧν ἐγὼ ὀναίμην ἐν Χριστῷ, σαρκί τε καὶ πνεύματι. ἄσπασαι τὸν
 25 λαὸν Κυρίου ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου κατ' ὄνομα· οὓς παρατίθην σοι, ὡς Μωυσῆς Ἰησοῦ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν στρατηγῷ· καὶ μὴ σοι φανῇ βαρὺ τὸ λεχθέν· εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐσμέν τοιοῦτοι οἱοὶ ἐκείνοι, ἀλλ' οὖν γε εὐχόμεθα γενέσθαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ ἐσμέν παῖδες. ἴσχυε οὖν, ὦ Ἡρων, ἡρωϊκῶς καὶ
 30 ἀνδρικῶς· σὺ γὰρ εἰσάξεις ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἐξάξεις τὸν λαὸν Κυρίου τὸν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, καὶ οὔκ ἔσται ἡ συναγωγὴ Κυρίου ὡς πρόβατα οἷς οὔκ ἔστιν ποιμήν.

IX. Ἀσπασαι Κασσιανὸν τὸν ξένον μου, καὶ τὴν σεμνοτάτην αὐτοῦ ὁμόζυγον, καὶ τὰ φίλτατα αὐτῶν παιδία· οἷς
 35 δώσει ὁ Θεὸς εἶρεῖν ἔλεον παρὰ Κυρίου ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, τῇς εἰς ἡμᾶς διακονίας· οὓς καὶ παρατίθην σοι ἐν Χριστῷ. ἄσπασαι τοὺς ἐν Λαοδικίᾳ πιστοὺς ἅπαντας κατ' ὄνομα ἐν Χριστῷ. τῶν ἐν Ταρσῷ μὴ ἀμέλει, ἀλλὰ συνεχέστερον αὐτοὺς ἐπίβλεπε, ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Μάριν

23 ἁγίους] gLiA; om. C.

26 Μωυσῆς] g₄ (contrary to its general practice)

Ll[C]; μωσῆς] g₁g₂g₃[A?].

αὐτὸν] g₁g₂g₃LAC; αὐτοῦ g₄; al. l.

27 εἰ]

txt LiC; add. γὰρ gA.

τοιοῦτοι οἱοὶ] om. C alone.

31 ἡ] g₁g₃g₄;

om. g₂.

33 Κασσιανὸν] gLi; *kasianum* [C]; *kisianum* [A]; comp. *Antioch.*

13, and see p. 149.

34 αὐτῶν] gLiA; αὐτοῦ C.

παιδία] παιδεία g₂.

35 δώσει] g₂g₄; *dabit* L; δῶν (δῶν) g₁g₃ (from 2 Tim. i. 18); *det* 1; dub. AC.

36 Χριστῷ] txt gLiC; add. ἰησοῦ L.

37 Λαοδικία] g₁g₂g₃[C]; *λαοδικεία* g₄;

laodicia (v. l. *laodicea*) 1; dub. A. For L see p. 58.

39 αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέ-

λιον] *iis evangelium* A; αὐτοὺς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον g₁g₂g₃; αὐτοὺς τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ g₄; *eos in*

evangelium C; *eos in evangelio* 1; *ipsos secundum evangelium* L. The editors read

αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

Μάριν] *marim* L; *marinum* (ΜΑΡΙΝΟΣ) C; *ma-*

rianum A; *marium* 1: see above p. 137.

30. εἰσάξεις κ.τ.λ.] Words borrowed from the functions assigned to Joshua on his appointment, Num. xxvii. 17.

33. Κασσιανὸν] See the note on *Ign. Mar.* 5.

35. δώσει ὁ Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] Quoted from 2 Tim. i. 18, but not quite verbatim.

37. Λαοδικία] The Syrian Laodicea; not the Phrygian city mentioned by S. Paul (Col. ii. 1, iv. 13, 15, 16) and S. John (Rev. iii. 14 sq.). For the orthography of the word see the evidence in the passages of the N. T. just cited.

39. Μάριν] See the note on *Mar. Ign.* 1.

τὸν ἐν Νέα πόλει τῇ πρὸς Ζαρβῶ ἐπίσκοπον προσαγορεύω
ἐν Κυρίῳ. πρόσκειπε δὲ καὶ τὴν σεμνοτάτην Μαρίαν τὴν
θυγατέρα μου τὴν πολυμαθεστάτην, καὶ τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῆς
ἐκκλησίαν ἧς ἀντίψυχον γενοίμην· τὸ ἐξεμπλᾶριον τῶν εὐσε-
βῶν γυναικῶν. ὑγιαίνοντά σε καὶ ἐν πάσιν εὐδοκιμοῦντα 5
ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς φυλάττοι
ἐπὶ μήκιστον [βίου] χρόνον εἰς ὠφέλειαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
ἔρρωσο ἐν Κυρίῳ, καὶ προσεύχου ἵνα τελειωθῶ.

I 2.

ΠΡΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥΣ.

ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει 10
Θεοῦ πατρὸς πληρώματι, τῇ καὶ προωρισμένῃ πρὸ
αἰώνων εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν παράμονον, ἄτρεπτον,
ἡνωμένην καὶ ἐκλελεγμένην ἐν πάθει ἀληθινῷ ἐν θελήματι
Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος
ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῳ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ 15
τῆς Ἀσίας, πλείστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ
χαίρειν.

1 πρὸς Ζαρβῶ] *ad zarbo* L; *apud (prope) zarbo* C; *secus zarbo* l; *prope ad derbim fluvium* A; πρὸς ἀναζαρβῶ g₁g₂s; πρὸς ἀναζάρβω g₄; πρὸς ἀναζαρκῶ g₃; see *Mar. Ign.* 1. 2 Μαρίαν τὴν] om. g₂. 6 δι' αὐτοῦ] g₁; *per* (om. αὐτοῦ) LC; om. (altogether) A. τοῦ] repeated in g. φυλάττοι g₁g₄sLlAC; φυλάττει g₂g₃. 7 ἐπὶ μήκιστον βίου χρόνον] g; *in longum vivere* L; *aeno longiore* l; *in longum tempus* C; *per longa tempora* A. τῆς ἐκκλησίας] lA; *ecclesiae christi* L; τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας gC.

Subscr. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἥρωνα διάκονον (ἥρωνα δάκοναν g₂) ἀντιοχείας g₁g₂. In the marg. of g₁ is the number ι. No subscr. in g₃g₄ACL.

προς εφεσιους] g₄ (with ια in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἐφεσίους g₁g₂ (with ια in the marg. of both MSS); ἰγνατίου ἐπισκόπου ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἐφεσίους g₅ (with α' in the marg.); τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου θεοδόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἐφεσίους. ια. g₃.

10 ἐν] g₁g₂g₃g₄s with I; om. g₅l, but l here degenerates into a paraphrase, *magnitudine patris dei repletas*. 11 πληρώματι] g₁g₂g₄g₅ with I (see II. p. 22); καὶ πληρώματι g₃. See the previous note for l. 12 παράμονον] g₁g₂g₃g₅ I;

singulari l; παραμένειν g₄. 15 ἀξιομακαρίστῳ] g₁g₂g₃g₄s l I; *θεομακαρίσ-*

I. πρὸς Ζαρβῶ] See the note on *Mar. Ign.* I.

I. Ἀποδεξάμενος ὑμῶν ἐν Θεῷ τὸ πολυπόθητον ὄνομα, ὃ κέκτησθε φύσει δικαίᾳ κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν Χριστῷ
 20 Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτήρι ἡμῶν· μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ φιланθρωπίας, ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Χριστοῦ, τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε· ἀκούσαντες γάρ με δεδεμένον ἀπὸ Συρίας ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, τῆς κοινῆς ἐλπίδος, πεποιθότα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχῆσαι, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ μαρτυ-
 25 ρίου δυνηθῶ μαθητῆς εἶναι τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐαγτόν ἀνενεγκόντος Θεῷ προσφοράν καὶ θυσίαν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πολυπλήθειαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀπέληφα ἐν Ὁνησίμῳ, τῷ ἐπ' ἀγάπῃ ἀδιηγῆτω, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπῳ· ὃν εὐχομαι κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ὑμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν ὁμοίωματι
 30 αὐτοῦ εἶναι· εὐλογητὸς γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ χαρισάμενος ὑμῖν τοιούτοις οὓσιν τοιοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον κεκτήσθαι ἐν Χριστῷ.

II. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ συνδούλου ἡμῶν Βούρρου, τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν διακόνου ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν εὐλογημένου, εὐχομαι παραμεῖναι αὐτὸν ἄμωμον εἰς τιμὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ
 35 ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν τοῦ μακαριωτάτου. Κρόκος δὲ ὁ Θεοῦ ἄξιος καὶ ὑμῶν, ὃν ὡς ἐξεμπλᾶριον τῆς ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀγάπης ἀπελάβομεν, κατὰ πάντα με ἀνέπαυσεν καὶ τὴν ἄλγυσίν μοι οὐκ ἐπησχύνθη, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναψύξει, ἅμα Ὁνησίμῳ καὶ Βούρρῳ καὶ Εὐπλοῖ καὶ Φρόντωνι, δι'

τῷ g₅. 16 Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] g₁g₂sg₃g₄s¹l; χριστῷ ἰησοῦ g₅. 18 ἀποδε-
 ξάμενος] g₁g₂g₄g₅l I; ἀπεδεξάμεν g₃. This is only one of several alterations, by which g₃ endeavours to remedy the anacolutha and mend the grammar of the text in the passage which follows. 19 Χριστῷ] g₁g₂sg₃g₅s¹l I*; κυρίῳ g₄.
 20 σωτήρι] g₁g₂g₃g₄s¹l I; κυρίῳ g₅. 21 ἀναζωπυρήσαντες] add. οὖν g₃. 22 ἀπηρτίσατε] ἀπηρτήσατε g₂. γάρ] g₁g₂sg₃g₄g₅s¹l I; om. g₃. 23 πεποιθότα] g₃g₄s¹l (comp. I); πεποιθότες g₁g₂g₅. 25 ἀνενεγκόντος] g₁g₃g₄g₅g₅ I; ἀνεγκαντος g₂. 26 ἐπεὶ] g₁g₂g₄g₅l I; ἐγὼ μὲν g₃. πολυπλήθειαν] g₁g₃g₄g₅s¹l I; πολυπάθειαν g₂. 32 Βούρρου] I (see II. p. 33); burro I; βίρρου (or βίβρου) g₁g₂sg₃g₄s; βήβρου g₅ ('η secundis curis' Dressel). 38 ἐπησχύνθη] g₁g₃g₄g₅s; ἐπαισχύνθη g₂. 39 Ὁνησίμῳ] ὀνισήμῳ g₂. Βούρρῳ] I; burro I; βίρρω (βίβρω) g₁g₃g₄s; βήβρω g₂; βίβρω altered into βήβρω g₅. Εὐπλοῖ] g₁g₃g₄s; εὐπλοι g₂; εὐπλόη g₅. Φρόντωνι] g₁g₃g₄g₅s; φρόντωνι g₂.

25. τοῦ ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.] Adapted from Ephes. v. 2.

37. καὶ τὴν ἄλυσίν μου κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Tim. i. 16.

ὧν πάντας ὑμᾶς κατὰ ἀγάπην εἶδον. ὀναίμην ὑμῶν διὰ παντός, εἰάν περ ἄξιός ᾧ. πρόπον οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐστὶν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δοξάζειν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν δοξάσαντα ὑμᾶς· ἵνα ἐν μιᾷ ὑποταγῇ ἦτε, καθηρτισμένοι τῷ αὐτῷ νοῖ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα ὑποτασσόμενοι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ κατὰ πάντα ᾗτε ἡγιασμένοι.

III. Οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν, ὡς ὦν τι. εἰ γὰρ καὶ δέδεμαι διὰ τὸ ὄνομα, οὐπω ἀπήρτισμαι ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ. νῦν γὰρ ἀρχὴν ἔχω τοῦ μαθητεύεσθαι, καὶ προσλαλῶ ὑμῖν ὡς ὁμοδούλοις· ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔδει παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπομνησθῆναι πίστει, νοουθεσίᾳ, ὑπομονῇ, μακροθυμίᾳ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔσθ' με σιωπᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν, διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅπως συντρέχητε τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς πάντα κατὰ γνώμην πράττει τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς αὐτός που λέγει· ἐγὼ τὰ ἀρεστὰ αὐτοῦ ποιῶ πάντοτε. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς χρὴ ζῆν κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ καὶ ζηλοῦν, ὡς Παῦλος· μίμηταί γάρ μοι, φησί, γίνεσθε, καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ.

IV. Ὅθεν καὶ ὑμῖν πρέπει συντρέχειν τῇ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου γνώμῃ τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν ποιμαίνοντος ὑμᾶς· ὅπερ καὶ ποιεῖτε αὐτοί, σοφισθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος. τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμαστον πρεσβυτέριον, ἄξιον ὃν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὕτως συνήρμωσται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρας, συνδεδεμένοι οὕτω τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ συμφώνῳ ἀγάπῃ, ἥς ἐστὶν ἀρχηγὸς καὶ

1 ὑμᾶς] ὑμᾶς ὑμᾶς g₂.

2 πρόπον] πρόπων g₂.

4 ὑποταγῇ] *prae-*

ceptione (ἐπιταγῇ) l.

noῖ] add. καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι g₄ (not supported by any

other authority).

5 λέγητε] g₄g₅; *dicatis* l; λέγετε g₁g₂g₃.

9 ὄνομα]

txt g₁g₂g₄g₅; add. αὐτοῦ g₃; add. *jesu christi* l.

Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ] g₁g₂g₃ l;

χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ g₄g₅; def. l.

14 συντρέχητε] συντρέχετε g₂.

καὶ γὰρ] g₃

omits from here to κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ. The omission is explained by the homœoteleuton.

15 ὥς] καθὼς g₄ alone.

16 αὐτοῦ] g₁g₂g₄ (but g₄ transposes,

ποιῶ αὐτοῦ) g₅; def. g₃. The edd. read αὐτῷ, as it stands in Joh. viii. 29. In

4. ᾗτε, καθηρτισμένοι κ.τ.λ.] From I Cor. i. 10, the clauses being transposed.

Joh. viii. 29.

18. μίμηταί ... μου κ.τ.λ.] From I Cor. xi. i.

16. ἐγὼ τὰ ἀρεστὰ κ.τ.λ.] From

30. δὸς...αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.] A very loose

φύλαξ Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός. καὶ οἱ κατ' ἄνδρα δὲ χορὸς
 γένεσθε εἰς, ἵνα σύμφωνοι ὄντες ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ, συνάφειαν Θεοῦ
 λαβόντες, ἐν ἐνότητι ἐν γένησθε τῇ συμφωνίᾳ τῷ Θεῷ πατρὶ
 καὶ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν·
 30 δὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς, φησί, πάτερ ἄγιε, ἵνα ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἐν ἐσμεν,
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐν ὧσιν. χρήσιμον οὖν ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς ἐν
 ἀμώμῳ ἐνότητι συνημμένους Θεῷ μιμητὰς εἶναι Χριστοῦ,
 οὗ καὶ μέλη ὑπάρχετε.

V. Εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐν μικρῷ χρόνῳ τοιαύτην συνήθειαν
 35 ἔσχον πρὸς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν, οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην οὔσαν
 ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς μακαρίζω τοὺς ἀνα-
 κεκραμένους αὐτῷ, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ὁ
 Κύριος τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα πάντα ἐν ἐνότητι σύμ-
 φωνα ᾦ. μηδεὶς πλανάσθω· ἐὰν μή τις ἐντὸς ἧ τοῦ θυσιασ-
 40 τηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ἐνὸς καὶ
 δευτέρου προσευχὴ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, ὥστε τὸν Χριστὸν
 ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστάναι, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ
 πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσευχὴ σύμφωνος ἀνιούσα πρὸς
 Θεὸν πιστοῖ παρασχεθῆναι αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ ἐν Χρισ-
 45 τῷ αἰτήματα. ὁ οὖν τῶν τοιούτων χωριζόμενος καὶ μὴ
 συνερχόμενος ἐν βουλῇ θυσιῶν καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων
 ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανῷ λόκος ἐστὶν ἐν προβάτου δορᾷ,
 ἡμερον ἐπιδεικνὺς μορφήν. σπουδάσατε, ἀγαπητοί, ὑποτα-
 γῇ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις·

I it is rendered *quae placita sunt ei*, as in the Vulgate.

17 [ζηλοῦν] [ζηλοῖν] g₂.

23 οὕτως] g₁g₂g₃g₄ I; οὕτω g₅.

24 συνδεδεμένοι] g; *colligatae* (συνδεδε-

μέναι) l. 25 ἧς] g₁g₂g₃g₄; *cujus* l; ἧ g₅.

26 ὁ Χριστός] g₁g₂g₅;

χριστός g₃g₄.

28 γένησθε] g₁g₃g₄; γένεσθε g₂g₅.

πατρὶ] g₁g₂g₃g₄;

l; καὶ πατρὶ g₅.

30 σὺ] σοὶ g₂.

36 ἀνακεκραμένους] g₄; ἀνακε-

κραμμένους g₂g₅; ἀνακεκραμμένους g₁g₃; *qui pendetis* l. For the reading of I see II. p. 43.

44 πιστοῖ] g₃; *persuadet* l; πίστει g₁g₂g₅; πιστή g₄. The edd.

(before Zahn) generally read *πέσει*, and Dressel has *πίστει πέσει*.

47 οὐ-

ρανῷ] οὐρανός g₄ alone (with Heb. xii. 23).

quotation made up of John xvii. 11, 21.

46. ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων κ.τ.λ.] From Heb. xii. 23. The next ex-

pression, λόκος ἐν προβάτου δορᾷ, suggested by Matt. vii. 15, occurs also in *Hero* 2.

ὁ γὰρ τούτοις ὑποτασσόμενος ὑπακούει Χριστῷ τῷ προχειρισμένῳ αὐτούς· ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν αὐτοῖς ἀπειθεῖ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν τῷ γίῳ οὐκ ὀφείλει τὴν ζωὴν, ἀλλ' ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μένει ἐπ' αὐτόν· αὐθάδης γάρ ἐστιν καὶ δύσερις, ὑπερήφανος, ὁ μὴ πειθαρχῶν τοῖς κρείττοσιν. ὑπερηφάνοις δέ, φησὶν, 5 ὁ Θεὸς ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν· καί, ὑπερήφανοι παρηνόμοουν ἕως σφόδρα· λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς, ὁ ἡμῶν ἀκούων ἐμοῦ ἀκούει, καὶ ὁ ἐμοῦ ἀκούων ἀκούει τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός· ὁ ἡμᾶς ἀθετῶν ἐμὲ ἀθετεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἐμὲ ἀθετῶν ἀθετεῖ τὸν πέμψαντά με. 10

VI. Ὅσῳ οὖν βλέπετε σιωπῶντα τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, πλείον αὐτὸν φοβεῖσθε. πάντα γὰρ ὃν πέμπει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης εἰς ἰδίαν οἰκονομίαν, οὕτως αὐτὸν δεῖ ἡμᾶς δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν πέμψαντα. τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δηλονότι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν, τῷ Κυρίῳ παρεστῶτα· ὁρατικὸν δὲ 15 ἄνδρα καὶ ὄξην τοῖς ἔργοις βασιλεῖς δεῖ παρεστάναι, καὶ μὴ παρεστάναι ἀνθρώποις νωθροῖς. αὐτοὺς μέντοι Ὀνήσιμος ὑπερεπαινεῖ ὑμῶν τὴν ἐν Θεῷ εὐταξίαν, ὅτι πάντες κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ζῆτε, καὶ ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδεμία αἵρεσις κατοικεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀκούετέ τινος ἢ μόνου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ 20

I ὁ...ὑποτασσόμενος] οἱ...ὑποτασσόμενοι g₄ alone (notwithstanding that it has a sing. verb ὑπακούει). ὑπακούει] g₁g₃g₄g₅^s; *obedit* l; ὑπακούσει g₂. 9 ἀκού-

ει] g₁g₂g₃g₄l; οὐκ ἀκούσει ἐμοῦ ἀλλὰ g₅. 10 πέμψαντα] g₁g₃g₄g₅^s;

ἀποστείλαντα g₂ (from Luke x. 16). 11 οὖν] g₁g₃g₄g₅^sl; om. g₂. 12 πέμ-

πει] g₁g₂g₃g₄^s I; *mittit* l; πέμψει g₅. 13 ἡμᾶς] g₁g₂g₃g₅^sl I; ὑμᾶς

g₄. 16 παρεστάναι] g₁g₂g₃g₄^sl (as in Prov. xxii. 29); om. g₅. 17 ἀν-

θρώποις νωθροῖς] ἀνθρώπους νωθροὺς g₃ against all the other authorities. In Prov.

xxii. 29 it is ἀνδρασι νωθροῖς. 18 ὅτι] g₁g₂g₄g₅^sl I; καὶ ὅτι g₃. κατὰ]

g₁g₂g₃g₅^s; κατ' g₄. 22 διὰ τὸ καὶ] g₁g₂g₃; διὰ τὸ g₅; *quoniam* l;

καὶ (om. διὰ τὸ) g₄. 25 τοιοῦνδε παιδευταῖν] τοιῶνδε παιδευτῶν, all the

2. ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. iii. 6.

5. ὑπερηφάνοις κ.τ.λ.] See the note on *Hero* 5.

6. ὑπερήφανοι κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cxviii (cxix). 51.

7. λέγει δὲ κ.τ.λ.] The quotation which follows is taken mainly from Luke x. 16, but the clause καὶ ὁ

ἐμοῦ...πατρός does not occur there.

15. ὁρατικόν—ἄνδρα κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. xxii. 29.

22. ἐν σώμα κ.τ.λ.] The expressions are borrowed from Ephes. iv. 4—6.

25. ὑπὸ τοιοῦνδε κ.τ.λ.] 'under two such instructors.' Considering the reading of the MSS, there cannot,

ποιμένος καὶ διδασκάλου· καὶ ἐστέ, ὡς Παῦλος ὑμῖν ἔγραφεν, ἐν σῶμα καὶ ἐν πνεῦμα διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι κεκληθῆσθαι τῆς πίστεως· ἐπέειπερ καὶ εἰς Κύριος, μία πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, εἰς Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ πάντων ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων
25 καὶ ἐν πάσιν. ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐστε τοιοῦτοι, ὑπὸ τοιοῦνδε παιδευταῖν στοιχειωθέντες, Παύλῳ τῷ χριστοφόρῳ καὶ Τιμοθέῳ τῷ πιστοτάτῳ.

VII. Τινὲς δὲ φαυλότατοι εἰώθασιν δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, ἄλλα τινὰ πράσσοντες ἀνάξια Θεοῦ καὶ
30 φρονοῦντες ἐναντία τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίας ἐπ' ὁλήθρῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πειθομένων αὐτοῖς· οὓς δεῖ ὑμᾶς ὡς θηρία ἐκκλίνειν· δίκαιος γὰρ ἐκκλίνας σώζεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· πρόχειρος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐπίχαρτος ἀσεβῶν ἀπώλεια· εἰσὶ γὰρ κύνες ἐνεοί, οὗ ἄγνάμενοι ὕλακτεῖν, λυσσῶντες, λαθρο-
35 δῆκτοι, οὓς φυλάσσεσθαι χρή· ἀνίατα γὰρ νοσοῦσιν. ἱατρὸς δὲ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεός, ὁ ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀπρόσιτος, ὁ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος, τοῦ δὲ μονογενοῦς πατρὸς καὶ γεννήτωρ. ἔχομεν ἱατρὸν καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν, τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων υἱὸν μονογενῆ καὶ
40 λόγον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου· ὁ λόγος γὰρ σὰρξ ἐγένετο, ὁ ἀσώματος ἐν σώματι, ὁ ἀπαθὴς

Greek MSS. In 1 it is *a tali eruditi estis, hoc est a paulo christifero et timotheo fidelissimo*. I have made the correction on account of the datives which follow: see the lower note.

26 Παύλῳ τῷ χριστοφόρῳ] g₁g₂g₅; παύλου τοῦ χριστοφόρου g₃g₄g₅. Τιμοθέῳ τῷ πιστοτάτῳ] g₁g₂g₅; τιμοθέου τοῦ πιστοτάτου g₃g₄g₅.

29 ἄλλα τινὰ] g₁g₂g₄g₅; ἀλλά τινα g₃; *sed aliquanta* 1: see above II. p. 47. 33 ἀπώλεια] ἀπόλεια g₁. 34 κύνες] *kolnes* g₂. οὗ] g₁g₂g₃g₄g₅.

1; οἱ g₅. λυσσῶντες] λυσσοῦντες g₂. λαθροδῆκτοι] All the mss. Many edd. have λαθροδῆκται. 38 καὶ sec.] om. g₄ alone. 39 τὸν Χριστόν]

g₁g₂g₃; χριστὸν (om. τὸν) g₄g₅. 40 Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου] παρθένου μαρίας g₄ alone.

I think, be any doubt that the text should be read as I have restored it. For this use of ὑπὸ with the dative comp. e.g. Plat. *Lach.* p. 184 E ὑπὸ παιδοτρίβῃ ἀγαθῷ πεπαιδευμένος καὶ ἡσκήκως; *Resph.* viii. p. 558 D υἱὸς ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ τετραμμένος.

32. δίκαιος κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. x. 25, xi. 4.

34. κύνες ἐνεοί, κ.τ.λ.] From Is. lvi. 10: see the note on *Antioch.* 6.

36. ὁ μόνος κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. xvii. 3.

41. ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. i. 14.

ἐν παθητῷ σώματι, ὁ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι, ἡ ζωὴ ἐν φθορᾷ, ὅπως θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς ἐλευθερώσῃ καὶ ἰατρεύσῃ τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἰάσῃται αὐτὰς νοσηλευθείσας ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ πονηραῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.

VIII. Μὴ οὖν τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατάτω, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐξαπα- 5
τᾶσθε· ὅλοι γὰρ ἐστε Θεοῦ. ὅταν γὰρ μηδεμία ἐπιθυμία ἐν
ὑμῖν ὑπάρχῃ δυναμένη ὑμᾶς ῥυπᾶναι καὶ βάσανον ἐπαγαγεῖν,
ἄρα κατὰ Θεὸν ζήτε, καὶ ἐστὲ Χριστοῦ. περίψημα ὑμῶν
καὶ τῆς ἀγνωστῆς Ἐφεσίων ἐκκλησίας τῆς διαβοήτου καὶ
πολυῦμνήτου τοῖς αἰῶσιν. οἱ σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πρᾶτ- 10
τειν οὐ δύνανται, οὐδὲ οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικά· ὥστε οὐδὲ
ἡ πίστις τὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας οὐδὲ ἡ ἀπιστία τὰ τῆς πίστεως.
ὑμεῖς δέ, πλήρεις ὄντες τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, οὐδὲν σαρκικὸν
ἀλλὰ πνευματικὰ πάντα πράσσετε· ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τελει-
οῦσθε, ὅς ἐστιν σωτὴρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, μάλιστα πιστῶν. 15

IX. Ἐγνων δέ τινας παροδεύσαντας δι' ὑμῶν ἔχοντας
κακὴν διδαχὴν ἀλλοκότου καὶ πονηροῦ πνεύματος· οἷς οὐκ
ἐδώκατε πάροδον σπεῖραι τὰ ζιζάνια, βύσαντες τὰ ὄτα εἰς τὸ
μὴ παραδέξασθαι τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταγγελλομένην πλάνην,
πεπεισμένοι τὸ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα οὐ τὰ Χριστοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ 20

1 ὁ ἀθάνατος ἐν θνητῷ σώματι] g₁g₂sg₃l; om. g₄g₅ (by homeoteleuton).
2 ἐλευθερώσῃ καὶ ἰατρεύσῃ] g₁g₃g₄sg₅s; ἐλευθερώσει καὶ ἰατρεύσει g₂. 5 ἐξα-
πατάτω] ἐξατάτω g₂. ὥσπερ] g₃ I; ὅπερ g₁g₂g₄g₅; and l seems to have
had this reading, for it translates loosely *nullus ergo vestrum seducatur, quod et de*
vobis confido.

6 ὅλοι] g₁g₂sg₄sg₅s [I]; ὅλως g₃; al. l. 7 ὑπάρχῃ]
g₁g₄g₅s; ὑπάρχει g₂g₃. 8 ἐστὲ Χριστοῦ. περίψημα ὑμῶν] g₁g₂g₄sg₅; *erit*
(ἔσται) *christi subiectio vestra* l; ἐστὲ Χριστοῦ· περίψημα δὲ ὑμῶν (also adding ἐκβάλλετε
at the end of the sentence after τοῖς αἰῶσιν) g₃; see II. p. 59 sq. The interpolator
has left the words of the original, merely altering the (to him) unintelligible ἀγνί-
ζομαι into ἀγνωστῆς.

9 ἀγνωστῆς] g₁g₂sg₃g₄s; ἀγνωστῆς g₅; om. l.
διαβοήτου] *auxiliatrix* l (some confusion with βοηθοῦ). 12 ἀπιστίας] ἀπιστείας
g₁g₂g₃. ἀπιστία] ἀπιστεία g₁g₂g₃. 13 ὑμεῖς] ἡμεῖς g₄ (notwithstanding
the following πράσσετε).

14 πνευματικὰ] g₁g₃g₄sg₅l; πνεύματι καὶ g₂.
20 λαοπλάνον] λαοπνάνον g₅. 22 ἀλλὰ sec.] ἀλλ' g₅. 23 τὰ] g₁g₃g₄sg₅s;
om. g₂. 24 κατήγγελλεν] g₁g₂sg₄s; κατήγγειλεν g₃; ἀπήγγελλεν g₅;
annunciati l. 26 λαλήσει] λαλήσε (sic) g₂. 28 ἔδωκας] g₁g₂sg₃

15. ὅς ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Tim. are taken from John xiv. 24 ὁ λόγος
iv. 10. κ.τ.λ., Joh. xvi. 13 οὐ λαλήσει κ.τ.λ.,
24. κατήγγελλεν] The quotations Joh. xvii. 4, 6 ἐγὼ σε ἐδόξασα κ.τ.λ.,

ἴδια λαλεῖν· ψευδολόγον γάρ ἐστιν· τὸ δὲ ἅγιον πνεῦμα οὐ
 τὰ ἴδια ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ
 τοῦ Κυρίου· ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῖν
 κατήγγελλεν· ὁ λόγος γάρ, φησὶν, ὃν ἀκούετε, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸς
 25 ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμψαντός με πατρός· καὶ περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ
 ἁγίου, οὗ λαλήσει, φησὶν, ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ παρ'
 ἐμοῦ. καὶ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ φησι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ἐγὼ σε, φησὶν,
 ἐδόξασα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἔδωκάς μοι, ἐτελείωσα·
 ἐφανέρωσά σοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. καὶ περὶ τοῦ
 30 ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ δοξάζει, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λαμ-
 βάνει. τὸ δὲ πλάνον πνεῦμα ἑαυτὸν κηρύττει, τὰ ἴδια λαλεῖ·
 αὐτάρεσκον γάρ ἐστιν· ἑαυτὸν δοξάζει, τύφου γάρ ἐστι μεστόν·
 ψευδολόγον ὑπάρχει, ἀπατηλόν, θωπευτικόν, κολακευτικόν,
 ὑπουλον, ῥαψωδόν, φλύαρον, ἀσύμφωνον, ἀμετροεπές, γλίσ-
 35 χρον, ψοφοδεές· οὗ τῆς ἐνεργείας ῥύσεται ὑμᾶς Ἰησοῦς ὁ
 Χριστὸς ὁ θεμελιώσας ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, ὡς λίθους
 ἐκλεκτούς, συναρμολογουμένους εἰς οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ πατρός·
 ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
 σταυρωθέντος, σχοίνῳ χρώμενοι τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι· πίστει
 40 δὲ ἀναγόμενοι, καὶ ἀγάπῃ κουφίζόμενοι ἐκ γῆς πρὸς οὐρανόν,

g₅; δέδωκός g₄. 29 σου τὸ ὄνομα] τὸ ὄνομά σου g₄ alone. 30 λαμβάνει] add.
et annuntiabit vobis ergo uterque eorum ipsum glorificat, a quo accepit quod faceret, et
ipsum praeedicat, atque eius verba pronunciat l. 31 ἑαυτὸν] g₁g₂g₄; ἑαυτὸ
 g₃g₅; dub. l. 32 ἑαυτὸν] g₁g₅ (but corrected) g₂ (probably); ἑαυτὸ g₃g₄s; dub. l.
 τύφου...μεστόν] g₁g₂s g₃; om. g₄g₅; *acerbus namque est, plenus l.* 33 κολακευ-
 τικόν] g₁g₃g₄s g₅; om. g₂ (by homœoteleuton); and l has only one word *lubricus* for
 the two, θωπευτικόν, κολακευτικόν. 34 φλύαρον] φλοῖαρον g₁g₂. 35 ὑμᾶς] g₃;
 ἡμᾶς g₁g₂g₄g₅; nos [I]. ὃ] g₄g₅ (see I. p. 265); om. g₁g₂s g₃. 36 ὑμᾶς]
 g₁g₂s g₃g₅; ἡμᾶς g₄; nos l. ὡς] om. g₄ alone. 37 συναρμολογουμένους] ἀρτί
 l; εὐαρμολογουμένους all the Greek MSS. For this conjectural reading which I have
 substituted comp. Ephes. ii. 21. The change is slight, $\overline{\text{c}}\gamma$ for $\epsilon\gamma$. Θεοῦ] l I;
 θείου g₄; θεῖαν g₁g₂s g₃g₅. 38 ἀναφερόμενοι] g₁g₅ [I]; ἀναφερομένοι (sic) g₂;
 ἀναφερομένους g₃g₄s. The interpolator has forgotten to alter the nom. which he found
 in the original and then has made the following participles to conform. ὕψη]
 ὕψει g₂. 40 ἀναγόμενοι] g₁g₅; ἀναγώμενοι g₂; ἀναγομένους g₃g₄s. κουφι-
 ζόμενοι] g₁g₂g₅; κουφίζόμενους g₃g₄s. γῆς πρὸς] τῆς ὑπ' g₄ alone (the
 expression borrowed from Luke xvii. 24).

Joh. xvi. 14 ἐκεῖνος κ.τ.λ. Of the τὰ ἴδια λαλεῖ from Joh. viii. 44, and
 expressions which follow ἑαυτὸν κη- ἑαυτὸν δοξάζει from Joh. viii. 54.
 ρύπτει is modified from 2 Cor. iv. 5,

συνοδοιοποροῦντες ἅμα ἀμώμως. μακάριοι γάρ, φησίν, οἱ ἀμωμοὶ ἐν ὁδῷ, οἱ πορευόμενοι ἐν νόμῳ Κυρίου· ὁδὸς δέ ἐστιν ἀπλανὴς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός· ἐγὼ γάρ, φησίν, εἰμὶ ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ζωὴ· ὁδηγεῖ δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ. μακάριοι οὖν ἔστε ὑμεῖς 5 οἱ θεοφόροι, πνευματοφόροι, ναοφόροι, ἁγιοφόροι, κατὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένοι ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, βασιλεῖον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἄγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν· δι' οὗς ἀγαλλιώμενος ἡξιώθη δι' ὧν γράφω προσομιλῆσαι τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. χαίρω 10 οὖν ἐφ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι μὴ τῇ ματαιότητι προσέχετε· οὐδὲ κατὰ σάρκα ἀγαπάτε ἀλλὰ κατὰ Θεόν.

X. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε· ἔστιν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐλπίς μετανοίας, ἵνα Θεοῦ τύχωσιν· μὴ ὁ πίπτων γὰρ οὐκ ἀνίσταται; ἢ ὁ ἀποστρέφων 15 οὐκ ἐπιστρέφει; ἐπιτρέψατε οὖν αὐτοῖς μαθητευθῆναι ὑμῖν· γίνεσθε οὖν διάκονοι Θεοῦ καὶ στόμα Χριστοῦ· λέγει γὰρ ὁ Κύριος, ἐὰν ἐξαγάγητε ἐξ ἀναζίου τίμιον, ὡς στόμα μου ἔσσεσθε. γίνεσθε πρὸς τὰς ὀργὰς αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες· ἀντιτάξατε πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς τὰς ἐκτενεῖς 20 εὐχάς· αὐτῶν πλανωμένων, στήκετε ὑμεῖς ἐν τῇ πίστει ἐδραῖοι·

I συνοδοιοποροῦντες] g₁g₂g₅; συνοδοιοποροῦντας g₃g₄s. ἀμώμως] g₄; *immaculate* l; ἀμώμοις g₁s₂g₃g₅s. 3 ὁ Χριστός] g₁g₃g₄s₅s; χριστός (om. ὁ) g₂. 4 γὰρ] g₁g₂g₄g₅; add. φησίν g₃ l. 6 πνευματοφόροι ναοφόροι ἁγιοφόροι] g₁g₃; καὶ ναοφόροι χριστοφόροι ἁγιοφόροι I; πνευματοφόροι ἁγιοφόροι g₂g₄; *spiritiferi sanctifieri templifieri* l; om. g₅. 13 δὲ] here g₁g₂s₃g₅s; after ὑπὲρ g₄. 16 ἐπιτρέψατε] I; ἐπιστρέψατε g₁g₂s₃g₄s₅s; *convertimini* l. The v. l. ἐπιστρέψατε is due to the accidental proximity of ἐπιστρέφει. αὐτοῖς] g₂g₅ with I; αὐτοὺς g₃g₄s; al. l. 22 ἐν sec.] g₃; *per* l (it has translated the previous ἐν by *per*); om. g₁g₂g₄g₅. The omission is probably due to the similar ending -ΟΝΕΝ. 24 Δαυιδ] δαδ g₁. διώ]

1. μακάριοι κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. cxviii (cxix). I.

3. ἐγὼ...εἰμὶ κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. xiv. 6.

7. βασιλεῖον κ.τ.λ.] Taken from I Pet. ii. 9.

9. τοῖς ἁγίοις κ.τ.λ.] Ephes. i. 1;

so that this Ignatian writer must have had ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in his text.

15. μὴ ὁ πίπτων κ.τ.λ.] From Jer. viii. 4. The quotation which follows, ἐὰν ἐξαγάγητε, is from Jer. xv. 19.

21. τῇ πίστει ἐδραῖοι] See the note,

ii. p. 59.

- νικήσατε τὸ ἄγριον ἦθος ἐν ἡμερότητι, τὸ ὀργίλον ἐν πραότητι· μακάριοι γὰρ οἱ πραεῖς, καὶ Μωσῆς πρῶτος παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ Δαυεὶδ πρῶτος σφόδρα. διὸ παραινεί Παῦλος,
- 25 ΔΟΥΛΟΝ, ΛΕΓΩΝ, ΚΥΡΙΟΥ Οὐ ΔΕΙ ΜΑΧΕΣΘΑΙ, ἈΛΛ' ἩΠΙΟΝ ΕἶΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ, ΔΙΔΑΚΤΙΚΟΝ, ΑΝΕΞΙΚΑΚΟΝ, ΕΝ ΠΡΑΟΤΗΤΙ ΠΑΙΔΕΥΟΝΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΝΤΙΔΙΑΤΙΘΕΜΕΝΟΥΣ. μὴ σπουδάζοντες ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ὑμᾶς· εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα γάρ, φησὶν, τοῖς ἀνταποδιδούσι μοι κακά. ἀδελφούς αὐτοὺς ποιήσωμεν τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ·
- 30 Εἶπατε γὰρ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, Ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν ἔστε· ἵνα τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου δοξασθῇ· καὶ μιμησώμεθα τὸν Κύριον, ὃς λοιδοροῦμενος οὐκ ἀντετεινεν, πάσων οὐκ ἠπείλει· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν προσηύχετο· πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς, οὐκ οἶδασιν ὃ ποιοῦσιν. εἴ τις πλέον
- 35 ἀδικηθεὶς πλείονα ὑπομείνῃ, οὗτος μακάριος· εἴ τις ἀποστερηθῇ, εἴ τις ἀθετηθῇ, διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου, οὗτος ὄντως Χριστοῦ ἔστιν. βλέπετε μὴ τοῦ διαβόλου βοτάνῃ εὐρεθῇ ἐν ὑμῖν· πικρὰ γάρ ἐστιν καὶ ἀλμυρά τις αὕτη. ΝΗΣΑΤΕ, ΣΩΦΡΟΝΗΣΑΤΕ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.
- 40 XI. Ἐσχατοὶ καιροὶ λοιπόν εἰσιν· αἰσχυνθῶμεν, φοβηθῶμεν τὴν μακροθυμίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ· μὴ τοῦ πλοῦτου τῆς

g₁g₂g₃g₄^s l; add. καὶ g₅.

25 ἡπιον] ἡπιον g₁.

28 εἰ ἀνταπέ-

δωκα...μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς] g₁g₂g₄g₅l; λέγετε δὲ g₃. It has first omitted the words owing to homœoteleuton, and then inserted λέγετε δὲ as required by the sense.

29 ἐπιεικείᾳ] ἐπιεικία g₂.

30 ἡμῶν] ἡμῶν g₃.

31 τοῦ] om. g₅.

μιμη-

σώμεθα] μιμησόμεθα g₁.

32 ἀντέτεινεν] g₁g₂;

ἀντέτεινε g₄g₅; ἀντίπε g₃; *contradicebat* l. 33 ἠπείλει] ἠπήλει g₂.

34 ὃ] g₁g₂g₃g₅^s; τί g₄

alone (after Luke xxiii. 34).

εἰ...εἰ...εἰ] g₁g₂g₃g₄g₅. (Bryennios has only

recorded the reading of g₄ in the 2nd and 3rd cases, but prob. it applies to the first also.) The edd. commonly (not Zahn) read ἐάν...ἐάν...ἐάν.

πλέον] g₁g₂g₅

g₃; πλείον g₄g₅.

35 ὑπομείνῃ] ὑπομείνει g₂.

36 τοῦ Κυρίου]

τοῦ χριστοῦ g₄ alone.

39 σωφρονήσατε] σωφρονίσατε.

22. ἐν πραότητι] The quotations which follow are from Matt. v. 5 μακάριοι κ.τ.λ., from Num. xii. 3 Μωσῆς πρῶτος κ.τ.λ., from 2 Tim. ii. 24 sq. δοῦλον Κυρίου κ.τ.λ., from Ps. vii. 4 εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα κ.τ.λ.

31. τὸν Κύριον] The passages fol-

lowing are quoted from 1 Pet. ii. 23 ὃς λοιδορούμενος κ.τ.λ., Luke xxiii. 34 πάτερ ἄφες κ.τ.λ.

38. νήψατε, σωφρονήσατε] Words taken from 1 Pet. iv. 7.

41. τοῦ πλούτου κ.τ.λ.] From Rom. ii. 4.

ΧΡΗΣΤΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΟΧΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΗΣΩΜΕΝ· ἡ γὰρ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀργὴν φοβηθῶμεν ἢ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν χάριν ἀγαπήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν βίῳ· μόνον ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εὐρεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἀληθινῶς ζῆν. χωρὶς τούτου μηδ' ἀναπνεύσαι ποτὲ ἔλησθε· οὗτος γάρ μου ἡ ἐλπίς, οὗτος τὸ καύχημα, 5 οὗτος ἀνεκλιπὴς πλοῦτος· ἐν ᾧ τὰ δεσμὰ ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης περιφέρω, τοὺς πνευματικούς μαργαρίτας, ἐν οἷς γένοιτό μοι τελειωθῆναι τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν, μέτοχον τῶν παθημάτων Χριστοῦ καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἀνεκλιπούς 10 ζωῆς· ἥς γένοιτό μοι ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἵνα ἐν κλήρῳ Ἐφεσιῶν εὐρεθῶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνῆσαν ἐν δυνάμει Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Παύλῳ, Ἰωάννῃ, Τιμοθέῳ τῷ πιστοτάτῳ.

XII. Οἶδα τίς εἰμι καὶ τίσιν γράφω· ἐγὼ ὁ ἐλάχιστος 15 Ἰγνατίος [καὶ] τοῖς ὑπὸ κίνδυνον καὶ κρίσιν παρόμοιος· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἡλεημένοι, ἐστηριγμένοι ἐν Χριστῷ· πάροδος ἐστε τῶν διὰ Θεὸν ἀναιρουμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἀβελ τοῦ δικαίου ἕως τοῦ αἵματος Ἰγνατίου τοῦ ἐλαχίστου. Παύλου συμμύσται ἐστέ, ἡγιασμένοι, μεμαρτυρημένοι ὅτι σκεῖός ἐστιν ἐκλογῆς 20

1 ἡ γὰρ] $g_1g_2g_4g_5$ I; μᾶλλον γὰρ (sic) g_3 ; plus I. 2 χάριν] I; *gratiam* I; *χαρὰν* $g_1g_2g_3g_5$; ὀργὴν g_4 . 3 βίῳ] txt $g_1g_2g_4g_5$; add. ἔστω δὲ ἡ ἐνεστῶσα *χαρὰ* καὶ ἡ ἀληθινὴ τὸ g_3 . In I the passage runs *praesentem gratiam diligamus: praesens enim gratia est, ut inveniamur in christo jesu*. There is nothing corresponding to this addition in I. 4 ἀναπνεύσαι] *ἀν ἀγνεύσαι* $g_1g_2g_4g_5$; *ἀν ἀναπνεύσαι* g_3 ; *respirare* I. The reading of g_3 is adopted commonly by the edd., though not grammatical. 5 ἔλησθε] *ἐλοισθε* g_5 . 6 οὗτος] $g_1g_2g_3g_4$; οὗτος ὁ g_5 . ἀνεκλιπὴς] LXX; ἀνεκλειπὴς g_2 ; ἀνελλειπὴς g_1g_3 ; ἀνελλιπὴς g_4g_5 . 10 ἀνεκλιπούς] ἀνεκλειπούς $g_1g_2g_3$; ἀνεκλείπτου g_4g_5 . 12 συνῆσαν] $g_1g_3g_4g_5$; *συνέεισαν* g_2 ; *conversati sunt* I. For I see II. p. 62. 15 ἐγὼ] txt $g_1g_2g_4g_5$; add. *μὲν* g_3 ; add. *itaque* I. 16 καὶ pri.] $g_1g_2g_4g_5$; om. g_3 ; al. I. 17 πάροδος ἐστε] with I; *παραδοθεὶς γε* $g_1g_2g_5$; *traditus sum autem* I; *παραδοθήσεσθε* g_4 ; *παραδοθεὶς γε ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ* g_3 . The difference between *παροδοεσθε* and *παραδοθεισγε* is not great; and *πάραδος ἐστε* was doubtless the original reading in the interpolator's text, as it is in Ignatius himself.

6. ἀνεκλιπὴς πλοῦτος] See Wisd. viii. 18; comp. Wisd. vii. 14, Luke xii. 33.

18. ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος κ.τ.λ.] From Matt. xxiii. 35.

20. σκεῖος...ἐκλογῆς] Acts ix. 15.

οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἴχνη εὐρεθῆναι, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀγίων, ὅταν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω· ὃς πάντοτε ἐν ταῖς δεήσεσιν αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει ὑμῶν.

XIII. Σπουδάζετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς
 25 εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ δόξαν· ὅταν γὰρ συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
 γένησθε, καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ ἄπρακτα
 αὐτοῦ ἐπιστρέφει τὰ πεπρωμένα βέλη πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν· ἡ
 γὰρ ὑμετέρα ὁμόνοια καὶ σύμφωνος πίστις αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐστὶν
 ὀλεθρος, τῶν δὲ ὑπασπιστῶν αὐτοῦ βάσανος. οὐδὲν ἄμεινον
 30 τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν εἰρήνης, ἐν ᾗ πᾶς πόλεμος καταργεῖται
 ἀερίων καὶ ἐπιγείων πνευμάτων· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλῃ
 πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ πρὸς ἐξουσίας
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους, πρὸς τὰ πνευ-
 ματικά τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπογρανίοις.

XIV. Οὐκοῦν οὐ λήσεται ὑμᾶς τι τῶν νοημάτων τοῦ
 διαβόλου, ἐάν, ὡς Παῦλος, τελείως εἰς Χριστὸν ἔχητε τὴν
 πίστιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ζωῆς καὶ τέλος·
 ἀρχὴ ζωῆς πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη· τὰ δὲ δύο ἐν ἐνότητι
 γενόμενα Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον ἀποτελεῖ· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα εἰς

The corruption into *παραδοθῆς* γε however was earlier than any existing authorities for the interpolator's text. The reading of g_3 is a deliberate alteration.

18 διὰ Θεὸν] *propter deum* I; *eis theon* I; διὰ χριστὸν $g_1g_2sg_3g_4sg_5s$.

19 τοῦ αἵματος] g_1g_3 ; αἵματος (om. τοῦ) $g_2g_4g_5s$. τοῦ ἐλα-

χίστου] $g_1g_2g_4g_5l$; ἐλάχιτος, ὑμεῖς δὲ g_3 . 22 Ἰησοῦ] om. g_4 alone. 23 ὑ-

μῶν] $g_1g_2g_4sg_5l$ with I; ἡμῶν g_3 . 24 πυκνότερον] ποικνότερον g_2 . 25 εὐ-

χαριστίαν] *eucharistelan* g_2 . *συνεχῶς*] here, $g_1g_2g_3g_4s$; after *αὐτὸ*, g_5 . The

order of $g_1g_2g_3g_4$ is also the order of I, which has *πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, and of I,

which translates *assidue hoc ipsum*. 26 γένησθε] $g_1g_2g_3g_4s$; γίνεσθε g_5 ;

γίνεσθε I. 27 ἐπιστρέφει] μένει g_4 alone. 28 ὑμετέρα] $g_1g_3g_4sg_5s$

I; ἡμετέρα g_2 . 30 καταργεῖται] *κατεργήται* g_2 . 31 ἀερίων] *ἀερίων*

g_2 . 32 καὶ πρὸς ἐξουσίας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κ.τ.λ.] $g_1g_2g_3$; καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας

πρὸς τοὺς κ.τ.λ. g_4 ; *et potestates et adversus* etc. I; πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς

κ.τ.λ. g_5 (in conformity with Ephes. vi. 12). 34 πονηρίας] ἐξουσίας g_3 , probably

an error of the press. 36 ἔχητε] $g_1sg_3g_4s$ with I; ἔχετε g_2g_5s . 39 δὲ

ἄλλα] δ' ἄλλα g_5 .

27. τὰ πεπρωμένα βέλη] Ephes. (Ephes. vi. 12).
 vi. 16, taken from the context of the
 quotation which follows almost im-
 mediately, οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ.

39. Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον κ.τ.λ.] A re-
 miniscence of 2 Tim. iii. 17.

καλοκαγαθίαν ἀκόλουθά ἐστιν. οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ὀφείλει ἀμαρτάνειν, οὐδὲ ἀγάπην κεκτημένος μισεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν· ὁ γὰρ εἰπών, ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου, εἶπεν, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν. οἱ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι Χριστοῦ εἶναι, οὐκ ἐξ ὧν λέγουσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν 5 πρᾶττουσι, γνωρίζονται· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ τὸ δένδρον γινώσκειται.

XV. Ἄμεινόν ἐστι σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι ἢ λαλεῖν καὶ μὴ εἶναι· οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει· καρδιά πιστεύεται, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται· τῇ μὲν εἰς δικαιοσύνην, τῷ δὲ εἰς σωτηρίαν. καλὸν τὸ διδάσκειν, ἐὰν ὁ λέγων ποιῇ· ὅς γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ, οὗτος μέγας ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ. ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, πρῶτον ἐποίησεν καὶ τότε ἐδίδαξεν, ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Λουκάς, οἷον ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν 15 ἐκκλησιῶν. οὐδὲν λανθάνει τὸν Κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κρυπτὰ ἡμῶν ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ ἐστιν. πάντα οὖν ποιῶμεν, ὡς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν κατοικοῦντος, ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοί, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν Θεός. Χριστὸς ἐν ἡμῖν λαλείτω, ὡς καὶ ἐν Παύλῳ· τὸ πνεῦμα

2 ὀφείλει] ὀφείλη g₂.

4 σεαυτόν] g₁g₂g₃; ἐαυτὸν g₄g₅.

10 πισ-

τεύεται.....ὁμολογεῖται] πιστεύετε.....ὁμολογεῖτε g₄ alone.

11 λέγων]

g₁g₃g₄g₅^s; λέγω g₂.

12 ποιήσῃ...διδάξῃ] g₂g₄g₅^s; ποιήσει, διδάξει

g₂g₃.

13 ὁ Χριστός] g₁g₂g₅; χριστὸς (om. ὁ) g₃g₄^s.

17 αὐτῷ]

g₁g₂g₃g₄g₅ with I. There is no authority for αὐτοῦ, which the edd. commonly read.

18 αὐτοῦ] αὐτῷ g₄ alone.

24 οἴκου] om. g₄

alone.

25 διδασκαλίαν] g₁g₂g₄g₅^l; ἐκκλησίαν g₃, which has been adopted

commonly by the edd. before Zahn.

26 καὶ θάνατον ὑπέμεινεν] g₁g₂g₃g₄

(ὑπέμεινε); ὑπέμεινεν καὶ θάνατον g₅.

27 ὁ Κύριος] κύριος (om. ὁ) g₄

alone.

ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ] praef. ὁ θεὸς g₄ alone.

υἱὸς· οὗ] g₁g₃g₄g₅^l; υἱοῦ

(or perhaps υἱὸς· υἱοῦ, for Dressel is not explicit) g₂.

28 λιπανθεῖς] λιπανθεῖς

3. ἀγαπήσεις κ.τ.λ.] Luke x. 27 (from Deut. vi. 5, Lev. xix. 18); comp. *Ps-Smyrn.* 6.

6. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ καρποῦ κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xii. 33.

8. μὴ εἶναι] The quotations which follow are from 1 Cor. iv. 20 οὐκ ἐν λόγῳ κ.τ.λ., and from Rom. x. 10 καρδιά κ.τ.λ.

12. os...ἂν ποιήσῃ κ.τ.λ.] Matt. v. 19. For the whole passage see *Apost. Const.* ii. 6 ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν...ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἤρξατο πρῶτον ποιεῖν καὶ τότε διδάσκειν· διό φησιν Ὁς δ' ἂν ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ κ.τ.λ. We have thus an explanation of ὡς μαρτυρεῖ Λουκάς, which is a reference to Acts i. 1 ὃν ἤρξατο Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν.

20 τὸ ἅγιον διδασκέτω ἡμᾶς τὰ Χριστοῦ φθέγγεσθαι παρα-
πλησίως αὐτῷ.

XVI. Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου· οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασι-
λειαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν· εἰ δὲ οἱ τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους
οἴκους διαφθείροντες θανάτῳ καταδικάζονται, πόσω μᾶλλον
25 οἱ τὴν Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίαν νοθεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες αἰωνίαν
τίσουσι δίκην· ὑπὲρ ἧς σταυρὸν καὶ θάνατον ὑπέμεινεν
ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενὴς υἱός· οὗ τὴν διδασ-
καλίαν ὁ ἀθετήσας λιπανθεὶς καὶ παχυνθεὶς εἰς γέενναν
χωρήσει. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὁ τὸ διακρίνειν παρὰ
30 Θεοῦ εἰληφῶς κολασθήσεται, ἀπείρῳ ποιμένι ἐξακολουθήσας
καὶ ψευδῇ δόξαν ὡς ἀληθῇ δεξάμενος. τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ
πρὸς σκότος ἢ Χριστῷ πρὸς Βελίᾳ; ἢ τίς μερὶς πιστοῦ πρὸς
ἄπιστον, ἢ ναῶ Θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων; φημὶ δὲ καὶ γὰρ, τίς
κοινωνία ἀληθείας πρὸς ψεῦδος, ἢ δικαιοσύνης πρὸς ἀδικίαν,
35 ἢ δόξης πρὸς ψευδοδοξίαν;

XVII. Διὰ τοῦτο μύρον ἔλαβεν ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφα-
λῆς, ἵνα ἡ ἐκκλησία πνέῃ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν. μύρον γάρ, φησὶν,
ἐκκενωθὲν ὄνομά σοι· διὰ τοῦτο νεάνιδες ἠγάπησάν σε,
εἰλικυδάν σε· ὅπως εἰς ὁσμὴν μύρων σου δραμοῦμεθα. μὴ

g₂. γέενναν] γέεναν g₄. 29 ὁ] om. g₄ alone. 30 κολασ-
θήσεται] om. g₃ alone. ἀπείρῳ ποιμένι] g₁g₂sg₄g₅l; ποιμένι ἀπείρῳ δὲ
g₃. 31 ἀληθῇ] g₅s; *veram* l; ἀληθὴν g₃; ἀληθῶς g₁g₂g₄. 32 Be-
λίᾳ] g₁g₃g₄g₅s; βελίαν g₂; *belial* l. 34 δικαιοσύνης] g₁g₃g₄l; δικαιο-
σύνη g₂g₅. 35 δόξης] g₃g₄s l; δόξη g₁g₂g₅. ψευδοδοξίαν] g₁g₃g₄s l;
ψευδοξίαν g₂; ἀδοξίαν g₅. 36 ἐπὶ τῆς] g₂g₄g₅ with I; ἐπὶ (om. τῆς) g₁; ὡς
ἐπὶ (om. τῆς) g₃; *in* l. κεφαλῆς] txt g₁g₂g₄g₅l; add. τῆς ἐκκλησίας
g₃. 37 ἵνα] om. g₄. 38 σοι] g₁g₂g₃g₄; σου g₅s; *tuum* l. The edd.
read σου (as in Cant. i. 3, where however there is a v. l. σοι). 39 ὁπίσω]
g₁g₃g₄g₅s; ὁπίσω αὐτῶν g₂; *post te* l. In Cant. i. 3 it is ὁπίσω σου. μύρων]
μύρου g₄ alone. In g₃ it is misprinted μύζων. The LXX has μύρων.

15. οὗ ὁ ἔπανος κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. viii.
18, applied to S. Luke from a mis-
taken interpretation of ἐν τῷ εὐαγγε-
λίῳ as his written Gospel. So proba-
bly Origen, quoted by Euseb. *H.E.*
vi. 25.

22. μὴ πλανᾶσθε... βασιλείαν κ.τ.λ.]
Expressions from 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

28. λιπανθεὶς καὶ παχυνθεὶς] Words
borrowed from Deut. xxxii. 15; comp.
Clem. Rom. 3.

31. τίς κοινωνία κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. vi.
14 sq; comp. *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 4.

37. μύρον... ἐκκενωθὲν κ.τ.λ.] From
Cant. i. 3, 4.

ἀλειφέσθω δυσωδίαν διδασκαλίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἢ ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία· μὴ αἰχμαλωτισθῇ ὑπὸ τῆς πανουργίας αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἡ πρώτη γυνή. διὰ τί λογικοὶ ὄντες οὐ γινόμεθα φρόνιμοι; διὰ τί ἔμφυτον τὸ περὶ Θεοῦ παρὰ Χριστοῦ λαβόντες κριτήριον εἰς ἄγνοιαν καταπίπτομεν ἐξ ἀμελείας; 5 ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ χάρισμα ὃ εἰλήφαμεν, ἀνοήτως ἀπολλύμεθα.

XVIII. Ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἀπίστοις σκάνδαλόν ἐστιν, τοῖς δὲ πιστοῖς σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ συζητητής; ποῦ καύχησης τῶν λεγομένων δυνατῶν; ὁ γὰρ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱός, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων γεννηθεὶς 10 καὶ τὰ πάντα γνώμη τοῦ πατρὸς συστησάμενος, οὗτος ἐκνοφορήθη ἐκ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν, ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυεὶδ πνεύματος δὲ ἀγίου. ἰδοὺ γάρ, φησὶν, ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται καὶ τέξεται γίον, καὶ κληθήσεται Ἑμμανοὺήλ. οὗτος ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, ἵνα πιστοποιήσῃται 15 τὴν διάταξιν τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν τῷ προφήτῃ.

XIX. Καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἢ παρθενία Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου· τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς, ἅτινα ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐπράχθη, ἡμῶν δὲ ἐφανερώθη. ἀστήρ ἐν οὐρανῷ 20 ἔλαμψεν ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἀνεκλάλητον ἦν, καὶ ξενισμὸν παρείχεν ἢ καινότης αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὁρώσιν αὐτόν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἄστρα ἅμα ἡλίῳ

1 ἀλειφέσθω] g₁g₂g₄g₅; add. τις g₃; add. quis l. This is quite unnecessary, and involves a change in the punctuation. δυσωδίαν] δυσωδείαν g₁. διδασκαλίας] g₃g₄; τῆς διδασκαλίας I; doctrinae l; διδασκαλίαν g₁g₂g₅. 2 τοῦ Θεοῦ] θεοῦ (om. τοῦ) g₃. 3 γινόμεθα] γινώμεθα g₃. 4 φρόνιμοι] φρόνημοι g₂. τὸ] τὸν g₂. Χριστοῦ] g₁g₂g₄g₅; τοῦ χριστοῦ g₃. 5 ἐξ] g₁g₂g₄g₅l; καὶ ἐξ g₃. ἀμελείας] ἀμελίας g₂. 9 λεγομένων] g₅ ends with λεγο-. 12 οἰκονομίαν] g₁g₂g₄; add. θεοῦ g₃. Dei appears in some texts of l, but is wanting in the most important mss. In the existing authorities of I it is found, but it is probably an interpolation. Δαυεὶδ] δαὸ g₁. 13 πνεύματος] g₁g₂g₄l with I;

9. ποῦ σοφός κ.τ.λ.] See the note above, II. p. 74.

13. ἰδὸν...ἢ παρθένος κ.τ.λ.] Is. vii.

14 (Matt. i. 23), quoted also *Philipp.*

3, *Antioch.* 2.

15. ἵνα πιστοποιήσῃται κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 22 ἐβαπτίσθη ... ἵνα καὶ Ἰωάννη ἀληθείαν προσμαρτυρήσῃ καὶ ἡμῖν ὑπογραμμὸν παράσχηται.

30. οὔτε τὸ πρότερον] i.e. 'the one,

καὶ σελήνῃ χορὸς ἐγίνοντο τῷ ἀστέρι· αὐτὸς δὲ ἦν ὑπερ-
 25 βάλλων αὐτοὺς τῷ φανῶ. ταραχή τε ἦν, πόθεν ἢ και-
 νότης ἢ φαινομένη. ἔνθεν ἐμωραίνεται σοφία κοσμική, γοητεία
 ὕθλος ἦν, καὶ γέλως ἢ μαγεία· πᾶς θεσμὸς κακίας ἠφανίζετο,
 ἀγνοίας ζόφος διεσκεδάννυτο, καὶ τυραννικὴ ἀρχὴ καθηρεῖτο,
 Θεοῦ ὡς ἀνθρώπου φαινομένου, καὶ ἀνθρώπου ὡς Θεοῦ ἐνερ-
 30 γούντος· ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ πρότερον δόξα, οὔτε τὸ δεύτερον
 ψιλότης· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀλήθεια, τὸ δὲ οἰκονομία. ἀρχὴν δὲ
 ἐλάβανεν τὸ παρὰ Θεῶ ἀπηρτισμένον· ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα συνε-
 κινεῖτο διὰ τὸ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν.

XX. Στήκετε, ἀδελφοί, ἐδραῖοι ἐν τῇ πίστει Ἰησοῦ
 35 Χριστοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πάθει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνα-
 στάσει. πάντες ἐν χάριτι ἐξ ὀνόματος συναθροίζεσθε κοινῇ,
 ἐν μιᾷ πίστει Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μονο-
 γενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, κατὰ
 40 κλήτον· ὑπακούοντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ
 ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοίᾳ· ἕνα ἄρτον κλώντες, ὃ ἐστὶν φάρμακον
 ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Θεῷ
 διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καθαρτήριον ἀλεξίκακον.

XXI. Εἶπν ὑμῶν ἀντίψυχον, καὶ ὦν ἐπέμψατε εἰς Θεοῦ
 45 τιμὴν εἰς Σμύρναν· ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, εὐχαριστῶν τῷ

διὰ πνεύματος g₃. 15 καὶ] g₃ with I; om. g₁g₂g₄; al. l. πιστο-
 ποιήσεται] πιστοποιήσεται g₂. 16 ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν] ἐγχειρισθῆσαν g₂. 18 παρ-
 θενία] g₂sg₃g₄s; παρθενία g₁. 21 τοὺς] τοῦ g₁. 25 αὐτοὺς]
 g₁g₂g₄; omnes (ἀστρα has been translated by sidera) l; αὐτὰ g₃. 26 γοη-
 τεία] g₂g₄s; γοητία g₁g₃. 27 γέλως] γέλος g₂g₃. μαγεία] g₄s;
 μαγία g₃; μαγίας g₁g₂. ἠφανίζετο] καθηρεῖτο (sic) g₄ alone (from
 below). 28 καθηρεῖτο] g₁g₃g₄s; καθαιρεῖτο g₂. 32 ἀπηρτισμένον]
 ἀπηρτησμένον g₂. συνεκινεῖτο g₂. 34 Στήκετε] στήκεται
 g₁. 35 πάθει] πάθη g₁. 37 καὶ] g₁g₃g₄l; om. g₂. 39 Δαυεῖδ]
 δαδ g₁. ἐφοδηγούμενοι] g₂sg₃; ἐποδηγούμενοι g₁g₄.

the incarnation of Deity, is not a mere phantasm, and the other, the humanity of Christ, is not bare humanity.' For ψιλός, ψιλότης, as applied to the pure humanitarian Christology of the Ebionites and

others, see *Ps-Trall.* 6, *Tars.* 6, *Philipp.* 5, *Hero* 2.

31. οἰκονομία] See the note on κατ' οἰκονομίαν Ign. *Ephes.* 18, II. p. 75.

38. πρωτοτόκου κ.τ.λ.] Col. i. 15, quoted also *Tars.* 4, *Ps-Smyrn.* 1.

Κυρίῳ, ἀγαπῶν Πολύκαρπον ὡς καὶ ὑμᾶς. μνημονεύέτε μου, ὡς καὶ ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείων τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ, ὅθεν δεδεμένος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπάγομαι, ἔσχατος ὢν τῶν ἐκεῖ πιστῶν, ὥσπερ ἡξιώθην εἰς Θεοῦ τιμὴν φορέσαι ταυτασὶ 5 τὰς ἀλύσεις· ἔρρωσθε ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ καὶ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῇ κοινῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν, ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ· ἔρρωσθε. ἀμήν· ἡ χάρις.

13.

ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ.

ἸΓΝΑΤΙΟΣ, ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος, τῇ ἡλεμένη ἐν μεγαλειότητι 10 ὑψίστου Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ, ἐκκλησίᾳ ἡγιασμένη καὶ πεφωτισμένη ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ πάντα ᾧ ἔστιν, κατὰ πίστιν καὶ

1 ἀγαπῶν] ἀγαπῶ g₃ alone. 5 ὥσπερ] g₁g₂g₃g₄ with I; unde l. There is no authority for ὥσπερ, which is commonly read by editors. 7 ἐν πνεύματι] καὶ ἐν πνεύματι g₃ alone. 8 ἡ χάρις] g₁g₂g₄: om. [g₃][l], but as g₃ makes a similar omission in *Polyc.* 7, its testimony is suspicious here. After χάρις add. *ἰγνατίου ἐφεσίου* g₁g₂g₄, without any interpunctuation (at least in g₂g₄); but this is obviously an isolated subscription which has been accidentally attached to the body of the letter.

Subscr. τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἐφεσίους ια. g₁g₂. Nothing in g₃g₄.

πρὸς ρωμαίους] g₄ (with the number ιβ in the marg.); τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ρωμαίους g₁g₂ (There is no number in the marg. or elsewhere in either MS; Dressel is wrong in giving ιβ as part of the superscription in g₂); τοῦ ἀγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου ἐπισκόπου θεοπόλεως ἀντιοχείας ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ρωμαίους. ιβ. g₃.

8. ἀμήν· ἡ χάρις] Comp. *Ps-Polyc.* 8. Anastasius of Antioch, writing to Gregory the Great, about A.D. 594, quotes these words; to which Gregory replies (*Op.* VII. p. 320, Venet. 1770) 'Amen. Gratia. Quæ videlicet verba de scriptis vestris accepta, idcirco in meis epistolis pono, ut de sancto Ignatio vestra

beatitudo cognoscat etc.' This is adduced as one of the earliest testimonies to the circulation of the interpolated Ignatian Epistles. The inference however is not certain; for the Armenian Version adds 'Gratia vobiscum: Amen,' at the end of the genuine letter to the Ephesians, and this seems to be a loose translation

ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἥτις
 15 προκαθῆται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων, ἀξιόθεος, ἀξιοπρεπής,
 ἀξιωμακάριστος, ἀξίεπαινος, ἀξιεπίτευκτος, ἀξίαγνος, καὶ
 προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης, χριστόνομος, πατρώνυμος, πνευ-
 ματοφόρος, ἥν καὶ ἀσπάζομαι ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ παντοκρά-
 20 τορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ· τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα
 καὶ πνεῦμα ἠνωμένοις πάσῃ ἐντολῇ αὐτοῦ, πεπληρωμένοις
 πάσης χάριτος Θεοῦ ἀδιακρίτως καὶ ἀποδιῦλισμένοις ἀπὸ
 παντὸς ἄλλοτρίου χρώματος· πλεῖστα ἐν Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ
 Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἀμώμως χαίρειν.

I. Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος τῷ Θεῷ ἐπέτυχον ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὰ
 25 ἀξιόθεα πρόσωπα, ὥς καὶ πλεόν ἡτούμην λαβεῖν· δεδεμένος
 γὰρ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐλπίζω ὑμᾶς ἀσπάσασθαι, ἐάνπερ
 θέλημα ᾗ τοῦ ἀξιοθῆναί με εἰς τέλος εἶναι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴ
 εὐοικονόμητός ἐστιν, ἐάνπερ χάριτος ἐπιτύχω, εἰς τὸ τὸν
 κληρόν μου εἰς πέρας ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν· φοβοῦμαι
 30 γὰρ τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν, μὴ αὐτὴ με ἀδικήσῃ· ὑμῖν γὰρ
 εὐχερές ἐστιν, ὃ θέλετε, ποιῆσαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δύσκολόν ἐστιν

10 ἡλεημένη] g₁g₂sg₄^s l with I; εὐλογημένη g₃.

12 ἡγιασμένη] g₁g₂g₃g₄^s l.

There is no authority in this recension for ἡγαπημένη, which some editors adopt here. The marginal alternative ἡγαπημένη, which Dressel's language appears to assign to V (=g₁), doubtless belongs to the secondary MS O.

13 ἀ] ἡ g₃ alone. 14 καὶ σωτῆρος] g₁g₂g₄^s l; σωτῆρος (om. καὶ) g₂.

16 ἀξιεπίτευκτος] ἀξιοεπίτευκτος g₁g₄^s; ἀξιοεπίστευκτος g₂; ἀξιεπίστευτος g₃; *fide dignae* (ἀξιοπίστευτος) l: see II. p. 191.

ἀξίαγνος] g₁g₂sg₄^s with I; *castitate dignae* l; ἀξιάγνος g₃.

17 χριστόνομος] with I (see II. p. 192); *lege* (v. l. *fide*) *Christi* l; χριστόνυμος g₂; χριστώνυμος g₁g₃g₄^s.

18 Θεοῦ] om. g₄ alone. 23 ἡμῶν] om. g₃ alone.

24 Ἐπεὶ εὐξάμενος] g₁g₂g₃g₄; *deprecans* (as if ἐπευξάμενος) l: see above, II. p. 194.

25 ὥς] *sicuti* l, with I (II. p. 194); οὕς g₁g₂sg₃g₄^s. ἡτούμην] ἡ τοῦμῃ (sic) g₂.

30 ἀδικήσῃ] g₁g₄^s; ἀδικήσει g₂g₃.

31 ἐστὶν τοῦ Θεοῦ] g₁ with I; ἐστὶ τὸ θεοῦ g₃g₄^s; ἐστὶν θεοῦ g₂.

or a paraphrase of ἀμὴν ἡ χάρις. So again at the end of the Epistle to Polycarp, where ἀμὴν ἡ χάρις stands now only in the interpolator's text, the Armenian Version of the original Ignatius has 'Gratia cum omnibus vobis: Amen.' It is probable therefore that ἀμὴν ἡ χάρις stood at

the close of both these epistles in the original text, or in some early copies, of the genuine Ignatius. Transcribers would be sorely tempted to omit or alter such an unusual expression. For the absolute use of ἡ χάρις in Ignatius see *Smyrn.* 12 with the note (II. p. 321).

τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, εἴανπερ ὑμεῖς μὴ φείσησθέ μου προφάσει φιλίας σαρκίνης.

II. Οὐ θέλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἀνθρωπαρεσκῆσαι, ἀλλὰ Θεῷ ἀρέσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀρέσκετε· οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ ποτε ἔξω καιρὸν τοιοῦτον, ὥστε Θεοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν, οὔτε ὑμεῖς, εἴαν σιωπήσητε, 5 κρείττονι ἔργῳ ἔχετε ἐπιγραφῆναι. εἴαν τε γὰρ σιωπήσητε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, ἐγὼ γενήσομαι Θεοῦ· εἴαν δὲ ἐρασθῇτε τῆς σαρκὸς μου, πάλιν ἔσομαι τρέχων. πλείον δέ μοι μὴ παρέχεσθε τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι Θεῷ, ὥς ἔτι θυσιαστήριον ἑτοιμόν ἐστιν, ἵνα ἐν ἀγάπῃ χορὸς γενόμενοι ᾄσητε τῷ πατρὶ ἐν Χριστῷ 10 Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας κατηξίωσεν ὁ Θεὸς εὐρεθῆναι εἰς δύσιν, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς μεταπεμψάμενος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων μάρτυρα. καλὸν τὸ διαλυθῆναι ἀπὸ κόσμου πρὸς Θεόν, ἵνα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνατείλω.

III. Οὐδέποτε ἐβασκάνατε οὐδενί, ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε. 15 ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω ἵνα κακέϊνα βέβαια ᾗ, ἃ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλεσθε. μόνον δύναμιν αἰτεῖσθέ μοι ἔσωθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν, ἵνα μὴ μόνον λέγω ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω, ὅπως μὴ μόνον λέγωμαι

1 μὴ φείσησθέ] g_1g_2s ; γέ φείσησθέ g_3 ; φείσησθέ g_4 ; *perceritis* l. For the omission of μὴ see above, II. p. 197.

4 ποτε ἔξω] g_3g_4 with I (see II. p. 197); ἔξω ποτε g_1g_2s ; *habui aliquando* l.

8 πλείον δέ μοι μὴ] πλέον [δέ] μοι μὴ I (see II. p. 200); πλείον δέ μοι g_3 ; πλείον δέ με $g_1g_2sg_4s$; *multum enim mihi* l.

9 τοῦ σπονδισθῆναι] $g_1g_2sg_4s$ with I; εἰ ἤδη σπονδισοισθέ με g_3 ; *si me offeratis deo* l. These are arbitrary alterations in order to make sense, the omission of μὴ (see the last note) having rendered the passage unintelligible.

12 μεταπεμψάμενος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων μάρτυρα· καλὸν κ.τ.λ.] Zahn; *praemittens suarum passionum martyrem bonum etc.* l (the MSS read *suam passionem*, but this makes no sense and the Greek shows what the original Latin text must have been: the common contraction for -*rum* is easily confused with a simple *m*); μεταπεμψάμενος, τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων μάρτυρα καλῶν κ.τ.λ. $g_1g_2g_4$; μεταπεμψάμενος, καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παθημάτων μάρτυρα καλῶν κ.τ.λ. g_3 . I has simply μεταπεμψάμενος· καλὸν κ.τ.λ. (see II. p. 202). A comparison of the authorities leaves no doubt about the reading.

13 τὸ] g_1g_2 with I; τοῦ g_3g_4s . διαλυθῆναι] $g_1g_2g_4$; δύναι I; διελθεῖν αὐτὸν g_3 ; *proficiscentem* l.

14 πρὸς] $g_1g_2g_4$ with I; εἰς g_3 . εἰς αὐτὸν] $g_1g_2sg_3$ with I; ἐν αὐτῷ g_4 ; *in ipso* l.

15 ἐβασκάνατε] $g_1g_2sg_3$ I (II. p. 203); ἐβασκῆνατε g_4 .

17 αἰτεῖσθέ] ἐτείσθέ g_2 .

18 μὴ μόνον λέγω ἀλλὰ καὶ θέλω,

12. τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. I Pet. v. 1. The Ignatian forger seems to accept the story that Ignatius was

the child whom our Lord took in His arms (Θεόφορος, not Θεοφόρος). Or perhaps he misinterpreted *Smryna*.

χριστιανὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐρεθῶ. ἐὰν γὰρ εὐρεθῶ, καὶ λέγεσθαι
 20 δύναμαι, καὶ τότε πιστὸς εἶναι, ὅταν κόσμῳ μὴ φαίνωμαι.
 οὐδὲν φαίνόμενον αἰώνιον. τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα πρόσκαιρα· τὰ δὲ
 μὴ βλεπόμενα αἰώνια. οὐ πεισμονῆς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μεγέθους
 ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανισμός. ὅταν μισῇται ὑπὸ κόσμον, φιλεῖται
 παρὰ Θεοῦ· εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου γάρ, φησί, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦτε, ὁ
 25 κόσμος ἂν ἐφίλει τὸ ἴδιον· νυνὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου,
 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐξελεξάμην ὑμᾶς· μέινετε παρ' ἐμοί.

IV. Ἐγὼ γράφω πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ἐντέλ-
 λομαι πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐκὼν ὑπὲρ Θεοῦ ἀποθνήσκω, εἴανπερ ὑμεῖς
 μὴ κωλύσητε. παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, μὴ εὐνοια ἄκαιρος γένησθῇ
 30 μοι. ἄφετέ με θηρίων εἶναι βρῶμα, δι' ὧν ἔστιν Θεοῦ
 ἐπιτυχεῖν. σῖτός εἰμι τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ δι' ὀδόντων θηρίων
 ἀλήθομαι, ἵνα καθαρὸς ἄρτος Θεοῦ εὐρεθῶ. μᾶλλον κολα-
 κεύσατε τὰ θηρία, ἵνα μοι τάφος γένωνται καὶ μηθὲν κατα-
 λείπωσιν τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τι-
 35 εὐρεθήσομαι· τότε δὲ ἔσομαι μαθητῆς ἀληθοῦς Ἰησοῦ Χρι-
 στοῦ, ὅτε οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου ὁ κόσμος ὄψεται. λιτανεύσατε

ὅπως] $g_1 g_2 g_4$ I; om. g_3 1 (owing to the recurrence of the same words, μὴ μόνον λέγω). 20 ὅταν] g_4 I (II. p. 204); ὅτε $g_1 g_2 g_3$; quando 1. φαίνωμαι] $g_1 g_2$

with I; *comparuero* 1; φαίνομαι $g_3 g_4$. 22 πεισμονῆς] πλεισμονῆς (sic) g_2 ;

al. 1. μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανισμός. ὅταν μισῇται] I (but with a different punctuation: see II. p. 205); *in magnitudine, christianitas enim est, quae oditur* 1; μεγέθους ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανός, ὅταν μισεῖται (μισῇται $g_2 g_4$) $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4$. The words were doubtless read originally in this recension as in I; and it seems probable that I ran *in magnitudine christianitas est; quum oditur*. 23 κόσμον] $g_1 g_3 g_4$ I;

τοῦ κόσμου g_2 . 27 ἐντέλλομαι] I; ἐπιστέλλω g_3 ; mando 1; ἐντελοῦμαι $g_1 g_2 g_4$.

28 ὅτι] txt $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4$ l. The edd. add ἐγὼ; but there is no authority for it in this recension, though it is found doubtfully in I (see II. p. 206).

29 παρακαλῶ] $g_1 g_3$ with I; παρακαλῶ οὖν $g_2 g_4$; *rogo itaque* 1.

γένησθῇ] $g_1 g_3 g_4$ with I; γένεσθῇ g_2 (a solecism). 30 δι' ὧν] $g_1 g_2 g_3$ I; δι' οὗ g_4 , and so *per quam* (i. e. *escam*) 1.

32 ἀλήθομαι] ἀλίθομαι g_2 .

33 γένωνται] $g_1 g_3 g_4$; γένηνται g_2 . 34 κοι-

μηθεῖς] $g_1 g_2 g_3$ (but -σι $g_2 g_3$); καταλιπῶσι (-σιν) g_4 1. 36 κοι-

μηθεῖς] $g_2 g_3 g_4$; εὐρεθήσομαι g_1 . 36 λι-

τανεύσατε] $g_1 g_3 g_4$; λιτανεύσατε g_2 .

3; see the note, II. p. 294.

21. τὰ γὰρ βλεπόμενα κ.τ.λ.] From 2 Cor. iv. 18.

24. εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. xv. 19. The last words, μέινετε παρ' ἐμοί, are a reminiscence of Joh. xv. 4.

τὸν Κύριον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων Θεοῦ
 θυσία εὔρεθῶ. οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι
 ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλάχιστος·
 ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι ὡς δοῦλοι Θεοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος·
 ἀλλ' ἐὰν πάθω, ἀπελεύθερος γενήσομαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ 5
 ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐλεύθερος. νῦν μαυθάνω δεδεμένος
 μηδὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν κοσμικὸν ἢ μάταιον.

V. Ἀπὸ Συρίας μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ, διὰ γῆς καὶ
 θαλάσσης, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐνδεδεμένος δέκα λεοπάρδοις,
 ὃ ἐστὶν στρατιωτικὸν τάγμα· οἱ καὶ εὐεργετούμενοι χείρους 10
 γίνονται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν μάλλον μαθητεύομαι,
 ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι. ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων τῶν
 ἐμοὶ ἡτοιμασμένων, ἃ καὶ εὐχομαι σύντομά μοι εὔρεθῆναι·
 ἃ καὶ κολακέυσω συντόμως με καταφαγεῖν, οὐχ ὥσπερ τινῶν
 δειλαινόμενα οὐχ ἦσαντο. καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ἐκόντα μὴ θέλῃ, ἐγὼ 15
 προσβιάσομαι. συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε· τί μοι συμφέρει, ἐγὼ
 γινώσκω· νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητῆς εἶναι. μηθέν με ζηλώσαι
 τῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων, ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.
 πῦρ καὶ σταυρός, θηρίων τε συστάσεις, ἀνατομαί, διαιρέσεις,
 σκορπισμοὶ ὁστέων, συγκοπαὶ μελῶν, ἀλεσμοὶ ὅλου τοῦ 20
 σώματος, καὶ κόλασις τοῦ διαβόλου ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθω· μόνον
 ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω.

1 Θεοῦ θυσία] g₃ (which is also the probable reading of I); θεῷ θυσία g₁g₂g₄s;
sacrificium l. 6 μαυθάνω] txt l I; add. ἐν αὐτῷ g. It seems to have slipped
 in from the preceding sentence. 7 μάταιον] μάται g₂. 10 χείρους] g₁g₂g₄s
 l with I; χείρον g₂. 15 δειλαινόμενα] δειλαιόμενα g₄. κἂν] g₂g₃g₄s with
 I; *etsi* l; καὶ g₁. ἐκόντα] g₁g₂g₃I; εἰκοντα g₄; om. l. θέλῃ] θέλει
 g₄ alone. 17 μηθέν] g₁g₄ (with I); μηδὲν g₂g₃. ζηλώσαι] ζηλώσαι
 g₁g₂g₃g₄s. In l μηθέν με ζηλώσαι is translated *nulli aemulor*. The reasons for
 preferring the optative to the infinitive are given above, II. p. 215. 20 ἀλεσμοὶ]
 g₁g₂g₃g₄s; *interitus* l. This last is perhaps a corruption from *contritiones* or *con-*
tritio, easily explained by the common contractions in Latin mss. There is no
 authority for the reading ἀλυσμοὶ which is commonly adopted by edd.; see above,
 II. p. 216. 23 πέρατα] g I; om. l. 26 κερδήση] g₁g₄s; κερδήσει
 g₂g₃. 27 αὐτοῦ] g₁g₃; αὐτοῦ g₂g₄s. 28 Θεοῦ] g₃l; om. g₁g₂g₄,
 owing to the recurrence of similar letters -OTOT; see the notes on Θεοῦ θυσία,
 II. p. 209. 35 πάθους] om. g₄ alone. Χριστοῦ] g; om. l with I (see

12. ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.] From I Cor. iv. 4. See above, II. p. 214.

VI. Οὐδέν με ὠφελήσει τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου, οὐδὲ αἱ βασιλεῖαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου. καλὸν ἔμοι ἀποθανεῖν διὰ
 25 Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἢ βασιλεύειν τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς· τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀπολέσῃ; τὸν Κύριον ποθῶ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρός, Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν. ἐκεῖνον ζητῶ, τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα. συγγνω-
 30 μονεῖτέ μοι, ἀδελφοί. μὴ ἐμποδίσχητέ μοι εἰς ζωὴν φθάσαι· Ἰησοῦς γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ζωὴ τῶν πιστῶν. μὴ θελήσητέ με ἀποθανεῖν· θάνατος γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἄνευ Χριστοῦ ζωὴ. τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλοντά με εἶναι κόσμῳ μὴ χαρίσσησθε. ἄφετέ με καθαρὸν φῶς λαβεῖν· ἐκεῖ παραγενόμενος, ἄνθρωπος Θεοῦ
 35 ἔσομαι. ἐπιτρέψατέ μοι μιμητὴν εἶναι πάθους Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου. εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχει, νοησάτω ὃ θέλω, καὶ συμπαθείτω μοι, εἰδὼς τὰ συνέχοντά με.

VII. Ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου διαρπάσαι με βού-
 40 λεται καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν Θεόν μου γνώμην διαφθεῖραι. μηδεὶς οὖν τῶν παρόντων ὑμῶν βοηθείτω αὐτῷ· μᾶλλον ἔμοι γένησθε, τουτέστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ. μὴ λαλεῖτε Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν κόσμῳ δὲ προτιμᾶτε. βασκανία ἐν ὑμῖν μὴ κατοικεῖτω· μηδέ, ἐὰν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς παρὼν παρακαλῶ, πείσθητε· τούτοις δὲ μᾶλλον πιστεύσατε, οἷς γράφω ὑμῖν. ζῶν γὰρ γράφω ὑμῖν,
 45 ἔρων τοῦ διὰ Χριστόν ἀποθανεῖν. ὃ ἐμὸς ἔρως ἐσταύρω-
 ται, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἔμοι πῦρ φιλοῦν τι· ὕδωρ δὲ ζῶν,

II. p. 220). 36 ἐν ἑαυτῷ] I; *in seipso* I; ἐνταῦθα $g_1 g_2 g_3 g_4$. 39 δια-
 φθεῖραι] διαφθῆραι g_2 . 40 μᾶλλον] $g_1 g_2 g_4$ with I; μᾶλλον δὲ g_3 ; *magis autem* I.
 41 γένησθε] $g_1 g_2 g_4$; γένησθε or γίνεσθε I (II. p. 222); παραγί-
 νεσθε g_3 ; *adiutores estote* I. τουτέστιν] g_1 ; τουτέστι g_3 ; τοῦτ' ἐστιν g_2 ;
 τουτέστι (sic) g_4 . τοῦ Θεοῦ] $g_1 g_2 g_4$ with I; *dei* I; τῷ θεῷ g_3 (to conform to the
 reading παραγένεσθε in this MS). λαλεῖτε $g_2 g_3$ with I; λαλήτε $g_1 g_4$. Many
 edd. have retained the solecism μὴ λαλήτε. 42 κατοικεῖτω] κατοικήτω g_2 .
 43 ἐὰν ἐγὼ] $g_1 g_2 g_3$; ἂν ἐγὼ I; ἐγὼ ἐὰν g_4 . πείσθητε] πισθήτε (sic) g_2 .
 46 φιλοῦν τι] $g_1 g_2 g_3$; φιλόῦλον g_4 with I. In I the words πῦρ φιλοῦν τι are
 omitted. The reading of g_4 is probably derived from the Menæa, where the

25. τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xvi. 26, Mark viii. 36, Luke ix. 25;
 comp. *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 2.

ἀλλόμενον ἐν ἐμοί, ἔσωθέν μοι λέγει, Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. οὐχ ἡδομαι τροφῇ φθορᾶς οὐδὲ ἡδοναῖς τοῦ βίου τούτου. ἄρτον τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλω, ἄρτον οὐράνιον, ἄρτον ζωῆς, ὃ ἐστὶν σὰρξ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν ὑστερῷ ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ καὶ Ἀβραάμ· καὶ πόμα θέλω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀγάπη ἁφθαρτος καὶ ἀένναος ζωῆς.

VIII. Οὐκέτι θέλω κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ζῆν· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς θέλητε· Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι· ζῶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγὼ, ἐπειδήπερ ζῆ ἐν ἐμοί ὁ Χριστός. δι' ὀλίγων γραμμάτων αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς μὴ παραιτήσασθαί με πιστεύσατέ μοι, ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν φιλῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ παραδοθέντα. τί ἀνταποδώσω τῷ Κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων, ὧν ἀνταπέδωκέ μοι; αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς φανερώσει ὑμῖν ταῦτα, ὅτι ἀληθῶς λέγω. καὶ ὑμεῖς συννεύσαθέ μοι, ἵνα τοῦ σκοποῦ τύχω ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. οὐ κατὰ σάρκα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ. ἐὰν πάθω, ἡγαπήσατε· ἐὰν ἀποδοκιμασθῶ, ἐμισήσατε.

passage is quoted. Otherwise the combination of g_4 with I would require its substitution in the text; see above, II. pp. 223, 224.

1 ἀλλόμενον] g_2sg_4s ; ἀλλόμενον g_1 ; *vina manet* (i.e. ἄλλο μένον) l. See above, II. pp. 223, 224 sq.

2 ἡδομαι] $g_1g_2g_4s$ with I; ἡσομαι g_3 ; *comedam* (v. l. *comedo*) l. φθορᾶς] $g_1g_3g_4s$ with I; φθορᾶ g_2 . τούτου] τοῦ g_2 . 4 τοῦ

Χριστοῦ] g_1g_2 (so prob., though Dressel is not clear) g_3g_4 (and this is the probable reading of I; see above, II. p. 226); *jesu christi* l.

6 αἷμα] I; *sanguinem* l; πόμα $g_1g_2g_3$ (an obvious error of inadvertence). Bryennios gives θέλω τὸ πόμα as the reading of g_4 for πομα θέλω, so that it would appear to have θέλω τὸ πόμα τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ.

ἀένναος] g_2sg_4s ; ἀέναος g_1g_3 .

10 παραιτήσασθαί] g_3 ; παραιτήσασθέ g_1sg_2s ; παραιτήσασθε g_4 ; *observetis* (v. l. *obsistatis*) l. The editors from Morel downwards, including Ussher, Voss, Cureton, Dressel, and Zahn, have all (apparently without exception) acquiesced silently in the solecism μὴ παραιτήσασθε; comp. the false reading μὴ λαλήτε in § 7.

13 ὁ Χριστός] $g_1g_2sg_4s$; χριστός g_3 . 19 ἡτίς] $g_1g_3g_4s$ with I; *et* τις g_2 ; and this must have been the reading of l, which translates

mementote in orationibus vestris illius qui pro me recturus est ecclesiam quae est in syria.

χρήται] $g_1g_2sg_3$; χρᾶται g_4 .

20 μόνος] $g_1g_2sg_4s$ l with

3. ἄρτον τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] For the coincidences with John vi. in this passage, see above, II. p. 226.

8. Χριστῷ συνεσταύρωμαι κ.τ.λ.]

From Gal. ii. 19.

12. τί ἀνταποδώσω κ.τ.λ.] Ps. cxv. 3 (cxvi. 12).

IX. Μνημονεύετε ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ ὑμῶν τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ ἐκκλη-
 σίας, ἣτις ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ποιμένοι χρῆται τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ εἰπόντι,
 20 ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός· καὶ μόνος αὐτὴν ἐπισκοπήσει,
 καὶ ἡ ὑμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀγάπη. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ αἰσχύνομαι ἐξ
 αὐτῶν λέγεσθαι· οὐ γάρ εἰμι ἄξιος, ὧν ἔσχατος αὐτῶν καὶ
 ἔκτρωμα· ἀλλ' ἠλέημαί τις εἶναι, ἐὰν Θεοῦ ἐπιτύχω. ἀσπά-
 ζεται ὑμᾶς τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν
 25 δεξαμένων με εἰς ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐχ ὡς παροδεύ-
 οντα· καὶ γὰρ αἱ μὴ προσήκουσαί μοι τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ πόλιν
 με προήγαγον.

X. Γράφω δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ἀπὸ Σμύρνης διὰ Ἐφεσίων
 τῶν ἀξιομακαρίστων. ἔστιν δὲ ἅμα ἐμοὶ σὺν πολλοῖς καὶ
 30 ἄλλοις Κρόκος, τὸ ποθητὸν ὄνομα. περὶ τῶν προσελθόντων
 ἀπὸ Συρίας εἰς Ῥώμην εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πιστεύω ὑμᾶς ἐπεγνω-
 κέναι· οἷς καὶ δηλώσετε ἐγγύς με ὄντα· πάντες γὰρ εἰσιν
 ἄξιοι Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν· οὓς πρόπον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν κατὰ πάν-
 τα ἀναπαῦσαι. ἔγραψα δὲ ὑμῖν ταῦτα τῇ πρὸ ἐννέα καλ-
 35 ανδῶν Σεπτεμβρίῳ. ἔρρωσθε εἰς τέλος ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ.

I; add. γε οὗτος g₃.

21 εἰς] g₁g₃g₄s; ἡ εἰς g₂.

25 με] g₁g₃g₄s

I with I; om. g₂.

εἰς] g₁g₂g₄s with I (see II. pp. 230, 231); ὡς g₃;

sicut I.

28 δέ] g₁g₂g₃ I (see II. p. 232); igitur I; om. g₄.

30 περὶ]

πέρα g₄.

32 δηλώσατε] g₁g₂g₃g₄s; mandatis (or mandastis) [I]. The pro-

bable reading in I is δηλώσατε (II. p. 232), and this may have stood originally in the text of this recension also.

Subscr. τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος ἰγνατίου πατριάρχου θεουπόλεως ἀντιοχείας
 ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ῥωμαίους. ιβ. g₁g₂; τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἰγνατίου ἐπιστολῶν δώδεκα τέλος g₃.
 Nothing in g₄.

20. ἐγὼ εἰμι κ.τ.λ.] From Joh. x. 11.

IV.

COPTIC REMAINS

OF

S. IGNATIUS.

I. *FRAGMENTS OF THE EPISTLES IN THE SAHIDIC DIALECT.*

Δ. To Hero.

Ⲡ. To the Smyrnæans.

The MS, *Borg.* 248, from which these fragments are taken is described in the chapter on *Manuscripts and Versions* in vol. I.

II. *ROMAN ACTS OF MARTYRDOM IN THE MEMPHITIC DIALECT.*

The MS, *Vatic. Copt.* lxvi, from which these Acts are printed here, is described in the introduction to the *Acts of Martyrdom*, II. p. 365. A few obvious errors in the MS are tacitly corrected.

I.

α.

.....αἰτ[τῆ] προσ] πολτκαρπος ρ̄μ πχοεῖς ἰς πε̄χ̄ς .

[VIII]. Сешине ерок ἡσὶ ἡεπισκοπος οηисιμος ἡιτος тамаc
 πολτῆιος мп отон пм ет ρ̄μ πε̄χ̄ς εβολρη̄ πεφίλппос . шине е
 непресѣттерос еттаеинт ρ̄μ ппотте . шине е некшѣр̄ законос пaг
 апок ἡт аѣрнт̄ ммоот ρ̄μ πε̄χ̄[с аτ]ω [ρ]ῆ тсарз мп [пепн]а .
 шине е пладос [ῡп]χοеῖς ж[п] мпкоти шa п[п]о[ѣ] ката петрап .
 [пaг ἡ]т аѣт̄ ммоот етоо[тк] [ἡ]ѣе мμωтсис п̄нсоτ паτн п̄стра-
 ттотос мп̄псωѣ . аτω мпертре пепт аѣхооѣ шωпе еѣрорш паѣрак .
 ешѣе апок пет ммаτ ап аλλα т̄пшлнл̄ етρεѣѣе п̄пет ммаτ .
 епеган апок п̄шире п̄аѣрагам ρωωп . ѣм̄ѣом отп [ω] ρнрωп ρ̄п
 отм̄п̄т[жω]ωре мп̄ оттажро . [ἡто]к тар жп е поот еѣол̄ пет-
 паж̄ еротп аτω ееппе еѣол̄ мп̄ладос мп̄χοеῖς ет ρ̄п таптлоχ̄ia .
 аτω мп̄р̄тре тстпагωгн̄ мп̄χοеῖς шωпе ἡѣе п̄пег есоот̄ е м̄п̄т
 от шωс ммаτ .

[IX]. шине е каспанос петѣалωот̄ ерог мп̄ теѣсг̄име п̄семпн̄
 мп̄ неѣмерит̄ п̄шире . пaг ере п̄χοеῖς таас паτ̄ ере етпа ρ̄м
 пероот̄ ет ммаτ̄ . же аτ̄закопег̄ ероп . пaг ет еѣт̄ ммоот̄ етоотк̄
 ρ̄μ πε̄χ̄ς . шине м̄п̄стос̄ тнрот̄ ет ρ̄п лао̄з̄ик̄ia ρ̄μ πε̄χ̄ς ката
 рап̄ . м̄перамелег̄ е пет ρ̄п тарсос̄ . аλλᾱ ѣг̄тнк̄ ероот̄ аж̄п̄
 ωж̄п̄ . п̄т̄тажроот̄ еротп̄ е пет̄аг̄гел̄ион̄ . ѣшине е марп̄нос̄ пепи-
 скопос̄ п̄неапол̄ис̄ ет ρ̄ат̄п̄ заѣр̄ω ρ̄м п̄χοеῖς . шине он̄ е мар̄ia

тащеере тсеми[н] е перото аѡ тет асѡаѡ еѡар мп̄ тсоотѡс
ет р̄м̄ песни . таг̄ п̄т а таѡѡѡхн ѡѡпе п̄рнтс аѡ таг̄ п̄т
асѡ[ѡ]пе п̄рѡпѡѡма [аѡ]п̄рѡкн̄ п̄перѡме п̄реѡм̄ѡе потте .
ере пейѡт̄ м̄п̄еѡс̄ р̄арер̄ ерок̄ р̄т̄м̄ п̄еѡм̄п̄от̄епнс̄ п̄от̄ноѡ
п̄от̄оеѡѡ екоѡѡѡ . аѡ екет̄ѡк̄имеѡ еѡрнт̄ п̄теккл̄нс̄а м̄п̄потте .
отѡаг̄ р̄м̄ п̄ѡеѡс̄ аѡ ѡл̄н̄л̄ еѡѡ . ѡе кас̄ еѡеѡѡк̄ еѡл̄ .

Б.

Зомѡѡс̄ ке еп̄стоѡл̄н̄ п̄те п̄петѡѡаѡ ип̄нат̄иѡс̄ п̄март̄ѡс̄
пет̄ от̄мотте ероѡ ѡе ѡеѡфѡрос̄ . ете пет̄фѡреѡ м̄п̄потте пе . е
аѡс̄р̄аг̄с̄ ѡѡ п̄р̄м̄с̄м̄ѡрна .

Ип̄нат̄иѡс̄ п̄ѡеѡфѡрос̄ пет̄с̄раг̄ п̄теккл̄нс̄а м̄п̄потте пейѡт̄ мп̄
п̄еѡмер̄г̄т̄ п̄ѡнре̄ іс̄ п̄еѡс̄с̄ . таг̄ п̄т̄ аѡна пас̄ р̄п̄ р̄мот̄ н̄м̄ . ет̄ѡн̄к̄
еѡл̄ р̄п̄ т̄п̄ет̄іс̄ мп̄ таѡап̄ . п̄с̄ѡаѡт̄ ап̄ п̄лаѡт̄ п̄ѡар̄іс̄ма .
ес̄рапаѡ м̄п̄потте аѡ ес̄фѡреѡ м̄п̄от̄оп̄ . тет̄ѡѡоп̄ р̄п̄ с̄м̄ѡрна
п̄тас̄а . раѡе̄ емаѡе̄ р̄м̄ п̄еп̄па̄ м̄п̄п̄[от̄]те мп̄ п̄ѡѡѡе̄ еѡ[ѡа]ѡ .

[I]. ††ѡѡ[ѡ] п̄іс̄ п̄еѡс̄с̄ п̄еп̄т̄ аѡр̄ т̄нѡт̄т̄і̄ п̄сѡф̄ос̄ п̄теѡ р̄е .
аѡеѡме̄ ѡа[р̄] еѡѡт̄еп̄ . ѡе тет̄іс̄ѡт̄ѡт̄ р̄раг̄ р̄п̄ от̄п̄ет̄іс̄ еме̄ск̄ім̄ .
р̄ѡс̄ етет̄іп̄ѡѡт̄ еѡт̄п̄ е п̄ст̄ѡѡрос̄ м̄п̄ѡеѡс̄ іс̄ п̄еѡс̄с̄ р̄п̄ т̄с̄ар̄ѡ
мп̄ п̄еп̄па̄ . етет̄іѡѡѡр̄нт̄ р̄п̄ от̄ аѡап̄ р̄м̄ п̄ес̄ноѡ м̄п̄еѡс̄с̄ .
ет̄ет̄іѡѡн̄к̄ еѡл̄ наме̄ еѡт̄п̄ е п̄еп̄ѡеѡс̄ . ет̄ еѡл̄ пе̄ р̄м̄ п̄ѡенос̄
п̄ѡаѡ̄ ката с̄ар̄ѡ . [п̄]ѡнре̄ м̄п̄потте [ка]та пот̄ѡѡ [мп̄] т̄ѡм̄
м̄п̄потте . еѡѡѡѡѡ наме̄ еѡл̄р̄п̄ от̄паѡѡенос̄ . еѡѡѡп̄††ѡ м̄ѡѡ
[еѡ]л̄р̄іт̄і̄ іѡѡап̄п̄[с̄] . ѡе кас̄ еѡеѡѡк̄ еѡл̄ п̄ѡікаіѡст̄п̄н̄ н̄м̄ .
паг̄ наме̄ р̄і п̄оп̄т̄иѡс̄ п̄ілат̄ос̄ мп̄ р̄н̄ѡѡн̄с̄ п̄тет̄р̄ар̄ѡн̄с̄ аѡѡѡт̄ѡ
р̄ар̄оп̄ р̄п̄ т̄с̄ар̄ѡ . паг̄ е̄ аѡоп̄ р̄еп̄ еѡл̄р̄м̄ п̄кар̄п̄ос̄ м̄п̄еѡѡт̄
м̄макаріѡп̄ . ѡе кас̄ еѡеѡі̄ п̄ѡѡмаеѡ[п̄] ѡѡ еп̄ер̄ еѡл̄р̄п̄ тапа-
ст̄ас̄іс̄ еѡт̄п̄ е̄ пет̄ ѡѡаѡ мп̄ п̄еѡп̄іст̄ос̄ еѡте̄ р̄п̄ п̄ѡѡѡаг̄ еѡте̄
р̄п̄ п̄реѡп̄ос̄ р̄раг̄ р̄м̄ п̄с̄ѡма̄ т̄еѡеккл̄нс̄а .

[II]. паг̄ т̄н̄рот̄ аѡѡѡѡѡт̄ ет̄ѡн̄т̄і̄ . аѡ наме̄ аѡѡѡт̄ ката
ѡе̄ оп̄ п̄т̄ аѡѡѡѡт̄п̄ р̄п̄ от̄ме̄ . п̄ѡе̄ ап̄ ет̄ ере̄ п̄ап̄іст̄ос̄ ѡѡ м̄ѡс̄
п̄ѡѡѡт̄ ѡе̄ р̄еп̄ с̄мот̄ . п̄еп̄т̄ аѡѡѡпе̄ п̄ѡѡѡт̄ пе̄ п̄ес̄мот̄ . ката ѡе̄

ἢτ ἀγμεετє ерос еспащупе ἡμοот . ἡсещупе ἡααημονηон ахἡ
сωма .

[III]. апок де ꙗсоути ѿмоу мѣса треутоути он зѣ тсарз.
аѡ ꙗхстете ероу ꙗтеи зѣ. ꙗтереуѡк де ероуи ѡа папе-
трос пѣау паѡ . же аминѣ ꙗтетѣѡмѣ ерои ꙗтети паѡ же
аѣ ѡѡаѡмоѡи он ꙗтѡма . ꙗтетѡт де аѡѡз ероу аѡ-
хстете . еаѡаѡзте ѿмоу зѣ теусарз мѣ пѣуѡа. еѡе паѡ ѡ
аѡѡаѡроѡе мѡмѡ. аѡе ѡа ероѡ еѡѡѡм еѡи пѡт .
мѣса треутоути де аѡѡѡи он ꙗѡаѡ аѡ аѡѡ . еѡ
ѡсарѡѡ аѡ ѿпѡѡ . еѡ ꙗѡа мѣ пѣѡт .

[IV]. паг дѣ есгдѣ ммоот пнтіі памерате. есгоотн же
отпнттіі паг зоттнттіі . ег шрп гдггг дѣ ервтп ебодгп пег
ѳнрпг пго прѡме . паг же от моноп шге е тм шопот ервтп .
алла ешге отп шбѡм . е тм тѡмпт ероот е птггг . моноп дѣ
шлнл гдгггг мнпте сепашметанп . гопер паг могг паг .
отптег теготсга дѣ е паг пбп іс пехс пепѡгг мме . ешге гп
отсмот гдг пта паг шпге ебодггтм пепгѡегс . еге апог гѡгт
ог егмгг гп от смот . етге от дѣ пгоотн агтаат егдѣ е
пмог ппаггм пкѡгт ппаггп тсгге агѡ ппаггп пѳнрпг .
алла петг[н]п еггт[п е]тсгге е[гг]пп еггтп е ппгте . пет
гп тмте ппѳнрпг ег гп тмте мппгте . моноп гд прп
пс пехс . егг гд гѡг пм етрамот пммаг . пгог петгбѡм
паг . пег теггс прѡме .

[V]. παλ ἐτ ἐρε ροπε αρπα ἄμοϋ . ἐτ ο πατσοοτη ἄμοϋ .
 ἵροτο δε εταρπα ἄμοοτ εβολγίτοοτϋ . ετωϋε ερρα εχᾶ πμοτ
 εροτε тме . παλ ἐт εμποтπῃε ἄμοοτ ἥσῐ πεпрофитнс отде
 пномос ммωтснс отде петаттελιон шадраг е тепот отде
 пехро ἥῃρисе . каг тар етмеете ἥтег ρε етᾶνнтῐ ρωωп оп.
 ере ота тар пафρнῃ ммог ἥот . еϋшаптасеог мен . пῃ жгота
 де е пахоеис . епῃромологет ммоϋ ап же аϋфорег ἥтсарз .
 петжω де ἥπαг . аϋгарпа ἄмоϋ е птярῃ . еϋфорег [ἥт]оϋ мпмоτ .
 ἥ[р]ап де ἥ[] о патна[ρ]те ἥπεеушсраисот пнтῐ . алла

2.

Тмартѣрія ѿтепагюс іспагюс фнет отмоуѣ ёроу хе
ѳеофорос етефи пе етерфорпи лѣтѣ. фнет асер епископос еап-
тиωχια менепса пигоиш ѿтепапостолос. еачхек теумартѣриа
ёбол зеп рωми. ѿсот ꙗ̅ ѿпаѳот еппи зеп отзирини ѿтефѣ.
амнп.

I. **Ἦεν** **ῥα** **ῥα** **ἡ** **ῥομῆ** **ἡ** **τε** **τε** **με** **τ** **ρι** **γ** **ε** **μ** **ω** **ν** **ἡ** **πα** **τ** **ρα** **ν** **ο** **ς** **κε** **σα** **ρ**,
ε **τε** **ῥα** **ῥα** **ἡ** **ῥομῆ** **τε** **ἡ** **τε** **ῥ** **α** **ς** **ἐ** **κ** **τ** **ῆ** **ς** **ἡ** **ῥομῆ** **ἡ** **τε** **ο** **ἰ** **σ** **τ** **η** **ν** **α**.
Ἦεν **τ** **ῥ** **ῥ** **α** **ν** **α** **τ** **ι** **α** **ἡ** **π** **α** **τ** **τ** **ι** **κ** **ο** **ς** **σ** **τ** **ρ** **ῆ** **ω** **ν** **π** **ε** **μ** **μ** **α** **ρ** **κ** **ε** **ἰ** **λ** **λ** **ο** **ς**.

Ἰσχυριος πεισκοπος ἡπαιτιουχα εαφερ μαρ ἦ μενεπσα πια-
 ποστολος. ετοσιος γαρ πε πιωρη εταφσι ἡμετεπισκοπος.
 ατσητη γε ἐρωμι ετρωτε ἐρου δεκ ομπυτ ἡποταν ἐβο-
 λοιτε πνετατοτορη ποτ εφθε τομολογια ετσι ἐδοτη ἐπυς.

Ни де епарез ероу патри нї не деп тотипи ераппрозиктор
 итетрагалос потро не. паг де не потрап, корнидос, фисон,
 ютѣпос, сезос, батос, лелархос, палмас, лѣмп, барбарос,
 лѣмпос. рапрѣм не патриос деп отметрото еотоп итѣот
 лѣмат ирапсмот иѣнриоп.

Ἄντι δὲ ὑπὸ μακαρίου ἐρχομένου αὐτοῦ ἐβόλθεν τυχὼν ἡ τεταρία
 ὁτορ ἐβόλθεν πῦμα ἐτεμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ὅρακι νημ ριτιον. σὺν
 μεν δὲν πῦμωιτ σὺν δὲ δὲν φῖον. ἐτ' ἄνκαρ ὑπὸ πῦμα κεοῦ
 ἐτ' ὡς ἡμοῦ δὲν ὀμμετροτο πνεροοτ νημ πνεχωρ. κετοῖ
 ἐρε πνεπνοτ κατὰ πολὺς † πνοτ ἡρανιψ† ἡταῖο. δὲ ρῖπα
 ἡτοτ† ασο ἐφνεθοταῖ.

Ἀλλὰ ὑπερλί θεν παί ρερι ὑποταωπτ ἀλλὰ παροухεχ ὑπι-
αкеос θεн ραпβαλ ἡαϑшпп отог ἡαθпαι.

Καταφριτῆ ἡооу етегои ὑμεоρε θεн оти ἡпегеπистоли, еуχω
ὑмос ὑπαгριτῆ.

Хе аи исхеп тсгria шa ρωμн. ите θεн пимωит ите θεн пет-
шотωот ите θεн фюм, еимошп пем пѣнриоп. еисопг ἡтотг
ἡι ὑмоти ете пиматой пе паи ашшанер пеопапег пωот
шатгго ἡггого.

II. Етагпн отп ὑпιαкеос ἐβολθεп ригиоп ашше ἐθотп ἐρωμн
атерстменп ὑпаттократωρ ἡтеупаротсиа.

Тотε аqотарсагпн ἐороттарогу ἐратг паг. еаgθωотῆ ἡтсгп-
κλнтос тирс ἐпес ἐрнот отог пезаг паг.

Хе ἡоок пе игпадиос. фнет аqтотпос тпoлic аπτιοχia ρωсте
еоρε пексωит i памашх. хе актасѳе тсгria тирс ἐβολга
пшемшп ἡппотῆ ἐθотп ἐпшемшп ἡппхристiaпос.

Ἀqеротω ἡхе игпадиос пезаг хе амои ω потро апашхемхом
ἡтасѳоок ρок ἐβολθεп пшемшп ἡппаωлон епросепегке
ὑмок ὑфῆ отог еаик ἡшфнр ὑпнишῆ ἡотро пхс хе ρпа
ἡтеутаxро ἡтекметотро.

Ἀqеротω ἡхе трагпос пезаг хе исхе хотωшп ἐт ппн ἡгап-
харисма отог еорекшопи екпн пемап ἡшфнр хω ἡсωк
ἡтагпωмн ἡтекерѳтсиа ἡппотῆ отог хпашшопи ἡархне-
ретс ὑпнишῆ пзетс. отог ἡтекер отро пемнн.

Ἀqеротω ἡхе игпадиос хе отгωh етесшп ап пе ω потро ἐт
ἡгапхарисма егнаерѳлаптпн ἡтψтхн отог ἡсѳтс епн-
коласис шa ἐпег.

Некωш хе етакωш ὑмωот ἐтнотот ппн тωп ὑмωот ап хе
семшп ἡгλι ептирг. отог отае тпашемшп ап ἡгаппотῆ
ἡтсωотп ὑмωот ап.

Отог пзетс меп етексажн ἐрог тѳмг ап хе оташ ἡсмот пе
отог ѳметотро мпг носмос тѳрепѳтмпн ἐрос ап. епа-
тгнот гар ἡот. ашшан хемгнот ὑпалкосмос тирг ἡтатоси
ἡтаψтхн.

Αγερῶ πхе τραγανος πεχαγ . хе хоґопгз ёһол хе лмопгзл
 һесөнсис лметкарнт һһнтк. еһе фал акшшшг һпгзореа
 етаготш етнтот пак. отог хпаөри хонт һтаерколазп
 лмок зеп тмωρια пһен. от мопон зωс атсωтеμ, алла
 зωс атшепгмот отог еґераптлгепн отһе пгзотма һтеґстп-
 клнтос еһотаһ, отог епґерөтсга ап һпһпөтґ.

Αγερῶ һхе гппатлос пехаг . хе арлстп ппн ката фнет рапак
 ω потро.

Αποκ гар фпаерөтсга ап. отзе гар лмоп хрωм отзе
 лмоп [с]татрос лмоп хонт һөһрюп лмоп шωт ёһол
 һпмелос пашхемхом ап ёфорхт ёһолга фґт етопз. фме
 гар ап лпалкосмос алла елмег лфнет аґмот зароп пхс
 еаґтωпг ёһолзеп пнеөмωотт.

III. Α фстгклнтос тлрс еротω пехас. хе апон тегсωотп
 хе һпөтґ запатмот пе. һаш һрпґ кхω лмос һөок хе
 а пхс мот. еотпөтґ пе.

Αγερῶ һхе гпπαλιος пехаг . хе паот апон кап исхе
 аґмот ката отοικονομга еһе пепөтхал аґтωпг лпмаг
 τ һегзот.

Ннет етепхω лмос ерωот һөωтеп хе потґ атмот зωс
 реґмωотт. отог лпөт тωотпөт хе гпа һтетепемг пзггс
 мен фөомс зеп крптп.

Ασκληπιος зе атразтг глтеп откератпос гшоп зеп о.өотрпс.

Αφροαγга зе сөомс зеп плграт нем пкпппос.

Πρακлис атровгг глтеп отхрωм еаґωшем. петеппөтґ
 семшга һоттмωρια лпалрпґ еһе хе запатамагп пе отог
 һреґерпетгωот отог һреґтакө һпрωмг.

Πепос зе һөог пхс кап исхе атерстатрωппп лмог отог
 аґмот екотсготс алла аґотωпг ёһол һтеґхом. зеп
 пхпөрег тωпг ёһолзеп пнеөмωотт. отог аґз лшшш
 һпнет атзоөег, ёһолгитеп өппот прωмеос. Отог петеп-
 ют атз лшшш лмωот ёһолгитеп фґт зωс ергатпс һте-
 тага.

IV. Пезаѣ ѡѣ трапалос. ѣ акшап ерѣтсѣ хпажемзот
акштем ерѣтсѣ хпаотемзѣнк ѣмашѡ. маасо отп ѣрок
ѡмататк ѡпатекшен зѣсѣ.

Пѣхѣу ѿже ѿпадоуос. же епѣлѣсо ёроу пѣ. пѣлѣер фнѣт
етѣпѣтѣрѣсарѣу ѿмоу пѣ пѣ.

Πεχαυ ἦχε τραγῶς. ἔχεν ἑξῆς τεφμεστερητ, ἡραγκοῦμ-
πος ἡτάτῃ.

Περαυ ἦγε πικωρί θεπ отмеѣни гпаѣиос. же акотѡушс
ѣбол ѡпамеѣ ѣѡти ѣпхс пгого ѡ потро.

Πεχαυ ἦχε τραγανός. καὶ ῥωκὶ ἠπερσφίρωσι. ἠραπρὸς ἠέ-
ημι ἠτετεριῶσι ἠοτρῶσι ἐπερῶσι.

Περαὶ ἵξε ππαδιος. же παλογисμος тирү форш ёфт. отор
 ἡφερесθαπесοε ап ёппетшоп ἡμωον.

Περαυ ἦγε τραγανος. χε ἀρι ὄτσια ἡπινότη. παλ σαχι γαρ
πατρωνοτ πακ απ ἡρλι.

Пѣхадъ ѿже ꙗпааюсѣ. же ашъ ѿпоуѣ арнотъ керкелетинъ пи
еори ерѣтсиа ѿппоуѣ ѿтепиреміхнини.

Отмасі. нем отѣарнт. нем отѣоті. нем отпѣікос. нем
отроу іпреузімаѣоті. нем ототѡпш. нем ототѡр. нем
отмоті. нем отѣсар.

Іє пхрѡм ѿтепперсѣс. фал ет а ираклѣнѣс отѡшт ѿмоу.

Іє фмωοτ ηθαλλης. іє πτωοτ εςεαπеснт λпкаζη. іє περμης
πρεყβιουτ.

Πεχαυ ἦχε τραγῆος. ξε ἀγχοσ πακ ξε ἀρι θῆσι. παλ σαχι
 γαρ ετεκχω ἄμωοτ. πατρῆοτ πακ ἀπ ἡγλι.

Πεχε ιγναριος. же агхос пак же фпаершотшшотшш ап. фсшотп
 гар ап илзл ипшотф. иса шшотал лмататс. фал еташфамю
 итфе нем шкарз фюм нем пнет илхнтс тшрот фал
 етои нешотсга исарз пидеп. фф итепппа нем пнетеппат
 ершот ап.

Περαχ η̅χε τραγανος. χε η̅μ ταρ ετερκωλην λμοκ ε̅σωπ
 φ̅φ̅ πε ε̅σμεσιγ λμογ η̅μ η̅ποτ̅φ̅ η̅λ ρωπ ε̅τεπερομολογην
 λ̅μωοτ̅ ριοτ̅σοη̅.

Περαυ ἦτε πναλιος. χε αρεσαν ϣϣϣε ρεζιακριππ ἡναλω

Πεχαϋ ἵχε τραγανος. χε αποκ εῶπακωρϥ ἡτεπερесис пта-
ерөнпот ἡсаhe. ἐштеммиши нем пгзотма ἡтепρωмеос.

Πεχε писофос ιснаδιос. χε отор нм еῶпашхемхом ω потро
ἐhωλ ἐhол ἡпнет а ф† семпнотот отор аqкотот. кап
арешап отаг хеп хωри гпахемзот ἡzли ап имн† ἡтот-
хемϥ еqмиши нем ф†.

Πשמши гар ппхристιανос отмопн χε сенашhолϥ ἐhол ап
гитен пирωми алла ἐhолгитен †хом ἡтепхс гпаерпрокоп-
тип ἡгзото ἐhол зеп отероот ἡтеqатзане отор ἡтеqагаг
отор ἡтеqеротωни зеп пактип ἡтефотωни ἡ†мететсеhис.

Πкаги тирϥ паашаг есотен пс̄с ἡфрин† ἡотмωот еуош еqзwhс
ἡпнамагот. ката псахи ἡппрофитис.

От зкеон ап пе ω потро еῶрекмот† ἐпשמши ἡпхристια-
пос χε гересис. паг сахи гар χε гересис форх ἐhол ἡпх-
христιανисмос. еῶhe χε паирап χε гересис отфаптасга те.
отгнт еqплага еуשמши ἡпечмети ἡмататϥ ἡотзwh еqемша
ап ἡтагоϥ. ἡфрин† ἡтгересис ἡпепикотриос ἡшотθωм ἡрwс
етхω ἡмос χε ἡмоп пот† шоп.

Ιе ἡфрин† п†гересис етхω ἡмос е†ψтхн ἡпоера. χе ша-
сотωтеh ἐзотп епитеhпωоти. нем ἡппθikos нем пгзли.

Ιе θαδριστοhотлос θαг етхω ἡмос. χе ф† ергем ἡпнетшоп
за фрап ἡмататϥ. ἡпнетфез епеснт ша пноз.

Πשמши χе ἡθoϥ ἡпхристιανос отсωотпот пе ἡтеф† етшоп
зеп отмеθми нем печмопотечнс ἡшири нем †оlкопо-
миа ἡатшиh† етаqθг сарз ἡзнтс еаqер рωми зеп отмет-
атфωрх.

Πпечшh† гар зеп теqметпот† мененса θреϥ ер рωми. алла
ἡθoϥ ἡθoϥ он пе.

Ερε тполгта ἡпгзhноти. еῶпа | отор нполемос етатшопи
ἡзнтот нем птарахн ἐзотп епотернот. атhωλ ἐhол
отор атшопи зеп отхамн ἡгзириппикон.

VII. Δсеротω ἵχε †стпклнтос. χе се паг смот ἡпаирн†. ката
еῶпа. The lacuna is after this word.

φρητ̃ ἐτακxос. ἀλλὰ φαι πε тειxонт еѡѡнтѣ же аѣѡλ
ἐβoλ λ̃пшємшѣ ἱппoт̃ѣ.

Πεxαѣ ἵxε ιcпaλiос. же oтoз oт пе ппeтpωoт eтaѣшoπи
ω фкерoтcиa eттaиoтт же a тeпгaнмiа λ̃пeпoс зiоти
ἐβoλδeп пpωмi ἱппiп̃a ἱтeфлaпн. eтe пгeмωп пе.

Етoи ἱттpаппoс ἐxеп пpωмeос зaтoн λ̃фoот λ̃фpиτ̃ eтaѣope
пф̃т̃лн ἱeѡпoс ἱѡapѡapoc eтe λ̃мoп злi ἱcтпнaλicic ἱз̃и-
тoт, зпeхωoт ἱтapxи ἱпpωмeос, ѡaи eтe фтpафн eѡoтaѡ
ἱтeпxриcтiапoс мoт̃ѣ ἐpoc же пш̃ѡт ἱѡeппи eаѣтcaѡe
пpωмi. же oтпoт̃ѣ ἱoтωт eтpиxеп птpѣ oтoз aѣaтoт
λ̃pемpe ἐβoλзa ф̃мeт̃ѡк. eтeпшaшѣ ἱтe фпoрнa. eтoи ἱaѡпaи
oтoз ἱoтaмcпoѣ. ἐзoтн eпeптeпoc.

Πaтpтp̃фа тap пе зeп пicпoѣ ἱтeпeтeпшнpи. eтeтeпшoт λ̃мωoт
пωoт. oтoз пaт̃ѡдeм λ̃мωтeп пе зeп ппoлeмoc eтeтeп-
иpи λ̃мωoт пeм пeтeп eрнoт пн̃eтнп eтaиф̃тcic пeм пaи-
тeпoc ἱoтωт.

Oтoз пaтepaпaткaзп λ̃мωтeп eepacxιмoпн oтoз eѡpетeп
шoπи eрeтeп̃нш пeм пeтeпzιōмi зeп пoтшaи ἱѡoт̃ зeп
зтaпн п̃ѡeп кaтaфpиτ̃ зoс eрeтeпшoп зeп oтeчмaλωcиa.

Oтoз пaт̃ѡдeм λ̃пкaзи зeп пoтcпoѣ. oтoз пaиp зeп пoт-
aкaѡapcиa.

Шeп пeѡпoc ἱтeпicкнп̃eс oтoз ceпaтaмωтeп. же пoтeѡпoc
пe, eш̃aт пpωмi ἱт̃apтeмic ἱѡωтeп зe тeтeпoтωш aп
eepoмoлoтнп λ̃пeтeпшпн eѡѡe ф̃кoтxи ἱш̃epи eш̃aт зeл̃з̃ωλc
ἱп̃кpoпoc.

Πeλλнпoc ἱѡωoт ceшoтшoт λ̃мωoт ἐxеп пaи ѡтcиā λ̃пaиpиτ̃
eаѣтcaѡo eрωoт ἐβoлзгтeп пeѡпoc ἱѡapѡapoc.

Аѣepoтω ἵxε тpаaпoс пexаѣ же ш̃e ппoт̃ѣ. ф̃oи ἱш̃фнpи
λ̃мoк ω ιcпaλiос ἐxеп пeкпш̃ѣ ἱcωoтн, кaп icxе ф̃тaгo
aп λ̃пeкшємшѣ.

Πeхaѣ ἵxε ιcпaλiос. же oтoз oт пе пpѡѡ eтeкpиoти λ̃пeп-
шємшѣ eпpап ἱз̃итѣ.

Аѣepoтω ἵxε тpаaпoс пeхaѣ. же eѡѡe же тeтeпoтωшт aп

̀мπεπο̃т фрн, отѣ тѣе, отѣ ппоз еѳотаѣ. пресѣшаш
 пепхал пѣеп.

Пехад ѡхе ппазюс. же отоз пм пе еѳпаотѡшт ̀мфрн.
 фал етшоп ѡеп отсхнма. отоз етпнокисѳе ѡтепесѳесис.
 фнетзюти ̀мпеуѡмом ѣбол ѡеп откерос. отоз еуѳи ̀ммоу
 ̀пкекерос.

Епаотѡшт ̀ммоу ̀паш ̀прнѣ. фнете щаре пезотѡпи. хѡжеѣ
 ̀потсноѣ епурѡѣ етотмотѣ ѣроу ѡатепппот же еклѣѣис.
 фнет ̀ммоп щхом ̀ммоу епер ещнѣѣ ѡтеуѣагис нем теуеп-
 ернѣа пара пѳѡш ѡтефнет аѣѳамюу отоз етотарсагн
 пау ѣѳѳи епепмѡт. паг тирот гашшеммо пе етѳѳис
 ̀пѣмеѳпѳѣ ̀пшототѡшт пас ̀мататс.

Тѣе ѡе оп. апаотѡшт ̀ммос ̀паш ̀прнѣ гѡс потѣ. етгѡѣс
 ̀ммоу ̀пѳмнш ̀псѳп гитен пѳнп. ѳаг ѣта псреѣсѡпт
 форш ѣбол ̀мфрнѣ ̀пѳкамара отоз аѣѣахрос ̀мфрнѣ
 ̀пѳскнпн.

Епаотѡшт ѡе оп ̀мппоз ̀паш ̀прнѣ. фал етхѳеѣ отоз
 етмер отоз етѳно ̀пхѡу ̀пппаѳѳс ещѣѣереѣнпн ̀пѳмнш
 ̀псѳп.

Алла екхѡ ̀ммос. же сѣе еотѡшт ̀ммоѡт еѳѣ потѡпн
 етѳернѡѡт. паг сахг отмн ап пе.

Ета потѡнмнотгрос гар ѣ ̀ппототѡпн ѣрѡѡт ап еѳрот ѡѡшт
 ̀ммоѡт гѡс потѣ алла еѳрот еротѡпн епурѡмн отоз
 еѳрот ѣагаг ̀ппкарпос еѳрот фог ѡеп поткерос отоз ̀псе-
 маг пегѳот ̀пѳѡпн нем пехѡрг.

Писют ѡе оп етатѳащот ̀пгаппнпн еѳрот ерстменпн ̀ппке-
 рос нем пшнѣѣ ̀ппсноѡт отоз еѳрот шѡпн ̀пгап мнпн ̀ппнет
 шѳнр ѡеп фюм.

Пмоп гѣг отп ѡеп паг ̀пшотѡшт ̀ммоѡт гѡс потѣ. отѡе
 пмѡѡт фнет отмотѣ ѣроу же поснѡѡп.

Отѡе пхрѡм фал ѣтетепмотѣ ѣроу же нѳестѳс.

Отѡе пшнр фал ѣтетепмотѣ ѣроу же нра. отѡе пѣагн фал
 ѣтетепмотѣ ѣроу же гнмгнр.

Ὅτ' αὖ πικάρπος· καὶ τήροτ' καὶ ἰσχεῖ ἐταφθαμίων ἑπταρο
ἐρατὴ ἄπενωπὸς χαρρυῖνι† πε στορ χαλαφύχοι πε.

VIII. Аҗеротω һѣ трапакос. хе ѡпѣхос пак исхеп шорп. хе
һоок петактасѡе фанатолн ѣштемшешш ѡппотѣ.

Нѣмъ гдѣ еѡпасѡтемъ ѣмъ сѡхѣмъ нѣмъ ѣѡлѣтѡтѣмъ ѣтѣшѡтемъ
ѣѡпасѡтѣмъ ѣтѣшѡтѣмъ.

Πεχαυ ἦχε ἡπαλῖος. ἔε ὁτορ εὐθε ὅτ κχοπт. ω ποτρο. ἔε
тепѣшω ёштетошшт ἡпыете сше ап еотшшт ἡμωот алла
еотшшт ἡфѣ ἡмнн ὁтоρ етопѣ фреусωпт ἡтфе пем пкагн
ὁтоρ фреусωотпот ἡρωῆ пйеп ѡтотн ἡпатотшшп.

Отъро пѣрмопоуеиис ѿшнри пепѳ̅с̅ инс пх̅с̅. фѡг гар пе псѡоти
лми лмататѣ. отъо фотопг еѳол итепешемши. етфериѡот
зек гап тоума лми етоотог еѳол.

ТѢРІСКІА ЖЕ ЙѢОС ЙТЕНІЕЛЛНПОС ЁТЕПАШЕ ПЕСНОТѢ ОУАѢНОТѢ
 ТЕ. ОУОУ СМОТЕН ЙСОУ ЙМОС ЖЕ СШОУТ ОУОУ СТАХРНОУ
 АН. ОУОУ СОУ ЁРАТС ЁЖЕН ОЛІ ЙРѢН ЕУТОУЖНОУ АН.

Τὴν γὰρ ἐτεμνωσας σοὶ κατὰ πέτεσθοντ.

Винаштепротте гар ѡаш ѡрнѣ. соп мен сѡѡмос же ѡѣ
ѡпотѣ етѡоп ѣжен птирѣ. соп он же ̄. ке соп же ̄. ке
соп же ̄. соп же стаото ѡрапмнѡ ѡпотѣ ѡмон рап ѡмон
нпѣ ѣрѡот.

Статото де он прахιπαχφο нем ραητεαλοτια ραησι де он
сеотωшт ηηπαθος ητεητεηνωσι ρως ποητ. οτορ ητεηνωσι
ηρημερος ηματατοз ап. алла ηικεαгриос он.

Соп же он пишунп. отоз ша ёзрнп лпшсн нем пмхωλ
лпатерпаратисое ёотωшт ммωот нем ппомфталз мппа
птефпехп.

Нагъ же тѣротъ, нѣмъ пѣ еѡпащѣгѣ ѡмоу, ꙗко ѡтѣфѡт ѡгнѣ ѣхѡтъ,
маллонъ же нѣмъ пѣ еѡпасѡѡгѣ ѡсѡтъ ап, ꙗко еѡпарѣмъ ап
ѣрѡтъ.

Իֆրիդ Կար ինկետ աշփռաօտ ընծալ. ետափաօտ ընծալեն օտփորն.
 Եսադմետի ըրաւմ քիւն յէ քոտիաւ քէ. չէն քալնորօտ Երա-
 օտեն քոտիաւ Ետափափօտ. փալ քէ Լիֆրիդ ինկետ ադմետի

ἡραμινш ἡραп. хе раппотѣ пе зеп пхипорот зей ёболзеп
псотеп фѣт љмин љмататѣ фалете љмон теѣархн отзе
ххх.

Аѣеротш ἡхе трапанос отоз пезаѣ. хе откети фпашѣал ап за
текметзасигнт. ксѡи гар ἡсѡи зеп отметзото ехотшш
ёбро ёроп зеп рапсахи ἡкотс.

Ариѣтсѡ хе отп фпот ἡппотѣ серѡшш гар ёрок ἡхе пнет
акхотот ёзотп ёзрап. зеп отметфлогарос. Бшѡп зе хпаер-
ѣтсѡ ап. фпаерколазп љмок. отоз ёпзаё ἡтатпк ἡп-
ѣриоп.

Пезаѣ ἡхе игпазѡс. хе шѡ ѣпат кѣрот зеп псахи. кххх
ёбол ап ἡпирѣноти етекѡш љмѡт.

Апок гар, апок отхристѡпос фпаерѣтсѡ ап ἡппотѣ љпо-
пироп. алла апаотѡшт љфѣ ἡагаѣос. фѡт љпаѣс ἡнс пхс
фнет аѣеротшш ёроп зеп фотшш љпегемѡ. фнет аѣотшш
ἡпаѣал еѣрпат ёпегшфпг. фал пе еѣшѣмш љмоѣ. отоз
егѣѡт паѣ. ἡѣоѣ гар зеп отмеѣмн пе фѣт. отоз пѣс отоз
потро. отоз штѣпатос љмататѣ.

IX. Пезе трапанос. хе фпарокрк гѡзеп пхѣлох ἡѣеппн.
акштем ерметанопп.

Пезаѣ ἡхе игпазѡс. хе отпеѣпанѣ те фметанѡѡ ѡ потро
ἡпнеѣпакотот ёболзеп ппетзѡт ёзотп ёппеѣпанѣѣ. пн
зе еѣпакотот ёболзеп ппеѣпанѣѣ ёзотп ёппетзѡт
серѡти ёпзрап.

От петесшѣ пе ёѣохѡ ἡса петсотп отоз петзѡѡт ап љмон
зѣл сотп еѣмететсеѣнс.

Пезаѣ ἡхе трапанос. хе зѡи ἡтеѣѣсѡс отоз ἡтетепхос паѣ.
хе сѡтем ἡса шаттократѡр отоз ἡтекерѣтсѡ ἡппотѣ
ката пзѡсма ἡѣстпгѣлнтос.

Пезаѣ ἡхе игпазѡс. хе апок феррот затгн љпзѡсма љфѣ
етхѡљмос. хе ἡпотшшп пак ἡхе раппотѣ ἡшѣммо ёѣнѣ
ёроп.

Отоз хе фнеѣпашѣмш ἡзрап ке потѣ ἡшѣммо етеѣотѣ ёбол.

Тѣмъ а҃п ѱа ѿсѣпѣнѣмъ пѣтро. е҃ѣмъ а҃п ѱа
е҃рпарѣмъ.

Πνομος γαρ ἴτε φφ ζω ἄμος γε ἡνεκσι προ ἡοτατπαστις
 ζειν πρην. οτορ οπ γε ἡνεκσεμνι ἡτοτκ нем отмишъ ёхей
 тоткакѣ.

Печаѣ ꙗже трапѣосъ. ꙗже ꙗощѣ ꙗотрѣмотъ немъ отрѣмѣ ѣхепъ
нещѣщѣ.

Πεχε υπαδατος. γε δισι πιθεν εοπαυωπι πιγ. εοθε τομολογια
ετσι εζοτην εφφ. σεωωτφ πιγ εζοτην πιπιεχε. οτι εοταθ
πιμκατς γαρ ιτεπαγено ιτεφног. семша ап мпшот εο-
παδωρι παп εβол ката φρηφ етсзногг.

Пѣхѣу ѿхѣ трапѣнос. ꙗѣ фрѣми маасѣ ѣрок ѿмѣтѣти ѡпои
ѿтѣкѣри ѿпнѣтѣтѣсѣрѣи ѿмѣтѣ пак. ѣшѣи ѿмѣи ꙗѣѣрѣхѣрѣ-
сѣѣ пак ѿрѣи кѣ ѣсѣпѣсѣ ѣтрѣѣѣтѣ ѣрѣтѣ пѣи.

Περαυ ἵκε ἡπαλῶς χε. ἡμ εὐαφορῶτεν σαβὼλ ἡταγαπῆ
ἡτεφῆ.

Οὐροχρεα πε. ιε οὐ ταχτρο ιε οὐροκ. ιε οὐήωψ. ιε οὐκτυπ-
πος. ιε οὐσηψι.

Παριτ δε οντ ον. γε οτδε φμοτ οτδε πωπδ. λμοп ρλι
 нашфорхтен сабоѡ ѡтагани ѡтефт̄ нем фмететсеѡнс
 еѡтахрноѡт̄ ѡхеп тхом ѡпхс.

Πεχαυ ἦχε τραγῆος. καὶ ἐκμετι ἔσρο ἔροι ἐβολοχίτην τεκμε-
ται θα θίσι πῆθεν. πρῶμι γὰρ οὐζῳον πε λμαίσρο.

Πεχαυ ἦχε ἰσχυαῖος. εἰμετι ἀπ' ἡμαρταν. ἀλλὰ φπαρτ' ἔειπ
οτμεῶμνι. καὶ ἔειπ οὔτρο αἰτρο. ὅσοι φπατρο.

Περαυ ἦκε τραγῆπος. γε ἀλιτῷ ἡτερεπταρε ἡεφθαλατῃ ἔχεν
 οὔτε. οὔτορ ἡτερεριτῷ ἐπιπυτεκο εἰσαδοτη οὔτορ ἡτερε-
 πυτεμ ἤα εἰλι πατ ἐροῦ οὔτορ ἡσεπυτεμ ἤαυ ἔσε μωοτ οὔτε
 εοτεμ ωικ ἡτῷ ἡεροοτ πεμ τῷ ἡεχωρ. γε ρπα ἡτατνῷ
 ἡππθριον μεκεπεα παλ οὔτορ παριτῷ ἡτεφωρῃ ἔβολ
 ἡπαωπθ.

Ἀσερωτῶ ἦξε ἑστεικίλιτος. ἔε ἀνοπ οἱ τιρεπ теπερстмепи
ἡтецапофасис. ащшошен тар тиρεп нем павтократор отог

ἡπερῆραπεχесѳе еерѳѳѳа ἡπποτѳ ἁλλα αϥερομολογῖп же
 апок оуχρηстапос.

Πεχαϥ ἡхе ιϥпаδῖος. же ϥсмарωотт ἡхе фѳ фῖωт ἡпаѳѳ инс
 пхс фнет аϥаῖт ἡемпша деп теϥμεѳагаѳѳѳ еѳпащѳс
 ееркопѳппн епῖῖκατѳ ἡтеπεϥхс пеϥμεпгῖт ἡщирῖ отог
 ἡпштос ἡмеѳре ἡте теϥметпотѳ.

Х. Отог деп пмаг ѳ ἡεгоот а трапос мотѳ ѳѳстпгклнтос
 пем ппрефектос. отог аῖт епѳѳеатроп. еа пгнмѳс тпгϥ
 ἡтепρωмеѳс ѳωотѳ ѳроϥ. пеатсѳтем ϥар пе же пῖепско-
 пѳс ἡтеѳѳтрῖа паѳ пем пῖенрῖоп.

Отог деп пхпѳреϥ отагсарп ἡхе потро атпῖ ἡπεѳотаѳ
 ιϥпаδῖος. отог етаϥпат ѳроϥ πεχαϥ паϥ. же апок ѳер-
 щфпῖ же еῖт копѳ менепса паῖ ἡсанапѳс тпрот пем пгко
 пем ппῖῖ.

Ἀλλα кап фпѳт сѳтем ἡсѳп гпна ехпаер ѳѳол ѳпаῖ δῖсῖ
 тпрот еῖтхп пак ѳѳрп. отог ἡтекщѳпн паῖ ἡщпῖ.

Πεχαϥ ἡхе ιϥпаδῖος. же паῖметῖ же отоп отморфн ἡρωмῖ
 ἡзнтк пе. фпѳт де тектѳѳпн сопῖ ἡѳапῖтепнѳотῖ.

Саѳол мен керколакетп ἡмоῖ деп гапсахῖ. керепѳотлетпн
 де ѳроῖ деп гапсахῖ еῖтгпн.

Нексахῖ гапсахῖ ἡмаῖρωмῖ пе некметῖ ἡмон гῖῖ ἡотжаῖ
 ἡзнтѳт.

Сѳтем ѳроῖ же фпѳт деп отпаррпсῖа. апок фѳп ап ептпгϥ
 ἡпаῖωпѳ ἡреϥмот отог ἡреϥтако еѳѳе инс пхс паѳѳ
 фῖаῖ еѳмет ἡмоϥ отог еῖῖщῖ ἡсѳϥ отог еῖгнῖ ѳратϥ. ἡѳоϥ
 ϥар пе пѳпк ἡѳмеѳаѳмот отог отсѳотп пе ἡтепѳѳѳ
 ἡпепеῖ. отог апок апок фѳϥ тпрт отог аῖѳѳрщ ἡпаῖметῖ
 тпгϥ пагῖаϥ. еѳѳе фῖаῖ ѳеркатафрѳпн ἡпекῖῖсанапѳс тпрот
 отог фтасѳѳ ѳѳол ἡпектаῖо.

Πεχαϥ ἡхе трапос. же епгн гмпн ѳѳолдеп теϥметѳасῖгнт
 сопгϥ ἡтетепхѳ ѳѳол ѳхѳϥ ἡмоῖ ῖ. гпна ἡтештем гῖῖ
 сѳхп ѳѳолдеп пеϥсѳма.

Ἦен пхпѳреϥ пат де ἡхе пмакаῖрῖος ιϥпаδῖος епмоῖ ῖ.

ката отъшотъшотъ ите отнарътъ нем отъакеосипи. же се деп
пима етаѣсеѣтотъ затен поѣ фаи он етаѣшенъ сѣси немаѣ.
етатменпре паи еѡпи ап. алла етаѣменпре пхс. фаи етаѣмотъ
сарон отог аѣтѡпѣ.

Щаѣхос де он менепса откотъи деп таи епистоли иотѡт. же
ис риппе аѡтѡрп пѡтѣ. ишепистоли ите пмакариос игна-
диос етаѣсѣнтотъ шарон нем пкеѣхѡтѡп тиѡт етѣатотѣ.
ката фриѣ етаретенъ сѣаи пап.

Паи ететепнаѣмотъ етѣсѣнтотъ деп таи епистоли отог итетеп-
ѣрнотъ ѣмашѡ ѣѡл иѣнтотъ сѣѣѣѡ тар еѡѣ ппаѣтъ нем
ѣрѣпомѡпи ите пенѡѣ инс пхс.

Ѳаи те ѡмартѣриа ѡпмакариос отог писѡфос игнадиос. менепса
перѣѡк ѣѡл аѣси иѣметепископос ите ѣпѡлис апѡѡѣа
иѣѣ ирѡп иѣтѣкѣлотатос отог иенѡѡѡс.

Ферѣметѣ же ѡперѡотъ итаѡлѣсис отог иѣепнеос ѡмапѡтѣ
пмартѣрос ите пхс писѡфос игнадиос песѡѡѡ ѡпаѣѡтъ
ѣшатѡтѣ ѣроѣ ката ирѡмеос. же папѣмос.

Ката ирѣмѡхѡми де песѡтъ ѣ иѣпип деп пхс инс пенѡѣ.

Ишлѡл ите пмакариос ирѡп фѡет аѣ ѣѣма ѡпмакариос
игнадиос пѡѣѡфорос.

И фѡтиѡ ѡѣѣ иѣѡфос игнадиос фѡет ѡѣ ѣратѣ ѣроѣ.

И фѡет аѣѣрѡтѣ иѣѣстоли иатѣиѣѣѣ.

И фѡет аѣси ѣѡл деп ѣпѡѣи иѡѡмотѡп.

И фѡет ерѣѡп нем пматѣѣлос.

И пѣѣѣир ѡми. ите пѣѡрп ѡмиѣ фѡет аѣѡтѡпѣѣ ѣѡл ииѣетъ
деп пѡѡсмос.

V.,

ARABIC EXTRACTS
FROM
IGNATIAN LETTERS.

EDITED BY W. WRIGHT, LL.D.

The Arabic text of these extracts has been edited by Möisinger (*Suppl. Corp. Ignat.* p. 13 sq.) from the MS *Vatic. Arab.* 101. He also gives various readings from other Vatican MSS.

An Ethiopic translation from the Arabic is edited by Dillmann in Cureton's *Corp. Ignat.* p. 257 sq. It is somewhat amplified.

The following text is taken from the Paris MS, *Bibl. Nat. Supplément* 51, f. 12 b, here designated P. The notes give the principal variants of Möisinger's text (M). All the MSS are very incorrect in point of grammar and diction. The Ethiopic translation is denoted by D.

An English translation is appended.

ARABIC EXTRACTS.

I.

وقال القديس اغناطيوس الشهيد بطريرك انطاكية وهو الثاني فيها بعد
بطرس رئيس الكواريين في رسالته.

الله خالق الطبايع كلها هو¹ ظافر بطقس الطبيعة الثالث علي
عرشها ويكوي الكل² وملؤها في احشاء العذري. ووحداية اللاهوت
هي التي نتكلم³ لأجلها هاهنا هذه التي هي في الابن وليس للاقانيم⁴.
هو معلق علي الصليب ويغفر الذنوب⁵ هو في المقبرة ويقيم الموتى
هو خارج من المقبرة ويترك⁶ الثياب فيها هو دخل⁷ الي التلاميذ
والابواب مغلقة واعطاهم⁸ السلام. ثم الاب في الابن والابن في الاب
والزوج القدس هذه الثالث المتساوية الغير مفترقة ولا متغيرة ثلاثة
اقانيم لاهوتية واحدة ربوية واحدة جوهر واحد قوة واحدة مملكة
واحدة ساجدة واحدة (fol. 13 a) تمجيد واحد تسبيح واحد يجب
لثالث مجد واحد مشورة واحدة سلطان واحد عز واحد ثبات واحد

¹ وهو M.² كلا M.³ تتكلم P.⁴ الاقانيم M.⁵ الخطايا M.⁶ ويخلف M.⁷ يدخل M.⁸ يدفع لهم M.

فكر واحد ارادة واحدة للثالوث¹ المقدس الاب هو اب وليس هو ابن
والابن هو ابن وليس هو اب والروح القدس هو الروح القدس وليس²
ينتقل الي الابوة ولا الي البنوة. هذا³ الثالوث تام⁴ علي عرش المجد
الذي هم⁵ مرتبطة بوحداية اللاهوتية الواحدة الذي هو النور الواحد
المشرق من الثالوث ويملاً كل الخليقة وينور⁶ علي ما تحت الارض
كما هو مكتوب اني املاً السماء والارض والذين هم اسفل⁷ الجحيم
نظروا بمجدي⁸. وانت ايها القائل ان اللاهوت متألّم ومايّة نحن
نؤمن ان المسيح الله تألّم بالجسد كالانسان وهو غير متألّم كالاله
وذاق الموت بالجسد وهو غير مايّت كالاله. فاذا سمعت ان الله تألّم
عنا وان الله الكلمة مات لأجلنا فافهم انا نوصل الطبايع الي وحدانية
اللاهوت والناسوت ونسميها بهذا الاسم الواحد اللائق بالله كما أنك
انت ايضا من طبيعتين نفس وجسد وتسمّا بهذا الاسم الواحد اللائق
بالانسان. ونفسك غير مواتة (fol. 13 b) بالطبع⁹ ونفسك ليس هي
لاهوت بل هي غير الجسد. والكرامة التي نشتهي ان نعطيها¹⁰ لأنفسنا
التي هي انها لا تموت كيف لا تشتهي انت ان تعطيها¹¹ لللاهوت
الواحد الذي في الثالوث هذا الذي هو في الابن الواحد ربنا يسوع
المسيح. اما تعلم أنك اذا قلت ان اللاهوت مات فأنت قاتل

ثام P⁴. بل هذا M³. لا M². في الثالوث M¹.

مجدي M⁸. والذي اسفل M⁷. ينورون M⁶. لهم M⁵.

تدفعها M¹¹. ندفعها M¹⁰. طبعي M⁹.

الثالوث وجسد الرب في المقبرة وصيرته مثل جثة بتمام لانه
 جوهر واحد للثالوث¹ الذي هو اللاهوتية الواحدة. فاين الآن الذي
 ظفر² بالموت وسبا³ اللجيم وانت تصيره مثل واحد لا عزاء له⁴ مع
 الموتى ولا حركة⁵. لكن بالكثر قد تجد آخرين في الثاوماخوسيين⁶ هكذا
 يظنوا بالجسد الذي بناه الله له من⁷ لحم ودم العذري كما يعرف
 هو كصانع انه جسد بلا نفس وقالوا ان اللاهوت هي نفسه. فهل
 تري خرجت منه اللاهوتية ومات الجسد بالجملة. فليفتضح⁸ الآن
 من يقول هذا الكفر هكذا ويسمعوا قول الرب ان نفسي حزينة حتي
 الي⁹ الموت. علي من يا رب علي الشعب الذي يهلك :-

والذي سبي M³. الان الظافر M². في الثالوث M¹.

وغير متحرك M⁵. عزاء له; but D evidently read له⁴. So P; M has

التاوماخوسيين M. M adds الله مكرني الله, الثاوماخوسيس P⁶.
 في P⁷. مكاربي الله. the note on p. 29 shows that we should read

الي M omits⁹. فليفتضح M⁸.

2.

وقال هذا القديس اغناطيوس الشهيد بطريك انطاكية في رسالته
الثالثة عشر.

(fol. 14 a) حقاً ولد المسيح حقاً نما¹ حقاً اكل وشرب حقاً صلب
حقاً تألم ومات² وقبر وقام من الموت. من امن بهذا أنه هكذي فهو
مغبوط ومن ازدي بهذا فإنه غريب من الحياة المغبولة التي
نحن نترجهاها. والذين يقسمون المسيح الواحد الي طبيعتين من
بعد الاتحاد فانهم يحسبوا مع اليهود قاتلي الاله. هؤلاء الذين قالوا
له بنفاق ليس لأجل فعل حسن نريد نرجمك بل لأجل التجديف
لأنك انسانا وتجعل نفسك الها. ويكونوا مع هؤلاء متساوين³ هكذي
اعني الذين يفكروا ضعفا لابن الله الكلمة الذين هم اصحاب
الطبيعتين ❖

¹ This clause is not in M.

² Wanting in M.

³ M ويكونون واحدا ترات (sic) معا (sic) هؤلاء M

The holy Ignatius, the Martyr, Patriarch of Antioch, being the second therein after Peter the chief of the Apostles, says in his Epistle:

GOD, the Creator of all natures, He it is that possesseth the ordering of nature, (being) the Trinity on Its throne; and He compriseth the universe (*lit.*, the whole); and the fullness thereof (*i.e.*, of the Trinity) was in the womb of the Virgin. But the unity of the Godhead (with Manhood) is that of which we speak here, that which is in the Son, and doth not belong to the (other) Persons. He is hung upon the Cross, and forgiveth sins; He is in the grave, and raiseth up the dead; He cometh forth from the grave, and leaveth the clothes therein; He went in to His disciples while the doors were shut, and gave them (the salutation of) peace. So the Father in the Son, and the Son in the Father, and the Holy Spirit, this is the Trinity, equal, indivisible, and immutable; three Persons, one Godhead, one Lordship, one essence; one power, one kingdom, one adoration, one glorification, one praise, is due to the Trinity; one glory, one counsel, one dominion, one might, one permanence, one thought, one will, belongeth to the Holy Trinity. The Father is Father, and not Son; and the Son is Son, and not Father; and the Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit, and changeth not unto Fatherhood nor Sonship. This Trinity is perfect on the throne of glory, being bound together by the unity of the one Godhead, which is the one light that shineth from the Trinity and filleth all creation and giveth light upon that which is beneath the earth, as it is written: *Behold I fill the heavens and the earth, and they that are in the depth of hell look upon my glory.* But as for thee that sayest that the Godhead suffered and died, we believe that the Christ God suffered in body as a man, while he is impassible as God; and that he tasted death in the body, while he is undying as God. Therefore, when thou hearest that God suffered for us, and that God the Word died on our behalf, understand that we join the Natures into a unity of Godhead and Manhood, and name them by this one name which beseemeth God, just as thou thyself art likewise (made up) of two natures, soul and body, and named by this one name which beseemeth man. And thy soul is immortal by nature, but thy soul is not Deity, yet is different from the body. And the honour which we desire to give unto our souls, namely that they die not, how dost thou not desire to give it to the one Godhead which is in the Trinity, that which is in the only (begotten) Son our Lord Jesus

Christ? Dost thou not know that, when thou sayest that the Godhead died, thou slayest the Trinity and the body of the Lord in the grave, and makest it utterly like a dead body? because to the Trinity (belongeth) one essence, which is the one Divinity. Where then now is He that conquered Death and led Hell captive? since thou makest him like one that hath no power¹ along with the dead, and no motion. Nay more, thou mayest find others among the Theomachi, who think thus of the body which God framed for Him of the flesh and blood of the Virgin, as He knoweth (how) as a maker, that it was a body without a soul, and they say that the Godhead was its soul. Dost thou think then that the Godhead went out of it, and the body died altogether? Let them be put to shame now who thus speak this blasphemy, and let them hear the word of the Lord, *Verily my soul is sorrowful even unto death.* For whom, O Lord? For the people that perisheth.

And this holy Ignatius, the Martyr, Patriarch of Antioch, says in his thirteenth Epistle:

CHRIST was really born, He really grew up, He really ate and drank, He was really crucified, He really suffered and died and was buried and rose from the dead. Whosoever believeth this that it is so, is blessed; and whosoever despiseth this, is a stranger to the blessed life, which we hope for. And they who divide the one Christ into two Natures after the union, shall be reckoned with the Jews, the murderers of God. These are they who said to Him with hypocrisy, *We wish not to stone thee because of a good work, but because of blasphemy, because thou art a man and makest thyself a God.* And thus shall they be equal unto these, I mean those who think that there is weakness in the Son of God, the Word, who are the holders of the two Natures (the Dyophysites).

¹ Reading عز with D, which has *za' albōtū khayl*.

VI.

PRAYER OF HERO.

I. LAUS HERONIS.

The Latin Version of the 'Prayer of Hero,' which in the MSS is found appended to the Latin translation of the Ignatian Epistles in the Long Recension. It was first printed by Baronius (*Ann. Eccl.* sub ann. 110) from a Vatican MS which Zahn (p. 297) would identify with *Palat.* 150; but see Funk II. p. xl sq. Ussher (*Ign. et Polyc. Ep.* p. 191) likewise printed it, making use (besides the edition of Baronius) of three MSS, *Magd.* 78, *Ball.* 229, and *Petav.*, from which also he gave various readings (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* p. 131 sq). Much later Dressel (*Patr. Apost.* p. xxi) edited it from *Reg.* 81 and *Palat.* 150. It has since been edited by Zahn, Funk, and Lagarde together with the Latin Epistles to which it is attached. I have only given the various readings where they are of interest.

II. THE PRAYER IN GREEK.

In this attempt at a restoration of the original, I have chiefly followed the Coptic Version (see II. p. 364 sq), which is printed at length above (p. 297) and is somewhat fuller than the Latin. At the same time I have sought assistance from the Latin, more especially in determining the form of the sentences.

I.

LAUS HERONIS.

Sacerdos et assessor sapientissime Dei, Ignati, immaculata stola indute, perenni fonte saturate, cum angelis laudem canens, primogeniti certe amice, a peccatis liberate, a diabolo separate : agonista constitutus in stadio veritatis, adquisisti pretiosam salutem ; confudisti Traianum et senatum Romae, prudentiam tunc non habentem ; domesticus factus es Christo in dilectione et fide et vita. Memor esto mei, filii tui Heronis, ut et ego de hac vita exiens sancte sanctis connumerer et dignum nomen merear adipisci et de iniusta statione atque a Deo aliena extraneus inveniar. Ter quaterque beate, qui ad talia pervenisti, pater Ignati, currus Israel et equester eius ; evasisti mortem fugiendo, et de terris ad caelestia evolasti ; coronam deificam et magnam meruisti et in amabili Dei agone vicisti. Memento eius, quem nutristi, beate martyr, et praesta mihi colloquium, sicuti et prius faciebas.

- I. *assessor*] Reg., Pet., with the Coptic ; *assertor* cet.
sapientissime] Zahn's conj., and so the Coptic ; *sapientissimi* MSS.
 II. *equester*] Pal., Magd. ; *auriga* cet. (from the Vulg. of 2 Kings ii. 12, xiii. 14).

2.

Εὐχὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρώου ὃς διεδέξατο τὸν μακάριον Ἰγνάτιον
 τὸν Θεοφόρον.

Ἰερεὺ καὶ παραστάτα Θεοῦ, Ἰγνάτιε σοφέ, στολὴν
 ἄσπιλον ἐνδεδυμένε, ἐκ πηγῆς αἰννάου πεπληρωμένε, συν-
 εορταστὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἰκέει ὄντως τοῦ πρωτοτόκου, ὃν
 ἐδήλωσεν τοῖς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὃν ἐξερύσατο ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν

τοῦ κόσμου, ἀποχωρίσας τοῦ διαβόλου· ἀθλητὰ γενναῖε, ὁμολογητὰ σοφέ, ὁ ἀγωνίσας ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὁ ἀπολαβὼν τὴν ἀσύγκριτον σωτηρίαν· ἀληθῶς ἐνίκησας ἐν ἰσχυί, ὃ μυσταγωγὲ ἱερέ, διδάσκαλε τῶν δογμάτων τῆς ἀληθείας· ἐβάστασας ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐν δυνάμει ἀκαταλύτῳ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ἐδυσώπησας τὸν Τραϊανὸν [καὶ τὸν σύγκλητον] μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας τῆς ἀνοήτου τῶν Ῥωμαίων· οἰκεῖος ἐγένου τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ τῆς ζωῆς.

Μνήσθητι τοῦ παιδός σου Ἡρώνος, ἵνα καγὼ ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τούτου ἅγιος ἀγίοις συναριθμηθῶ, ἀξιωθῆς τῆς ἀγαστῆς ζωῆς, καὶ εὐρεθῶ μακρὰν τῆς μερίδος τῶν ἀποστάντων ἀπὸ Θεοῦ.

Ἀληθῶς εἰ μακάριος, πάτερ Ἰγνάτιε, ὅτι μετωκίσθης ἐν δόξῃ, ἄρμα Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἱππεὺς αὐτοῦ· ἐξέφυγες ἐκ θανάτου καὶ ἐξένευσας τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας καὶ ἐκταράττοντας τὴν σὴν ναῦν, [ἐφορμίσας] εἰς τὸν λιμένα τὸν ἀόχλητον· καταφρονήσας τῆς γῆς, ἀπῆλθες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν· καὶ ἐν τῷ νικῆσαι σε ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀγῶνι τῷ εὐαρέστῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπήνεγκας τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἄθλου ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ.

Μνήσθητι ἐμοῦ ὃν ἐξέθρεψας, Ἰγνάτιε μακάριε, μάρτυς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ φανέρωσόν μοι σεαυτὸν καὶ δίδασκέ με, καθὼς καὶ ἐποίησας τὸ πρότερον.

S. POLYCARP.

THE EPISTLE OF POLYCARP.

I.

THE Epistle of Polycarp was written in reply to a communication from the Philippians. They had invited him to address words of exhortation to them (§ 3); they had requested him to forward by his own messenger the letter which they had addressed to the Syrian Church (§ 13); and they had asked him to send them any epistles of Ignatius which he might have in his hands (*ib.*).

This epistle is intimately connected with the letters and martyrdom of Ignatius himself. The Philippians had recently welcomed and escorted on their way certain saints who were in bonds (§ 1). From a later notice in the epistle it appears that Ignatius was one of these (§ 9). Two others besides are mentioned by name, Zosimus and Rufus (*ib.*). As these persons are not named elsewhere by any trustworthy authority in connexion with the history of Ignatius, and as some such mention of them in the epistles of Ignatius himself would probably have been found if they had formed part of his company, when those epistles were written, it may be supposed that they joined him afterwards at Philippi. A not improbable conjecture makes them Bithynian Christians who had been sent by Pliny to Rome to be tried there (see the note on § 9). In this case they would be placed under the same escort with Ignatius at Philippi, and proceed with him to Rome in the custody of the 'ten leopards' (Ign. *Rom.* 5). It is clear that Ignatius—probably by word of mouth—had given to the Philippians the same injunction which he gave to the churches generally (*Philad.* 10, *Smyrn.* 11, *Polyc.* 7), that they should send letters, and (where possible) representatives also, to exhort the Church of Antioch

and to congratulate it on the restoration of peace. Hence the request of the Philippians, seconded by Ignatius himself, that Polycarp would forward their letter to Syria. It is plain likewise, that they had heard, either from Ignatius himself or from those about him, of the epistles which he had addressed to the Churches of Asia Minor, more especially to Smyrna. Hence their further petition that Polycarp would send them such of these letters as were in his possession. The visit of Ignatius had been recent—so recent indeed, that Polycarp, though he assumes that the saint has suffered martyrdom, is yet without any certain knowledge of the fact. He therefore asks the Philippians, who are some stages nearer to Rome than Smyrna, to communicate to him any information which they may have received respecting the saint and his companions (see the notes on § 13 ‘*de ipso Ignatio*,’ etc.).

Beyond these references to Ignatius there is not much of personal matter in the letter. Polycarp refers, as he could hardly help referring, to S. Paul’s communications with the Philippians, both written and oral (§§ 3, 11). He mentions more especially the fame of the Philippian Church in the primitive days of the Gospel, and he congratulates them on sustaining their early reputation (§§ 1, 11). Incidentally he states that the Philippians were converted to the Gospel before the Smyrnæans (§ 11)—a statement which entirely accords with the notices of the two churches in the New Testament.

The fair fame of the Philippian Church however had been sullied by the sin of one unworthy couple. Valens and his wife—the Ananias and Sapphira of the Philippian community—had been guilty of some act of greed, perhaps of fraud and dishonesty. Valens was one of their presbyters, and thus the church was more directly responsible for his crime. Polycarp expresses himself much grieved at this incident. He trusts that the offenders may repent, but deprecates too great severity in their treatment. Though the incident itself is only mentioned in one passage, it has plainly made a deep impression on Polycarp. The sin of avarice is denounced again and again in the body of the letter (see the note on § 4).

The letter is sent by the hand of one Crescens, who had approved himself by his conduct during his residence at Smyrna. The sister of Crescens also, who purposes visiting Philippi, is commended to them (§ 14).

2.

The following is an *Analysis* of the epistle :

‘POLYCARP and his presbyters to the CHURCH OF PHILIPPI, mercy and peace.’

‘I rejoiced to hear how you welcomed and escorted the saints in their fetters. You have fitly sustained your old reputation. Seeing not, ye believe, and are saved by grace (§ 1). Be diligent therefore. Remember that Christ will come in power to judge all mankind. Ye shall then be raised with Him, if ye abstain from all sin, and requite not evil with evil. The kingdom of heaven is promised to the poor and the persecuted (§ 2). I should not have written thus, if ye had not invited me. I cannot tread in the footsteps of the blessed Paul, who taught you both by word of mouth and by letter. His letters will edify you in faith, love, and hope (§ 3).’

‘Love of money is the root of all evil. Walk in righteousness yourselves. Teach your wives to cherish their husbands, to be kindly to all, and to train up their children in piety. Let the widows be sober-minded, remembering that they are God’s altar, and that their offerings are scanned by His all-seeing eye (§ 4). Let the deacons also be blameless and follow Him who was the chief deacon. Let the younger men likewise bridle themselves and restrain their lusts. No profligate person shall inherit the kingdom. Let them also render obedience to the presbyters and deacons (§ 5). The presbyters themselves must be pitiful and tender towards the weak and helpless, not wrathful, but forgiving as they hope to be forgiven. We all shall stand before the judgement seat of Christ. Avoid false and hypocritical brethren (§ 6). To deny Jesus Christ, to reject the testimony of the cross, to pervert God’s oracles—these are the works of Antichrist, of Satan. Let us avoid such and cling to the doctrine once delivered, praying God to keep us from temptation (§ 7). Let us hold fast to Jesus Christ, who is our righteousness and our redemption. Let us take Him for our pattern and imitate His patience amidst suffering (§ 8). You have seen bright examples of such patient endurance in Ignatius, Zosimus, and Rufus, yea in Paul himself and the other Apostles. They have received their reward, for they loved not the present world (§ 9). Be steadfast in the faith, and kindly one to another. Give no occasion to the heathen to blaspheme (§ 10).’

'I am much grieved about your presbyter Valens. Beware of avarice, which is idolatry. The covetous man therefore is judged as a heathen. I cannot suppose you guilty of such sin—you whom the blessed Paul commendeth. May God grant repentance to Valens and his wife; and do ye deal gently with them, treating them as erring members (§ 11). The Scriptures warn us against excess of wrath and severity. Remember this.'

'May God the Father, and the eternal High Priest, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and gentleness and patience and purity; and may He give you your lot and portion among the saints—you and all who believe in His resurrection. Pray for all men. Pray for kings and rulers. Pray for your persecutors (§ 12).'

'I will do as I was requested by you and by Ignatius. I will see that your letter is conveyed to Syria. I send you herewith the letters addressed by Ignatius to us, with others, as ye requested me. Read them for your edification. Send me the latest news of Ignatius and his companions (§ 13).'

'I send this letter by the hand of Crescens, who will approve himself to you, as he has to us, by his conduct. I commend to you his sister also, who will pay you a visit. Farewell in Christ (§ 14).'

3.

The authorities for the text are as follows.

(i) GREEK MANUSCRIPTS (G).

Where there is no variation in the MSS, the existing form of the Greek text is given as G. Where variations occur, the several MSS are designated by the letters attached to them in the following list.

1. *Vaticanus* 859 (v).
2. *Ottobonianus* 348 (o).
3. *Florentinus Laur.* vii. 21 (f).
4. *Parisiensis Graec.* 937 (p).
5. *Casanatensis* G. v. 14 (c).
6. *Theatinus* (t).
7. *Neapolitanus Mus. Nat.* II. A. 17 (n).
8. *Salmasianus* (s).
9. *Andrius* (a).

All these nine mss belong to the same family, as appears from the fact that the Epistle of Polycarp runs on continuously into the Epistle of Barnabas without any break, ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τὸν λαὸν τὸν κενὸν (καινὸν) κ.τ.λ.; the mutilated ending of Polycarp § 9 ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ being followed by the mutilated beginning of Barnabas § 5 τὸν λαὸν τὸν καινὸν κ.τ.λ. Within this family however the mss fall into two subdivisions: (1) *vpf*, all mss in which the Epistle of Polycarp is attached to the pseudo-Ignatian letters; and (2) *ctna* (to which we may probably add *s*), where it stands alone. In the first subdivision, *opf* have no independent authority, being derived directly or indirectly from *v*, and their readings are only given for the sake of exhibiting the connexion. Of the two subdivisions the former is slightly superior to the latter.

(ii) LATIN VERSION (L).

The character of this version has been considered already. In the earlier part of the epistle it is sometimes useful for correcting the text of the extant Greek mss; for, though very loose and paraphrastic, it was made from an older form of the Greek than these. But the two are closely allied, as appears from the fact that this version is always found in connexion with the Latin of the pseudo-Ignatian letters and seems to have been translated from the same volume which contained them. For the latter part of the epistle, from § 10 onward, it is the sole authority; with the exception of portions of § 12, which are preserved in Syriac in passages of Timotheus and Severus or elsewhere, and nearly the whole of § 13, which is given by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*. On this account a reference to individual mss of the Latin Version is sometimes necessary. The mss of which collations have been made for this part either by myself or by others are:

1. *Reginensis* 81 (r).
2. *Trecensis* 412 (t).
3. *Parisiensis* 1639, formerly *Colbertinus* 1039 (c).
4. *Bruxellensis* 5510 (b).
5. *Oxon. Balliolensis* 229 (o).
6. *Palatinus* 150 (p).
7. *Florentinus Laur.* xxiii. 20 (f).
8. *Vindobonensis* 1068 (v).
9. *Oxon. Magdalenensis* 78 (m).

The collations of *rp* are taken from Dressel; the other mss, *tcbofvm*, I collated myself for this portion. Mere variations of spelling and

obvious clerical errors are not recorded. It did not seem necessary to give the readings of the other two Brussels mss, which I collated for this part, as they so closely resemble *Bruxellensis* 5510. One reading however of *Bruxellensis* 703 is mentioned in § 13, on account of its interest, though of no authoritative value.

It will have been seen that, so far as regards the Greek and Latin mss, the Epistle of Polycarp is closely connected with the Long Recension of the Ignatian Epistles. This fact, if it had stood by itself, would have thrown some discredit on the integrity of the text. It might have been suspected that the same hand which interpolated the Ignatian Epistles had tampered with this also. From the point of view of internal evidence, I have already disposed of this suspicion in the general introduction, when discussing the genuineness of the Epistle of Polycarp. As regards external evidence, the quotations of Eusebius, Timotheus, and Severus, with the other Syriac fragments, are a highly important testimony. They show that, wherever we have opportunity of testing the text of the Greek and Latin copies, its general integrity is vindicated.

4.

The earliest *printed text* of the Epistle of Polycarp was the Latin Version, included by J. Faber Stapulensis with his edition of the Ignatian Letters according to the Long Recension (A.D. 1498). This was reprinted several times. The Latin Version was also included in the *Micropresbyticon* (Basil. 1550) and elsewhere. It is not known what MS or MSS Faber Stapulensis used.

The Greek text was first published by P. Halloix in his *Illustrium Ecclesiae Orientalis Scriptorum...Primo Christi Saeculo...Vitae et Documenta* i. p. 525 sq (Duaci 1633). Before this however Fr. Turrianus 'longe prolixiorē [Polycarpi epistolam] illa [i. e. Latina], quae habetur typis excusa, apud se Graece esse scriptam, cum viveret, testatus est,' as we learn from Baronius (*Martyrol. Roman.* Jan. 26). The copy of Turrianus, like all the known Greek mss, contained the Epistles of Polycarp and Barnabas attached together; and hence he fell into the error of supposing that he possessed this epistle in a much longer form than the Latin.

The sources of the text of Halloix were twofold, as he himself states; (1) 'Ex ipsius jam laudati Turriani apographo eam [epistolam] ante plurimos annos Romae descripsit noster Jacobus Sirmondus, atque

illud ipsum exemplar tunc a se descriptum nuper ad me misit; (2) ego cum altero exemplari Andreae Schotti collatum jam nunc in lucem emitto.' Halloix mentions at the same time on the authority of a letter from Louis Crésol that there were two other mss at Rome resembling these; one in the Vatican Library, the other then in the possession of the Duke Altemps, but formerly of Card. Colonna; but he did not make any use of them. These are identified with *Vatic.* 859 (v) and *Ottob.* 348 (o) respectively. Halloix was not misled like Turrianus, but saw where the Epistle of Polycarp ended, and printed it accordingly.

A few years later (A.D. 1644) Ussher also printed the Greek text of this epistle in the same volume with his Ignatius. His own words will best explain whence he derived his text; 'Duas hasce imperfectas Polycarpi et Barnabae epistolas, ex Andreae Schotti apographo sua manu descriptas, vir clarissimus Claudius Salmasius...Isaaco Vossio...tradidit' (Ussher's *Judic. de Barnaba*, reprinted in Cotelier *Patr. Apost.* i. p. 12, ed. Cleric. 1724; see also Voss *Epist. Ignat.* p. 309, Amstel. 1646). This transcript, he informs us (*Polyc. et Ignat. Epist.* p. 1, Oxon. 1644), he used for his text of Polycarp, comparing it with the edition of Halloix. Thus the only Greek authority accessible to him was one of those already employed by his predecessor. He made use however of three Latin mss, *Balliol.* 229, *Magdal.* 78, and *Petav.*

There is every reason to think that these two Greek copies—that of Turrianus, and that of Andrew Schott (the latter transcribed by Saumaise and thus transmitted through I. Voss to Ussher)—were closely allied to each other, and probably derived from the same ms. They evidently belonged, as Zahn has pointed out, to the same family with *ten.* Gebhardt (*Patr. Apost.* i. ii. p. xxii) goes a step farther and without hesitation identifies the common source of these transcripts with our *Casana-tensis*. If this be so, the transcripts must have been carelessly made; e.g. § 5 πρὸς πάντα προγνοοῦντες for πρὸ παντὸς προνοοῦντες. Moreover Young in Ussher (p. 4) gives as readings of the ms (apparently meaning Ussher's *Salmasianus*) § 3 προσεπηλακίσατε and § 5 δῖλογοι, whereas *c* has προεπηλακίσασθε and δῖγλωσσοι. Ussher seems to have transcribed the text of Halloix, but he corrects the readings of his predecessor in his notes.

After Ussher's edition nothing was done for the text of Polycarp until quite recent times. The Epistle to the Philippians appeared in the editions of the *Patres Apostolici*, by Cotelier, Leclerc, Russel, and others; but no new authorities were collated. It was also published in Lemoyne's *Varia Sacra* i. p. 1 sq (ed. 1, 1685) and in Routh's *Script. Eccles. Opusc.* i. p. 1 sq (ed. 1, 1832). But Lemoyne, though he had

in his possession a transcript of the Florentine ms (f), appears to have made no use whatever of it, but to have copied the text of Halloix; and Routh satisfied himself with culling a reading or two from the Latin ms (*Magdal.* 78) which was at hand in his own College Library.

With the present generation a new epoch began. First Jacobson for his *Patres Apostolici* (ed. 1, 1838) collated the Greek mss *Laur.* vii. 21 (f) and *Paris.* 937 (p) and the Latin ms *Laur.* xxiii. 20 (f). Then Dressel added still more largely to the materials for a text, collating the four Greek mss *Vatic.* 859 (v), *Ottob.* 348 (o), *Casan.* G. v. 14 (c), *Barber.* 7 (b), and the two Latin mss *Palat.* 150 (p) and *Reg.* 81 (r), all six at Rome, besides recollating in the more important passages, either himself or through his friends, the Florentine Greek ms *Laur.* vii. 21 (f). These aids he used for his own edition (ed. 1, 1857). The materials thus collected were employed with greater effect by Zahn (1876), who produced a better text of this epistle than any existing heretofore. After Zahn's text was in type, Gebhardt communicated to him a collation of *Neapol.* II. A. 17 (n), which he had procured; and Zahn accordingly gives the most important of these readings in his preface (p. 270), but they were not received in time to be available for his text and critical apparatus. The subsequent text of Funk (*Patr. Apost.* 1878) follows on the same lines with Zahn. There is not indeed much scope for improvement, or even for variation, where the materials belong so exclusively to the same family. Of the collations and recollations which I have made for the present edition, mention has been made already in the general introduction.

The portions extant only in the Latin Version were retranslated into Greek by Zahn for his edition. Funk adopted Zahn's Greek with a few emendations (p. 277). Some years before Zahn's edition appeared, I had myself retranslated these portions into Greek, and this retranslation I now publish. It is entirely independent of Zahn's; and for this reason the very general agreement of the two may perhaps be accepted as a presumption that they fairly represent the original of Polycarp.

Since the appearance of my first edition, this epistle has been twice edited, by Volkmar (*Epistula Polycarpi Smyrnaei Genuina*, Zürich, 1885) and by Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschr. f. Wissen. Theol.* xxix. p. 180 sq, 1886). Neither editor has used any new materials for the text¹.

¹ Hilgenfeld remarks on the great differences in the various readings as given by Funk and by myself. If we may judge by his collation, this remark applies al-

most solely to the Latin ms f. He has not observed that Funk's f (see *Echtheit* etc. p. 150) is my c (*Paris. Colbertinus* 1039) and that my f is a wholly different ms.

ΠΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΗΣΙΟΥΣ.

ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβύτεροι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Φιλίππους· ἔλεος

προς φιλιππησιους] τοῦ ἁγίου πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης καὶ ιερομάρτυρος πρὸς φιλιππησίους ἐπιστολή G; *incipit epistola beati polycarpi smirnaeorum ecclesiae episcopi ad philippenses confirmantis fidem eorum* L (with variations).

2 Φιλίππους] ν; φιλίπποις ο (?) fr* (but -πους p**) ctina; dub. L.

‘POLYCARP and the elders who are with him, to the CHURCH OF PHILIPPI, mercy and peace from God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.’

I. οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.] Polycarp evidently writes here as a bishop (ἐπίσκοπος) in the later and fuller sense of the title, surrounded by his council of presbyters; and he is so styled in Ign. *Magn.* 15, *Smyrn.* 12, *Polyc.* inscr. Similarly Arsenius, writing to Athanasius, commences Ἀρσένιος ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ποτε ὑπὸ Μελίτιον τῆς Ὑψηλιτῶν πόλεως ἅμα πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις, Athan. *Apol.* c. *Arian.* 69 (*Op.* I. p. 146). To this mode of address Theodore of Mopsuestia on Phil. i. 1 alludes, τὸ σὺν ἐπισκόποις λέγει, οὐχ ὥς τινες ἐνόμισαν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς σὺν πρεσβυτέροις γράφειν εἰώθαμεν (Cramer's *Catena* p. 232); for the context seems to require σὺν πρεσβυτέροις (see *Philippians* p. 96 sq), though Swete (Theod. Mops. *Comm.* I. p. 200) prefers to retain συμπρεσβυτέροις.

The opening of this epistle is taken, with minor changes, from the

beginning of the letter of Clement of Rome, from which also Polycarp borrows freely in other parts.

2. παροικούσῃ Φιλίππους] ‘sojourni^g in Philippi’; comp. Clem. Rom. I Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον. For the idea of the expression, as denoting that the Christians are aliens in this world, see the note there. The verb has the accusative, as here, in Clem. Rom. I. c., *Mart. Polyc.* 1, Dionys. Cor. in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23 (comp. Isocr. *Paneg.* p. 74 D Ἑλλήνες τὴν Ἀσίαν παροικοῦσιν). Another possible construction would be παροικεῖν ἐν, as in *Mart. Polyc.* 1, *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 1 (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1). But the simple dative Φιλίπποις, though adopted by some editors, is out of place here, since παροικεῖν τινι signifies ‘to dwell by the side of’, ‘to be neighbour to’, ‘to border upon’, as in Thucyd. i. 71, iii. 93, Plut. *Mor.* p. 4 A.

ἔλεος κ.τ.λ.] For this form of salutation see the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 12.

ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη.

I. Συνεχάρην ὑμῖν μέγας ἐν Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, δεξαμένοις τὰ μιμήματα τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης καὶ προπέμψασιν, ὡς ἐπέβαλεν ὑμῖν, τοὺς ἐνειλημένους τοῖς ἀγιοπρεπέσιν δεσμοῖς, ἅτινά ἐστιν διαδήματα τῶν ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλελεγμένων καὶ ὅτι ἡ βεβαία τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν ρίζα, ἐξ ἀρχαίων

1 ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν c. Ἰησοῦ] txt vofp L; praef. κυρίου cstna. 3 Κυρίῳ] ctna; τῷ κυρίῳ vofp. 4 δεξαμένοις] G; *suscipiens* (δεξάμενος) [L]. 5 ἐπέβαλεν] fpcstn; ἐπέβαλεν voa; *deciuit* L. ἐνειλημένους] pc; *implicati sunt* L; ἐνειλημένους vofna; ἐνειλημμένους t. 6 ἀγιοπρεπέσιν] vo; ἀγιοπρεπέσι tfrpa. ἐστιν] vo; ἐστι fpa. 8 ὑμῶν] ἡμῶν p. ἀρχαίων] ἀρχέ-

I. 'I rejoiced to hear that ye received and escorted on their way the saintly followers of Christ, whose fetters are their diadems; and that the root of your faith, famous from the beginning, still bears fruit unto Jesus Christ, who died and was raised again for us; in whom, though ye never saw Him, ye believe with joy unspeakable, being saved by grace and not by works.'

3. Συνεχάρην] Comp. Phil. iv. 10 ἐχάρην δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ μέγας ὅτι κ.τ.λ. with Phil. ii. 17 χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν. The reminiscences of S. Paul's Epistle addressed to the same church are numerous, besides one direct reference to it (§ 3). See the analogous cases of Clement writing to the Corinthians and of Ignatius to the Ephesians.

4. δεξαμένοις κ.τ.λ.] 'since ye welcomed those copies of the true Love'. The reference is doubtless to Ignatius and his companions, to whom the Philippians showed attention when halting there on their way to Rome; see below §§ 9, 13. Comp. *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 5.

τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀγάπης] They were

imitators of Christ who is the true Love. This mode of expression seems to have been characteristic of the Asiatic school of S. John: e.g. Papias in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39 ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας. This type of phraseology would be suggested by S. John himself; e.g. John xiv. 6, 1 Joh. iv. 8, 16.

5. προπέμψασιν] 'escorted them in their journey'; comp. Acts xv. 3 προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, and so frequently in the New Testament. It was a common act of brotherly courtesy in the early Church.

ἐπέβαλεν] 'it pertained to you', 'it was your part', as e.g. Luke xv. 12 τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας.

ἐνειλημένους] 'entwined', as e.g. Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 45 ἐνειλούμενον... τοῖς ὄπλοις, Philostr. *Her.* p. 314 ἐνειληθῆναι τῇ λεοντῇ, Artemid. *Oneir.* i. 54 ἐν τῇ χλαμύδι τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνειλημένην ἔχειν, Dion. Chrys. *Or.* xxiii. (p. 513) σπαργάνους ἐνειλόντας. It is strange therefore that the editors generally should have read ἐνειλημμένους, and still more strange that Ussher should have substituted ἐνειλημμένους for ἐνειλημένους in his table of *corri-*

καταγγελλομένη χρόνων, μέχρι νῦν διαμένει καὶ καρπο-
 10 φορεῖ εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὃς ὑπέ-
 μεινεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν ἕως θανάτου καταν-
 τῆσαι, ὃν ἡγειρεν ὁ Θεὸς λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ
 ᾄδου· εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες πιστεύετε χαρὰ ἀνεκλα-
 λήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν
 15 εἰσελθεῖν, εἰδότες ὅτι χάριτί ἐστε σεσωσμένοι, οὐκ
 ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλὰ θελήματι Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

ων p.

13 ᾄδου] θανάτου p alone (with Acts ii. 24).

ἰδόντες] εἰδότες a.

πιστεύετε] txt G; add. πιστεύοντες δὲ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε edd. (not Zahn) after Halloix, from 1 Pet. i. 8. So also add. *credentes autem gaudebitis* (ἀγαλλιᾶσθε) L.

ἀνεκκλήτῳ] ἀνεκκλείτω (-τῳ) vo.

14 πολλοὶ] πολλὰ c.

genda; for ἐλλαμβάνεσθαι is a somewhat rare word and unsuitable here. Zahn unnecessarily substitutes ἐνειλιγμένους.

6. ἀγιοπρεπίω] See the note on Clem. Rom. 13, where the word occurs.

διαδήματα] 'the diadems', the symbols of royalty, since εἰ ὑπομένομεν, καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ (2 Tim. ii. 12, quoted below, § 5); comp. *Clem. Hom.* xiii. 20 ἀλήθειαν εὖρες, τὸ διάδημα τῆς αἰδίου βασιλείας. See also Ign. *Ephes.* 11 τὰ δεσμὰ περιφέρω, τοὺς πνευματικοὺς μαργαρίτας, with the note.

8. καὶ ὅτι] A somewhat awkward construction which recurs several times in this epistle §§ 2, [4], 5, [9].

ἐξ ἀρχαίων κ.τ.λ.] 'from primitive times'. The ἀρχαῖοι χρόνοι are the earliest days of the Gospel; comp. Acts xv. 7 ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων, xxi. 16 ἀρχαῖα μαθητῇ. Such a good report of the Philippians we have in Phil. iv. 15 ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου κ.τ.λ. For the expression comp. Rom. i. 8 ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ.

9. καρποφορεῖ] See Col. i. 6, which

passage Polycarp perhaps had in his mind.

12. ὃν ἡγειρεν κ.τ.λ.] An inexact quotation from Acts ii. 24 ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνέστησεν λύσας τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου, where the expression ὠδῖνες θανάτου is derived from the LXX, 2 Sam. xxii. 6, Ps. xviii (xvii). 5, cxvi (cxiv). 3, ὠδῖνες being a mistranslation of the ambiguous Hebrew וְלִבְיָ, which differently vocalized means 'pains' or 'fetters'. It is especially appropriate however in this case, where death is the portal of life; see Ign. *Rom.* 6. The expression ὠδῖνες ᾄδου also occurs, Ps. xviii (xvii). 6.

13. εἰς ὃν κ.τ.λ.] A loose quotation from 1 Pet. i. 8 ὃν οὐκ ἰδόντες ἀγαπᾶτε, εἰς ὃν ἄρτι μὴ ὁρώντες, πιστεύοντες δέ, ἀγαλλιᾶσθε χαρὰ ἀνεκκλήτῳ καὶ δεδοξασμένῃ.

14. εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ κ.τ.λ.] Probably an adaptation of the words in the immediate context of the passage just quoted, 1 Pet. i. 12 εἰς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι. It would be suggested by Matt. xiii. 17, Luke x. 24.

15. εἰδότες ὅτι] 'knowing, being assured, that'. Polycarp seems to use this as a form of quotation. In

II. ΔΙΟ̅ ΑΝΑΖΩCΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΑΣ̅ ΘCΦΥΑΣ̅ ΔΟΥΛΕΪ-
 CΑΤΕ ΤΩ̅ ΘΕΩ̅ ΕΝ̅ ΦΟΒΩ̅ ΚΑΙ̅ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ̅, ΑΠΟΛΙΠΟΝΤΕC̅
 ΤΗΝ̅ ΚΕΝΗΝ̅ ΜΑΤΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ̅ ΚΑΙ̅ ΤΗΝ̅ ΤΩΝ̅ ΠΟΛΛΩΝ̅ ΠΛΑΝΗΝ̅,
 ΠΙCΤΕΥCΑΝΤΕC̅ ΕΙC̅ ΤΟΝ̅ ΕΓΕΙΡΑΝΤΑ ΤΟΝ̅ ΚΥΡΙΟΝ̅ ΗΜΩΝ̅
 'ΙΗCΟΥ̅Ν ΧΡΙCΤΟΝ̅ ΕΚ̅ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ̅ ΚΑΙ̅ ΔΥΝΤΑ̅ ΑΥΤΩ̅ ΔΟΞΑΝ̅ 5
 ΚΑΙ̅ ΘΡΟΝΟΝ̅ ΕΚ̅ ΔΕΞΙΩΝ̅ ΑΥΤΟΥ̅· Ω̅ ΥΠΕΤΑΓΗ̅ ΤΑ̅ ΠΑΝΤΑ̅
 ΕΠΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ̅ ΚΑΙ̅ ΕΠΙΓΕΙΑ̅, Ω̅ ΠΑCΑ̅ ΠΝΟΗ̅ ΛΑΤΡΕΥΕΙ, ΘC̅
 ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ̅ ΚΡΙΤΗC̅ ΖΩΝΤΩΝ̅ ΚΑΙ̅ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ̅, ΟΥ̅ ΤΟ̅ ΑΙΜΑ̅
 ΕΚCΗΓΗCΕΙ̅ Ο̅ ΘΕΟC̅ ΑΠΟ̅ ΤΩΝ̅ ΑΠΕΙΘΟΥΝΤΩΝ̅ ΑΥΤΩ̅. Ο̅ ΔΕ̅

1 τὰς ὁσφύας] txt tcnā; add. ὑμῶν vofp; add. *vestros* L. 2 ἀπολι-
 πόντες] ἀπολειπόντες vofp (all paroxytone, as an aorist, so that it is a mere ita-
 cism). 5 δόξαν καὶ θρόνον] θρόνον καὶ δόξαν fp alone. 6 ὑπε-
 τάγη] ὑπετελεῖ t (Dressel, but the contraction of ὑπετάγη would closely resemble
 ὑπετελεῖ). 7 λατρεύει] v; *servit* (v. l. *deservit*) L; λατρεύσει oftcnā;

§ 4 it introduces words from 1 Tim. vi. 7; in § 5, from Gal. vi. 7. In the fourth and only remaining passage in which it occurs, § 6 εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ᾧ̅φειλέται ἐσμέν ἁμαρτίας, the words thus introduced do not occur in any Canonical book, but may have been taken from some writing of the Apostles or their immediate successors no longer extant. In point of expression they rise above the ordinary level of Polycarp's own language.

χάριτι κ.τ.λ.] A broken quotation from Ephes. ii. 5, 8, 9.

II. 'Therefore be strenuous. Serve God and forsake all vain and erroneous teaching. Believe on Him who raised Jesus Christ to be the judge of quick and dead, subjecting all things to Him. He will raise us also, if we obey His commandments and remember the warnings of Christ who bade us do as we would be done by and promised the kingdom of heaven to those who follow after righteousness.'

I. Διὸ̅ ἀναζωσάμενοι κ.τ.λ.] From

1 Pet. i. 13; comp. Ephes. vi. 14, Is. xi. 5. See the note on Clem. Rom. 57 κάμψαντες κ.τ.λ.

δουλεύσατε κ.τ.λ.] The words δουλεύσατε...ἐν φόβῳ are taken from Ps. ii. 11. The expression ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ occurs in Clem. Rom. 19.

3. ματαιολογίαν] The word occurs in 1 Tim. i. 6, and the corresponding adjective ματαιολόγος in Tit. i. 10. It is not improbable that Polycarp is here quoting Clem. Rom. 9 ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιοπονίαν κ.τ.λ. (see the note there). If so we should perhaps read ματαιοπονίαν here.

τῶν πολλῶν] See the note on the parallel passage § 7 ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολλῶν.

4. πιστεύσαντες κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. i. 21 τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς [v. l. πιστεύοντας] εἰς Θεὸν τὸν ἐγειράντα αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ δόξαν αὐτῷ δόντα (comp. Ephes. i. 20). The addition καὶ θρόνον is perhaps suggested by Clem. Rom. 59 (65) δόξα...θρόνος αἰώνιος. So just above (see the note on δουλεύσατε κ.τ.λ.) an expression from Clement is appended to a scriptural

10 ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγερεῖ, ἐὰν ποι-
 ῶμεν αὐτοῦ τὸ θέλημα καὶ πορευώμεθα ἐν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαπῶμεν ἃ ἠγάπησεν, ἀπεχόμενοι πάσης
 ἀδικίας, πλεονεξίας, φιλαργυρίας, καταλαλιᾶς, ψευδο-
 μαρτυρίας· μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἢ
 15 λοιδορίαν ἀντὶ λοιδορίας ἢ γρόνθον ἀντὶ γρόνθου ἢ
 κατάραν ἀντὶ κατάρας, μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ
 Κύριος διδάσκων· μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἀφί-
 ετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλεάτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε·

λατρεύση p. 11 πορευώμεθα] vo (as I read o) fa; πορευόμεθα pctn. 15 λοι-
 δορίαν] λοιδωρίαν vo. λοιδορίας] λοιδωρίας vo. 16 μνημονεύοντες] G. The
 older edd. have μνημονεύσαντες after Halloix, but there is no authority for it.
 ὧν] ὃν ca. 17 διδάσκων] διδάσκον (sic) t. 18 ἐλεάτε] vofpnt; ἐλεείτε a.
 In cs the words ἐλεάτε...ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν are omitted by homœoteleuton.

quotation.

6. ϕ ὑπετάγη κ.τ.λ.] A combi-
 nation of 1 Cor. xv. 28 ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ
 αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, or Phil. iii. 21 ὑποτάξαι
 αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, with Phil. ii. 10 πᾶν
 γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ
 καταχθονίων.

7. πᾶσα πνοή] 'every living
 thing', as in 1 Kings xv. 29, Ps. cl.
 6, Is. lvii. 16.

8. κριτῆς κ.τ.λ.] Acts x. 42. See
 the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 1.

τὸ αἶμα ἐκζητήσῃ] A not uncom-
 mon biblical phrase; Gen. xlii. 22,
 2 Sam. iv. 11, Ezek. iii. 18, 20, xxxiii.
 6, 8, Luke xi. 50, 51.

9. ὁ δὲ ἐγείρας κ.τ.λ.] A loose
 quotation from 2 Cor. iv. 14 ὁ ἐγείρας
 τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦ
 ἐγερεῖ; comp. 1 Cor. vi. 14, Rom.
 viii. 11.

14. μὴ ἀποδιδόντες κ.τ.λ.] From
 1 Pet. iii. 9.

15. γρόνθον κ.τ.λ.] 'blow for blow',
 properly 'fist for fist'; a word found
 chiefly in grammarians and scholiasts,
 who give it as an equivalent to πνυγμή,
 κόνδυλος; see the note of Hemster-

huis on Lucian. *Contempl.* 2 (i. p.
 491). So Moeris p. 208 (Bekker)
 πύξ Ἀττικοί, γρόνθος Ἑλληνες. In
 Judges iii. 16, Aquila and Symma-
 chus have γρόνθου παλαιστιαίου, where
 the LXX render σπιθαμῆς.

16. μνημονεύοντες δὲ κ.τ.λ.] Comp.
 Acts xx. 35 μνημονεύει τῶν λόγων τοῦ
 Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι εἶπεν κ.τ.λ. Clement
 (l. c.) introduces the same sayings,
 which are here quoted by Polycarp,
 in a similar way, μάλιστα μεμνημένοι
 τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ οὕς ἐλά-
 λησεν.

17. μὴ κρίνετε κ.τ.λ.] The first
 and fourth sentences, μὴ κρίνετε κ.τ.λ.
 and ϕ μέτρω κ.τ.λ., occur in the
 canonical Gospels, Matt. viii. 1, 2,
 Luke vi. 36—38. The second and
 third, ἀφίετε κ.τ.λ. and ἐλεάτε κ.τ.λ.,
 do not occur there, but are found in
 Clem. Rom. 13, whence probably
 Polycarp derived them: see the note
 there.

18. ἐλεάτε] This form occurs in
 the best MSS in Rom. ix. 16, and
 appears as a various reading in Rom.
 ix. 18, Jude 22. These are the only

ὃ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν· καὶ ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

III. Ταῦτα, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐμαντῶ ἐπιτρέψας γράφω ὑμῖν περὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς προ- 5 ἐπεκαλέσασθέ με. οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου, ὃς γενόμενος ἐν ὑμῖν κατὰ πρόσω-

1 ὃ] G; *qua enim* L. The older edd. have ἐν ὃ (as in Matt. vii. 2). ἀντι-μετρηθήσεται] ἀντιμετρηθήσεται tn. 2 πτωχοὶ] G; add. *spiritu* L from Matt. v. 3. 3 τοῦ Θεοῦ] G; *caelorum* L. In ο τῶν οὐράνων is written first and corrected to τοῦ θεοῦ. 5 προεπεκαλέσασθέ με] Halloix; *protocastis*

passages in the N. T. which afford an opportunity of weighing the respective authorities for the forms ἐλεεῖν and ἐλεᾶν.

2. μακάριοι] From Matt. v. 3, 10; but in omitting τῷ πνεύματι Polycarp follows Luke vi. 20, as also in substituting τοῦ Θεοῦ for τῶν οὐρανῶν: comp. Clem. Hom. xv. 5 ὁ διδάσκαλος ἡμῶν πιστοὺς πένητας ἐμακάρισεν. In selecting these two beatitudes Polycarp is guided by the fact that to these two alone the promise of the kingdom of heaven is attached.

III. 'I write these things, not of my own motion, but in answer to your invitation. I am not equal to the blessed Paul who taught you both in person and by letter. From his letters you may learn to build yourself up in faith, hope, and love. Faith is the mother of us all; Love leads the way, and Hope follows. Observing these ye will fulfil the commandment. Whosoever has love is far from sin.'

4. οὐκ ἐμαντῶ ἐπιτρέψας] 'not giving way to myself', 'not following my own inclination', according to the ordinary sense which attaches

to ἐπιτρέπειν τινί.

5. προεπεκαλέσασθε] See the introduction, p. 315. The conjectural reading of Zahn, προεπελακτίσασθε, 'ye spurred me on', is ingenious; but as neither προεπιλακτίζειν nor even ἐπιλακτίζειν occurs elsewhere, and as the middle voice is out of place in this verb, we are obliged to fall back on the simpler and better supported reading προεπεκαλέσασθε.

7. κατακολουθῆσαι] 'to follow close upon', 'to tread in the footsteps of', as in Luke xxiii. 55, Acts xvi. 17.

τῇ σοφίᾳ] So 2 Pet. iii. 15 Παῦλος κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ σοφίαν κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ μακαρίου] So again § 11, and in Clem. Rom. 47 this epithet is applied to S. Paul. It is however in no way peculiar to him, being used of Ignatius and others (§ 9) and of Polycarp himself (*Mart. Polyc.* I, 19, 21, 22, *Iren. Ep. ad Florin.* in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20). See the note on Clem. Rom. I. c.

8. κατὰ πρόσωπον] 'in presence of', opposed to ἀπὸν in the next sentence; comp. 2 Cor. x. 1 ὃς κατὰ πρόσωπον μὲν ταπεινὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀπὸν δὲ θαρρῶ εἰς ὑμᾶς.

πον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐδίδαξεν ἀκριβῶς καὶ βεβαίως
 10 τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον, ὃς καὶ ἀπὼν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν
 ἐπιστολάς, εἰς αὐτὰν ἐὰν ἐγκύπτητε, δυνηθήσεσθε οἰκοδο-
 μεῖσθαι εἰς τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν· ἥτις ἐστὶν
 μήτηρ πάντων ἡμῶν, ἐπακολουθήσεως τῆς ἐλπίδος,
 προαγούσης τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς εἰς Θεὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ
 15 εἰς τὸν πλησίον. ἐὰν γὰρ τις τούτων ἐντὸς ἧ, πεπλή-

L; πρὸ ἐπελακίσασθέ με v; προεπελακίσασθέ με o; προεπηλακίσασθέ με tfrca;
 προσεπηλακίσάτε με s. 6 γὰρ] twice in c. 7 σοφία] σοσοφία t.

11 δυνηθήσεσθε] δυνηθήσεσθαι p. 12 δοθεῖσαν] δοθήσαν vo. ἐστὶν] ἐστὶ t.

13 ἡμῶν] νοφτca L; ὑμῶν ns (but ?), and so some edd. 14 εἰς Θεὸν] πρὸς θεὸν
 p alone.

11. ἐπιστολάς] For the plural used to designate a single letter see the passages collected in *Philippians* p. 138 sq. So for instance it is used by Maximus, speaking of Polycarp's own epistle; Dion. Areop. *Op.* II. p. 93 (ed. Corder.) ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὰς ὁ αὐτὸς θεῖος Πολύκαρπος πρὸς Φιλιππίους. On the whole therefore it seems most probable that Polycarp refers solely to the extant canonical Epistle to the Philippians. He may however have assumed that the Philippians were still in possession of other letters written by the Apostle; for it is not probable that any such were actually extant when he wrote. Otherwise they would probably have been preserved. The interpretation which supposes him to include the Epistles to the Thessalonians does not commend itself. See the note on ἐπιστολὰς as used below, § 13.

ἐγκύπτητε] See the note on Clem. Rom. 40.

12. εἰς] This preposition is used after οἰκοδομεῖσθαι in 1 Cor. viii. 10.

πίστιν κ.τ.λ.] We have here S. Paul's triad of Christian graces (1 Cor. xiii. 13).

ἥτις κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. iv. 26 ἥτις

ἐστὶν μήτηρ ἡμῶν, in which passage the insertion of πάντων in some texts may have been due to the influence of Polycarp's quotation here. Comp. *Mart. Justin. et Soc.* 4 ὁ ἀληθινὸς ἡμῶν πατὴρ ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ μήτηρ ἡ εἰς αὐτὸν πίστις, quoted by Jacobson and others.

14. προαγούσης] 'going before', in reference to ἐλπίς, not to πίστις, for πίστις precedes ἀγάπη; Ign. *Ephes.* 14 ἀρχὴ μὲν πίστις, τέλος δὲ ἀγάπη (comp. ib. § 9). The proper sequence is 'faith, love, hope', as in 1 Thess. i. 4, Col. i. 4, 5 (comp. Ign. *Polyc.* 6), though this order is sometimes disturbed for a special reason, as in 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

15. τούτων ἐντὸς ἧ] i.e. 'is occupied in these'; comp. Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 6 φανείται πάσης λογικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ τέχνης ἐντὸς γενόμενος, Damoxenus in Athen. iii. p. 102 E πᾶς ὁ φύσεως ἐντὸς 'every student of nature', on which passage Meineke (*Fragm. Com.* IV. p. 534) quotes Sext. Empir. *Adv. Mathem.* i. 155 καὶ ἰδιώται καὶ οἱ παιδείας ἐντὸς.

πεπλήρωκεν κ.τ.λ.] A reminiscence of Rom. xiii. 8, 10; comp. Gal. v. 14.

ρωκεν ἐντολὴν δικαιοσύνης· ὁ γὰρ ἔχων ἀγάπην μακράν
ἐστὶν πάσης ἀμαρτίας.

IV. Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων χαλεπῶν φιλαργυρία.
εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἰσενέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
ἀλλ' οὐδέ ἐξενεγκεῖν τι ἔχομεν, ὀπλισώμεθα τοῖς 5
ὅπλοις τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ διδάξωμεν ἑαυτοὺς πρῶτον
πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐντολῇ τοῦ Κυρίου· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς
γυναῖκας ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ δοθείσῃ αὐταῖς πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ

3 χαλεπῶν] G; *maiorum* (κακῶν) L from 1 Tim. vi. 10. 5 οὐδὲ] οὐδ'
fr. ἔχομεν] ἔχωμεν (but corrected to ἔχομεν) t; δυνάμεθα (but ἔχομεν is written
above) a. ὀπλισώμεθα] ὀπλησώμεθα vo* (but corr. o**). 6 διδάξωμεν]
vo*fr; διδάξωμεθα ctna. 8 δοθείσῃ] δοθήσει vo. 14 διαβολῆς]
vo*ctna; διαβολικῆς o**fr; *diabolicis* (*detractio*nibus) L. Here, as elsewhere, the

IV. 'Above all things avoid covetousness. We brought nothing into the world and can carry nothing out. Let us therefore put on the armour of righteousness. Teach your wives to live in faith and love and purity, cherishing their husbands, and showing kindness to all men, and to train their children in godliness. Let the widows pray without ceasing and avoid all malice and covetousness, remembering that they are God's altar and that the offerings there made are scanned by His all-seeing eye, which the most secret thoughts cannot escape.'

3. Ἀρχὴ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] Taken from 1 Tim. vi. 10 *ρίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστὶν ἡ φιλαργυρία*.

φιλαργυρία] The mention of covetousness seems very abrupt; but its introduction is explained by the sin of Valens mentioned below, § 11. Hence the repeated warnings against φιλαργυρία, not only here and just below, but also §§ 2, 6.

4. οὐδὲν εἰσενέγκαμεν κ.τ.λ.] This quotation is from the context of the last; 1 Tim. vi. 7 *οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰσενέγκαμεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον* [δῆλον] ὅτι οὐδὲ

ἐξενεγκεῖν τι δυνάμεθα. It has a parallel in Seneca *Ep. Mor.* cii. 25 'non licet plus efferre quam intuleris'.

5. ὀπλισώμεθα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Ephes. vi. 13 sq, Rom. xiii. 12. The expression *ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης* occurs in Rom. vi. 13.

7. τὰς γυναῖκας] sc. διδάξωμεν (or rather διδάξατε) *πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῇ κ.τ.λ.*

8. ὑμῶν] If the reading be correct, we may with Zahn and others infer from the occurrence of ὑμῶν, where we should expect ἡμῶν, that Polycarp was unmarried.

9. στεργούσας] Clem. Rom. 1 *στεργούσας καθήκοντως τοὺς ἀνδρας ἑαυτῶν*. The word is changed into *ἀγαπώσας* in the next clause, because the relations are less intimate in the latter case; comp. Dion. Cass. xliv. 48 *ἐφίλησάτε αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἡγαπήσατε ὡς εὐεργέτην*, Xen. *Mem.* ii. 7. 12 *αἱ μὲν ὡς κηδεμόνα ἐφίλουν, ὁ δὲ ὡς ὠφελίμου ἡγάπα*, passages quoted in Trench's *New Testament Synonyms* § xii (p. 40).

10. ἀληθεία] 'fidelity, constancy'; comp. Ign. *Polyc.* 7 *εἰδὼς ὑμῶν τὸ σύντονον τῆς ἀληθείας*, with the note.

πάντας ἐξ ἴσου κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Clem.

καὶ ἀγνεία, στεργούσας τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἐν πάσῃ
 10 ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἀγαπῶσας πάντας ἐξ ἴσου ἐν πάσῃ ἐγκρα-
 τείᾳ, καὶ τὰ τέκνα παιδεύειν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου
 τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὰς χήρας σωφρονούσας περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου
 πίστιν, ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων, μα-
 *κρὰν οὔσας πάσης διαβολῆς, καταλαλιᾶς, ψευδομαρ-
 15 τυρίας, φιλαργυρίας, καὶ παντὸς κακοῦ· γινωσκούσας
 ὅτι εἰς ἑθυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πάντα μωμοσκο-

corrector of o has had L before him, and sp have followed o. 16 θυσιαστήριον] θυσιαστήρια c alone, and so the earlier edd. ὅτι sec.] ὁ a. πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται] vsa; πανταμῶμω (sic) σκοπεῖται c; πάντα μωμοσκοπεῖται (sic) n; πάντα μῶμω σκοπεῖται f (with μῶμος in the marg.) o (μῶμος o** in marg.) t; πάντα μῶμος σκοπεῖται p.

Rom. 21 [αἱ γυναῖκες] τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν μὴ κατὰ προσκλίσεις ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς φοβουμένοις τὸν Θεὸν ὁσίως ἴσιν παρεχέτωσαν· τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ παιδείας μεταλαμβάνετωσαν.

11. τὴν παιδείαν κ.τ.λ.] Clem. Rom. 21 τοὺς νέους παιδεύσωμεν τὴν παιδείαν τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Θεοῦ: comp. Eccclus. i. 27 σοφία καὶ παιδεία φόβος Κυρίου.

12. τὰς χήρας] It seems clear that Polycarp is here referring to the office or order of widows, both from the expressions used (περὶ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου πίστιν, ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως, θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ) and from the position which they occupy immediately before the deacons and priests. See the notes on Ign. *Smyrn.* 13.

σωφρονούσας κ.τ.λ.] Their religion must not be a frenzy of fanaticism, but a calm confidence. It would appear from this expression that they were entrusted with some functions of teaching.

13. ἐντυγχανούσας κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim. v. 5 ἡ δὲ οὕτως χήρα...προσμένει ταῖς δέησεσιν καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας.

14. διαβολῆς] So 1 Tim. iii. 11

γυναῖκας [διακόνους] ὡσαύτως σεμένας, μὴ διαβόλους; comp. Tit. ii. 3.

16. θυσιαστήριον] Comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 26 αἱ τε χῆραι καὶ [οἱ] ὀρφανοὶ ὑμῶν εἰς τύπον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λελογίσθωσαν ὑμῖν, αἱ τε παρθέναι εἰς τύπον τοῦ θυμιατηρίου τετιμῆσθωσαν καὶ τοῦ θυμιάματος, iv. 3 θυσιαστήριον γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ λελογισμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμηθήσεται, ἀόκνως ὑπὲρ τῶν διδόντων αὐτῷ διηνεκῶς προσευχόμενος (of the orphans, the aged, etc., who are supported by the alms of the Church), Tertull. *ad Ux.* i. 7 'cum viduam adlegi in ordinem, nisi univiram, non concedat; aram enim Dei mundam proponi oportet,' Method. *Symph.* v. 6 sq (p. 27 sq, Jahn) θυσιαστήριον ἀναίμακτον εἶναι παρεδόθη Θεοῦ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἀγνῶν· οὕτω μέγα τι χρῆμα καὶ ἔνδοξον ἡ παρθενία φαίνεται (accordingly he proceeds to give a spiritual meaning to all the directions respecting the altar in Exod. xxx. 1 sq, as applying to virginity), Ps-Ign. *Tars.* 9 τὰς ἐν σεμνότητι χήρας ὡς θυσιαστήριον Θεοῦ. See also more or less analogous figurative meanings of θυσιαστήριον in Ign. *Ephes.* 5, *Magn.* 7, *Trall.* 7, *Rom.* 2,

πεῖται, καὶ λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε λογισμῶν οὔτε ἐννοιῶν, οὔτε τι τῶν κρυπτῶν τῆς καρδίας.

V. Εἰδότες οὖν ὅτι Θεὸς οὐ μκκτηρίζεται, ὁφείλομεν ἀξίως τῆς ἐντολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δόξης περιπατεῖν. ὁμοίως διάκονοι ἄμεμπτοι κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὡς Θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διάκονοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων· μὴ διάβολοι, μὴ δίλογοι, ἀφιλάργυροι, ἐγκρατεῖς περὶ πάντα, εὐσπλαγχοι, ἐπιμελεῖς, πορευόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃς ἐγένετο ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ. ᾧ ἂν εὐαρεστήσωμεν ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι, ἀποληψόμεθα 10

1 λέληθεν] λέλυθεν tn.

2 οὔτε τι] οὐτέτι vc; οὐ τέ τι ofps; οὐτετί n; *neque aliquod* L.

3 μκκτηρίζεται] μοικτερίζεται vo*fp. 6 καὶ Χριστοῦ] G (but om. καὶ a) L Sev (Cureton C. I. p. 214); ἐν Χριστῷ Halloix, followed by many subsequent edd. 7 δίλογοι] νοσφν; δὲ γλωσσοὶ tca; detractores L. 8 εὐσπλαγχοι] εὐσπλαγχοι f.

10 ἀποληψόμεθα] ἀπολειψόμεθα vo*, but corr. o**, and hence fp have it correctly. 13 συμβασιλεύσωμεν] fp (comp. 2 Tim. ii. 12);

Philad. 4, with the notes, especially on the first passage (p. 44).

They themselves are the altar; their thoughts, words, and deeds, more especially their prayers, are the sacrifices offered. Every such sacrifice is inspected by God Himself. He detects the blemishes, and rejects the faulty offerings. For the image of the sacrifice see the notes on Phil. ii. 17, iv. 18, Clem. Rom. 41, 44.

μωμοσκοπεῖται] 'are examined with a view to detecting blemishes'; comp. Clem. Rom. 41 προσφέρεται...ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον μωμοσκοπηθέν τὸ προσφερόμενον, with the note.

1. καὶ λέληθεν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Clem. Rom. 21 οὐδὲν λέληθεν αὐτὸν τῶν ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν οὐδὲ τῶν διαλογισμῶν ᾧ ποιοῦμεθα, with the notes on the context there.

2. τῶν κρυπτῶν κ.τ.λ.] 1 Cor. xiv. 25; comp. 1 Cor. iv. 5.

V. 'Let us remember that God is not mocked, and let us walk holily. The deacons must be blameless, not tale-bearers nor covetous, but sober, compassionate, diligent, after the pattern of Christ, who was the chief of deacons. We must please God in the present life, that He may bestow upon us the future life. They that are true citizens of Christ's kingdom now shall themselves be kings with Him hereafter. The younger men also must be chaste and restrain their passions. Lust warreth against the spirit. No profligate person shall inherit the kingdom of God. Let them also be subject to the presbyters and deacons. The virgins too must keep their conscience blameless and pure.'

3. Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.] From Gal. vi. 7.

5. ὁμοίως διάκονοι] The instructions here given are suggested by 1 Tim. iii. 1—13 διακόνους ὡσαύτως κ.τ.λ., from which passage also the

καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα, καθὼς ὑπέσχετο ἡμῖν ἐγείραι ἡμᾶς
 ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν πολιτευσώμεθα ἀξίως αὐτοῦ,
 καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν αὐτῷ, εἶγε πιστεύομεν. ὁ-
 μοίως καὶ νεώτεροι ἄμεμπτοι ἐν πᾶσιν, πρὸ παντὸς
 15 προνοοῦντες ἀγνείας καὶ χαλιναγωγοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ
 παντὸς κακοῦ. καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἀνακόπτεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κατὰ τοῦ
 πνεύματος στρατεύεται, καὶ οὔτε πόρνοι οὔτε μα-
 λακοὶ οὔτε ἄρσενοκοῖται βασιλείαν Θεοῦ κληρο-
 20 νομήσουσιν, οὔτε οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἄτοπα. διὸ δέον

regnabimus L; συμβασιλεύσομεν νοτсна.

14 πᾶσιν] νο; πᾶσι fptcna. πρὸ

παντὸς προνοοῦντες] πρὸς πάντα προνοοῦντες s.

15 ἀγνείας] *ignorantiam*

(ἀγνοίας) L.

16 ἀνακόπτεσθαι] G; *abscindi* L. Halloix has ἀνακούπτεσθαι,

and is followed by some later edd.

17 ἐν] τῶν ἐν v (Dressel) alone.

19 ἄρσενοκοῖται] ἄρσενοκέϊται tc.

κληρονομήσουσιν] κληρονομίσουσιν p.

words are in part borrowed.

6. ὡς Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Ign. *Smyrn.* 10 ὡς διακόνους [Χριστοῦ] Θεοῦ, with the note. See also the note on *Magn.* 6 (p. 120).

7. διῶγοι] Perhaps ‘tale-bearers,’ rather than ‘double-tongued’ (διγλωσσοί), as it is generally taken. So too in 1 Tim. iii. 8.

8. εὐσπλαγχοι] ‘tender-hearted,’ as below § 6; comp. Ephes. iv. 32, 1 Pet. iii. 8. The classical meaning of εὐσπλαγχνία is ‘courage,’ Eur. *Rhes.* 192.

9. διάκονος πάντων] Matt. xx. 28 ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι. The expression itself is taken from Mark ix. 35, πάντων διάκονος, where however it is not directly applied to our Lord.

12. ἐὰν κ.τ.λ.] i.e. ‘If we perform our duties as simple citizens of His kingdom, we shall be promoted to a share of His sovereignty.’

πολιτευσώμεθα κ.τ.λ.] Clem. Rom. 21 ἐὰν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ πολιτευόμενοι

τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν, a passage which Polycarp evidently has in his mind; comp. Phil. i. 27.

13. καὶ συμβασιλεύσομεν] From 2 Tim. ii. 12, where S. Paul seems to be quoting from some Christian hymn or formula.

15. χαλιναγωγοῦντες] See James i. 26, iii. 2, *Hermas Mand.* xii.

16. ἀνακόπτεσθαι] ‘to be checked, held back.’ This is doubtless the right reading; see the note on Gal. v. 7.

τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν] 1 Pet. ii. 11 ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν σαρκικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, αἵτινες στρατεύονται κατὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, Gal. v. 17 ἡ σὰρξ ἐπιθυμεῖ κατὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.

18. οὔτε πόρνοι κ.τ.λ.] From 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.

20. τὰ ἄτοπα] ‘perverse things, iniquities.’ For ἄτοπα (ἄτοπον) ποιεῖν (πράττειν) see Job xxvii. 6, xxxiv. 12, Prov. xxx. 20 (xxiv. 55), 2 Macc. xiv. 23, Luke xxiii. 41.

ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων, ὑποτασσομένους τοῖς
πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις ὡς Θεῷ καὶ Χριστῷ· τὰς
παρθένους ἐν ἀμώμῳ καὶ ἀγνῇ συνειδήσει περιπατεῖν.

VI. Καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ εὖσπλαγχοι, εἰς πάν- 5
τας ἐλεήμονες, ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα, ἐπι-
σκεπτόμενοι πάντας ἀσθενεῖς, μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας ἢ
ὀρφανοῦ ἢ πένητος, ἀλλὰ προνοοῦντες ἀεὶ τοῦ
καλοῦ ἐνώπιον Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀπεχόμενοι
πάσης ὀργῆς, προσωποληψίας, κρίσεως ἀδίκου, μακρὰν

5 ἀποπεπλανημένα] ἀποπλανημένα νο.
ληψίας νο. 11 ὀφείλεται] ὀφίλεται t; ὀφίλεταις c (but s erased).

9 προσωποληψίας] προσοπω-
14 τῶν]

2. ὡς Θεῷ κ.τ.λ.] See the note on Ign. *Magn.* 6. The contrast to the language of Ignatius is not less significant than the resemblance. It is the 'bishops,' not the presbyters, who stand in God's place in Ignatius. Either therefore there was no bishop at Philippi when Polycarp wrote, or Polycarp did not think fit to separate his claims to allegiance from those of the presbyters.

VI. 'The presbyters also must be tender and pitiful, bringing home the strayed sheep, watching over the sickly, taking care of the widow and orphan and the poor man. Let them have regard to what is good in the sight of God and men, shunning all unrighteousness and malice, abstaining from covetousness, not credulous or harsh in their judgments of others, as conscious of their own infirmities. We must forgive, if we would be forgiven; for all alike will stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. So then let us serve Him in all godliness according to the teaching of the Apostles and the Prophets, holding aloof from all false brethren and hypocrites and deceivers.'

5. τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα] sc. πρό-

βατα 'the strayed sheep'; Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 4 τὰ πρόβατά μου οὐ βόσκειτε, τὸ ἡσθενηκὸς οὐκ ἐνισχύσατε...καὶ τὸ πλανώμενον οὐκ ἐπιστρέψατε (v. 1. ἀπεστρέψατε), 1 Pet. ii. 25 ἦτε γὰρ ὡς πρόβατα πλανώμενα, ἀλλ' ἐπεστράφητε νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ποιμένα κ.τ.λ., comp. Ecclus. xviii. 13 διδάσκων καὶ ἐπιστρέφων ὡς ποιμὴν τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ. The word πρόβατα therefore would naturally be supplied by the readers of the letter. So too Iren. i. 8. 4; αὐτὸν ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τὸ πεπλανημένον, *Apost. Const.* ii. 20 κατευθύνων τὸ πεπλανημένον, ἐπιστρέφων τὸ ἀφεστὸς, and again ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ πεπλανημένον. The strayed and lost sheep of the parable (Matt. xviii. 12 sq, Luke xv. 4 sq) had an important place in some Gnostic systems (Iren. i. 8. 4, i. 16. 1; Hippol. *Haer.* vii. 52, p. 218); and Simon Magus more especially brought it into prominence by identifying it with his Helena (Hippol. *Haer.* vi. 19, p. 174).

ἐπισκεπτόμενοι] Ezek. xxxiv. 11 ἐκζητήσω τὰ πρόβατά μου καὶ ἐπισκέψομαι αὐτά; comp. Zech. x. 3. It has therefore a *pastoral* significance.

10 ὄντες πάσης φιλαργυρίας, μὴ ταχέως πιστεύοντες κατὰ
 τινος, μὴ ἀπότομοι ἐν κρίσει, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντες ὀφει-
 λέται ἐσμέν ἀμαρτίας. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου ἵνα
 ἡμῖν ἀφῇ, ὀφείλομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφιέναι· ἀπέναντι γὰρ
 τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ ἐσμέν ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ πάντας
 15 δεῖ παραστήναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἕκαστον
 ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δοῦναι. οὕτως οὖν δουλεύσωμεν
 αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας, καθὼς αὐτὸς
 ἐνετείλατο καὶ οἱ εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμᾶς ἀπόστολοι καὶ
 οἱ προφήται οἱ προκηρύξαντες τὴν ἔλευσιν τοῦ Κυρίου

om. a. πάντας] πάντες a (Pleziotes, but ?).

15 δεῖ] δὴ v.

16 ἑαυτοῦ]

tcn; αὐτοῦ vofp.

18 ἡμᾶς] tens L; ὑμᾶς vofpa.

19 οἱ προφῆται] προφῆται

(om. οἱ) fp.

6. χήρας ἢ ὀρφανοῦ] See the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 6.

7. προνοοῦντες κ.τ.λ.] 2 Cor. viii. 21 προνοοῦμεν γὰρ καλὰ οὐ μόνον ἐνώπιον Κυρίου ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων; comp. Rom. xiii. 17. For the genitive after προνοεῖν comp. 1 Tim. v. 8, and above § 5.

11. ἀπότομοι] 'sharp', 'hasty.' So κρίσις ἀπότομος Wisd. vi. 6, in which book the word occurs several times.

ὀφειλέται κ.τ.λ.] 'Retro spectanti dicere licet quod prospicienti negandum est Rom. viii. 12', Zahn. The meaning seems to be, 'We have put ourselves under the power of sin (comp. Rom. iii. 9), we have contracted obligations to sin.' On the probability that Polycarp is here quoting from some previous writer, see the note on εἰδότες ὅτι in § 1.

12. εἰ οὖν δεόμεθα κ.τ.λ.] An obvious reference to the Lord's prayer, Matt. vi. 12, 14, 15; comp. Matt xviii. 35.

14. πάντας κ.τ.λ.] Rom. xiv. 10 πάντες γὰρ παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ Θεοῦ (v. l. τοῦ Χριστοῦ), 2 Cor. v. 10 τοὺς γὰρ πάντας ἡμᾶς φανερωθῆναι

δεῖ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἵνα κομίσθαι ἕκαστος κ.τ.λ. We have here a combination of both passages.

16. λόγον δοῦναι] A carrying out of the metaphor of ὀφειλέτης; comp. Rom. xiv. 12 ἄρα [οὖν] ἕκαστος ἑμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον [ἀπο]δώσει τῷ Θεῷ. δουλεύσωμεν] See Ps. ii. 11, quoted above § 2; comp. Heb. xii. 28 λατρεύωμεν εὐαρέστως τῷ Θεῷ μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους (the correct reading).

18. εὐαγγελιστάμενοι ἡμᾶς] So Polycarp's pupil Irenæus speaks of him, *Haer.* iii. 3. 4 οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς καὶ συναναστραφεὶς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἐωρακόσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν κ.τ.λ., and lower down ταῦτα διδάξας αἰεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔμαθεν κ.τ.λ.; again in the *Letter to Florinus* Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20 τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συναναστροφὴν ὥς ἀπήγγελλε καὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐωρακῶν τὸν Κύριον.

19. προκηρύξαντες κ.τ.λ.] Acts vii. 52 τοὺς προκαταγγείλαντας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου; comp. Ign. *Philad.* 5, 9.

ἡμῶν, ζηλωταὶ περὶ τὸ καλόν, ἀπεχόμενοι [τῶν] σκανδάλων καὶ τῶν ψευδαδέλφων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει φερόντων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου, οἵτινες ἀποπλανῶσι κενοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

VII. Πᾶς γάρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν. καὶ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν· καὶ ὃς ἂν μεθοδεύῃ τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ λέγει μήτε

1 τῶν σκανδάλων] νοσφ; σκανδάλων (om. τῶν) cīna. 2 ἐν] om. a. 5 μὴ] om. a, which also substitutes ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ for ἀντίχριστος. ὁμολογῇ] oftna; ὁμολογεῖ νρ; ὁμολογῇν (altered into ὁμολογεῖν) c. Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν...μὴ ὁμολογῇ] om. fr. 6 ἐστίν] ἐστι t; and so in l. 8. 7 μαρτύριον] GS (Zingerle *Mon. Syr.* i. p. 1) L (but some MSS *mysterium* for *martyrium*; comp. the v.l. in 1 Cor. ii. 1).

1. ζηλωταὶ κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. iii. 13 τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ζηλωταὶ (the correct reading), Tit. ii. 14.

2. τῶν ἐν ὑποκρίσει κ.τ.λ.] Ign. *Ephes.* 7 ἐν δόλῳ πονηρῷ τὸ ὄνομα περιφέρειν, 1 Tim. iv. 2 ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων.

VII. 'He who disallows the incarnation is Antichrist; he who rejects the testimony of the Cross is of the devil; he who denies the resurrection and the judgment, is of Satan. Flee from all false teaching; be instant in fasting and prayer; entreat God to deliver you from temptation. The spirit may be willing, but the flesh is weak.'

5. Πᾶς γάρ, κ.τ.λ.] Polycarp is echoing the words of his apostolic teacher, 1 Joh. iv. 2—4, where however the words Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα in ver. 3 are probably interpolated from ver. 2; comp. also 2 Joh. 7. The reference is to the errors of Docetism, which is so constantly attacked in the contemporary Epistles of Ignatius.

7. τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ] What is the testimony of the cross? Is the

genitive subjective or objective—the witness borne by, or the witness borne to, the Cross? Probably the former. Perhaps it refers especially to the piercing of the side and the issue of blood and water (Joh. xix. 34), as a proof of the reality of Christ's crucified body. Polycarp's master, S. John, when he relates it, lays special stress on the fact as a *testimony*, ὃ ἑωρακὸς μεμαρτύρηκεν καὶ ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστίν ἡ μαρτυρία; comp. 1 Joh. v. 6—8. At all events Polycarp seems to be adducing the Cross, as a witness against the Docetics; comp. Ign. *Ephes.* 18, *Trall.* 11, *Philad.* 8, *Smyrn.* 1, with the notes.

ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν] 1 Joh. iii. 8; comp. Joh. viii. 44 ὑμεῖς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστέ.

8. μεθοδεύῃ] '*tamper with*,' '*pervert*'; comp. Philo *Vit. Moys.* iii. 27 (p. 167) ὅπερ μεθοδεύουσιν οἱ λογοθῆραι καὶ σοφισταί, and for the construction with πρὸς, Polyb. xxxviii. 4. 10 πολλὰ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐμπορεύων καὶ μεθοδεύόμενος. So μεθοδεῖα, Ephes. iv. 14, vi. 11; and μέθοδος, Plut. *Mor.* 176 A ἐθαύμαζε τὴν

10 ἀνάστασιν μήτε κρίσιν, οὗτος πρωτότοκός ἐστι τοῦ
 Καταναῶ. διὸ ἀπολιπόντες τὴν ματαιότητα τῶν πολ-
 λῶν καὶ τὰς ψευδοδιδασκαλίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν
 παραδοθέντα λόγον ἐπιστρέψωμεν, νήφοντες πρὸς
 τὰς ἐγγὰς καὶ προσκαρτεροῦντες νηστεíαις, δεήσεσιν
 15 αἰτούμενοι τὸν παντεπόπτην Θεὸν μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν
 ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· τὸ μὲν
 πνεῦμα πρῶθμον, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ὀσθενής.

8 μεθοδεύη] μεθοδεύει νο.

τοῦ Κυρίου] GL; *dei* S.

9 λέγει] νοφρ; λέγη

tns; *dixerit* L. The words καὶ λέγη are omitted in a.

10 κρίσιν] txt G;

judicium esse L; *quod...est judicium* S; κρίσιν εἶναι edd.

11 ἀπολιπόντες] ctna;

ἀπολειπόντες (sic) νοφρ (an itacism); see above § 2.

12 τὸν] τῶν f.

13 ἐπι-

στρέψωμεν] ἐπιστρέψομεν p.

14 προσκαρτεροῦντες] προσκαρτες v (the missing

letters being filled in later). In o a space has been left after προσκαρ- and the letters inserted apparently afterwards.

δεήσεσιν αἰτούμενοι] GL; *et*

petitione et rogantes S.

15 παντεπόπτην] GL; *dominum omnium* S.

μέθοδον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

τὰ λόγια τοῦ Κυρίου] The work of Papias bore the title Λογίων Κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39; see *Contemporary Review*, August, 1875, p. 399); comp. Clem. Alex. *Quis Div. Salv.* 3, p. 936. It was natural that Polycarp, who had conversed with Apostles and personal disciples of Christ, and was in the habit of appealing to these conversations, should, like Papias, refer to our Lord's discourses as λόγια, which might include oral traditions, rather than as ἀπομνημονεύματα with Justin, or εὐαγγέλια with later writers. The word μεθοδεύη refers to perverse *interpretations*; comp. Iren. i. præf. 1 ῥαδιουργοῦντες τὰ λόγια Κυρίου, ἐξηγῆται κακοὶ τῶν καλῶς εἰρημένων γινόμενοι, quoted by Zahn.

9. λέγει] For the change to the indicative in the adversative clause comp. Ps-Ign. *Philad.* 6.

μήτε ἀνάστασιν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 2 Tim. ii. 18, and see the note on [Clem. Rom.] ii. 9. Though not necessarily Docetic, this error was akin

to Docetism and arose from the same religious temper.

10. πρωτότοκος κ.τ.λ.] This is the same expression which Irenæus (*Haer.* iii. 3. 4; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 14) reports Polycarp as using of Marcion at a later date.

11. τῶν πολλῶν] So above, § 2 ἀπολιπόντες τὴν κενὴν ματαιολογίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν πλάνην. The same expression is used by Papias in a similar connexion, Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39 οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί; comp. Matt. xxiv. 12, 2 Cor. ii. 17.

12. τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κ.τ.λ.] Jude 3 τῇ ᾧπαξ παραδοθείσῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις πίστει.

13. νήφοντες κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. iv. 7 νήψατε εἰς προσευχάς.

15. παντεπόπτην] A word borrowed from Clement of Rome, §§ 55, 58 (64); see the note on § 55.

μὴ εἰσενεγκεῖν κ.τ.λ.] Another reference (see above, § 6) to the Lord's prayer (Matt. vi. 13, Luke xi. 4).

16. τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] Word for word from Matt. xxvi. 44 (Mark xiv.

VIII. Ἀδιαλείπτως οὖν προσκαρτερῶμεν τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν καὶ τῷ ἀρραβῶνι τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ὃς ἀνῆνεγκεν ἡμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ ἐγρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι 5
 αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινεν. μιμηταὶ οὖν γενώμεθα τῆς ὑπομονῆς [αὐτοῦ]· καὶ ἐὰν πάσχωμεν διὰ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, δοξάζωμεν

7 ὑπέμεινεν] ὑπέμεινε τα. αὐτοῦ] csta; om. vofp. In n it is omitted in the text but added with an ὥς in the marg. 8 πάσχωμεν] πάσχομεν v, and so app. o*, but corr. πάσχωμεν o**. δοξάζωμεν] ctnsao**f L; δοξάζομεν vo*p. 11 τῷ λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης] GL; om. Eus. H. E. iii. 36. 12 ὑπομονήν] ὑπομέ-

38), where it is introduced by the words γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς πειρασμόν. Polycarp evidently has this context in view here.

VIII. 'Let us cleave steadfastly to Jesus Christ our hope. He bore His cross patiently; He was without sin and without guile; He suffered all things for our sakes. Let us therefore follow Him and suffer gladly for His name, if need be, for He has given us an example.'

1. τῇ ἐλπίδι ἡμῶν] See the note on Ign. *Magn.* 11.

2. τῷ ἀρραβῶνι] 'the pledge'; i.e. Christ's life and death are the earnest and assurance of our righteousness, our justification, which is begun in Him now and will be completed hereafter. Thus ἀρραβὼν is used in its proper sense, as in 2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5, Ephes. i. 14.

3. δὲ] See the note on Ign. *Magn.* 7.

3. ὃς ἀνῆνεγκεν κ.τ.λ.] Quoted with slight variations from 1 Pet. ii. 24.

4. ὃς ἁμαρτίαν κ.τ.λ.] Word for word from 1 Pet. ii. 22.

6. δι' ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. ii. 21,

24, Χριστὸς ἔπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν...ἵνα ζήσωμεν, 1 Joh. iv. 6 ἵνα ζήσωμεν δι' αὐτοῦ, Ign. *Polyc.* 3 τὸν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπομείναντα.

7. μιμηταὶ οὖν κ.τ.λ.] The rest of this paragraph is suggested by the context of the same passage in S. Peter, where the Apostle enforces the duty of ὑπομονή, using the same word ὑπογραμμός (ver. 21), and contrasts the suffering in a good cause with the suffering for faults committed. To another part of the context (ver. 25) Polycarp has already alluded in the beginning of § 6.

8. καὶ ἐὰν κ.τ.λ.] 1 Pet. iv. 16 εἰ δὲ ὡς Χριστιανός (πάσχει), μὴ αἰσχυνέσθω, δοξαζέτω δὲ τὸν Θεόν. The reading δοξάζωμεν therefore is to be preferred to δοξάζομεν, though either would make sense.

9. ὑπογραμμὸν] See the note on Clem. Rom. 5.

IX. 'Therefore be obedient and practise patient endurance such as ye saw in Ignatius and Rufus and others from among yourselves, yea in Paul himself and in the other Apostles. All these have won the prize. They have gone to their own place: for they loved not the pre-

αὐτόν. τοῦτον γὰρ ἡμῖν τὸν ὑπογραμμὸν ἔθηκε δι'
 10 ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς τοῦτο ἐπιστεύσαμεν.

IX. Παρακαλῶ οὖν πάντας ὑμᾶς πειθαρχεῖν τῷ
 λόγῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀσκεῖν πᾶσαν ὑπομονήν, ἣν
 καὶ εἶδατε κατ' ὀφθαλμοῦς οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς μακαρίοις
 Ἰγνατίῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ καὶ Ῥούφῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις
 15 τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς
 ἀποστόλοις· πεπεισμένους ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες οὐκ εἰς

νειν vo. ἦν καὶ] ἦν (om. καὶ) Eus. 13 εἶδατε] ἴδατε vo*; εἶδετε tcnao** fp Eus
 (edd.). 14 Ζωσίμῳ καὶ Ῥούφῳ] GL; Ῥούφῳ καὶ Ζωσίμῳ Eus. 15 ὑμῶν] vofptn
 Eus; ἡμῶν ca; nobis L. ἐν αὐτῷ] vofpL Eus; αὐτῷ (om. ἐν) ctna. λοιποῖς]
 ἄλλοις vo* (but corr. o**) alone. 16 πεπεισμένους] vofptan (but resembling
 -νοῖς) Eus; πεπεισμένων c.

sent world, but Him who died and
 rose for us.'

11. τῷ λόγῳ κ.τ.λ.] Heb. v. 13
 λόγον δικαιοσύνης.

13. μακαρίοις] See the note on
 § 3.

14. Ζωσίμῳ] Zosimus and Rufus
 have a place in the *Martyrol. Roman.*
 p. 844 (Colon. 1610) under Dec. 18,
 'Philippis in Macedonia natalis sanc-
 torum martyrum Rufi et Zosimi, qui
 ex eo numero discipulorum fuerunt,
 per quos primitiva ecclesia in Judaeis
 et Graecis fundata est; de quorum
 etiam felici agone scribit S. Poly-
 carpus in Epistola ad Philippenses,'
 following earlier Latin Martyrologies.
 From the connexion of names how-
 ever it may fairly be inferred that
 they did not suffer at Philippi itself,
 but belonged to that company of
 martyrs (mentioned in § 1) whom the
 Philippians received in passing and
 escorted on their way to Rome. Zahn
 (*I. v. A.* p. 292 sq) suggests that
 they may have been Bithynian Chris-
 tians who joined the saint at Philippi
 or Neapolis and were carried with
 him to Rome, having been sent thither
 by Pliny; Plin. *Epist.* 97 'Fue-

runt alii similis amentiae; quos, quia
 cives Romani erant, adnotavi in
 urbem remittendos.' The Latin Mar-
 tyrologies obviously know of them
 only from this notice in Polycarp,
 which they interpret in their own
 way. Both names, Zosimus and
 Rufus, are fairly common. They both
 appear in the same inscriptions in
 Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 192, 244,
 1969, 3664. In no. 1969, at Thessa-
 lonica, the name Valens also found
 in Polycarp's Epistle (§ 11) occurs.
 So also we meet with the three names
 on different tablets of the same Latin
 inscription, *C.I.L.* III. 633, at Philippi
 itself. The Rufus of Polycarp is pos-
 sibly the same who is mentioned in
 Rom. xvi. 13, and this latter again
 may with some degree of probability
 be identified with the son of Simon
 the Cyrenian and brother of Alex-
 ander (Mark xv. 21); but the name
 is not rare.

15. τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν] Philippi was a
 persecuted church even in the time
 of S. Paul: Phil. i. 7, 28—30, comp.
 2 Cor. viii. 2.

16. οὐκ εἰς κενὸν κ.τ.λ.] From Phil.
 ii. 16; comp. Gal. ii. 2.

ΚΕΝΟΝ ἔΔΡΑΜΟΝ, ἀλλ' ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον αὐτοῖς τόπον εἰσὶ παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ, ᾧ καὶ συνέπαθον. οὐ γὰρ τὸν νῦν ἡγάπησαν αἰῶνα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναστάντα.

5

[X. 'Εν τούτοις οὖν στή- X. In his ergo state et
κετε, τῷ ὑποδείγματι τοῦ Κυ- Domini exemplar sequi-
ρίου ἀκολουθοῦντες, ἑδραῖοι τῇ mini, *firmi in fide et immu-*
πίστει καὶ ἀμετακίνητοι, τῇ tabiles, *fraternitatis ama-*
φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους tores *diligentes invicem*, in 10

2 τῷ Κυρίῳ] G; κυρίῳ Eus; τῷ θεῷ a (but κυρίῳ is written above). 3 νῦν] νῦν c (but corr. in marg.). 4 δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ] Here the MSS of G fail us, running into the Epistle of Barnabas § 5 τὸν λαὸν κ.τ.λ. The remaining three words of the sentence are from Eus l. c. The editor of a speaks as if this MS had these three words, but this is probably inadvertence. 8 immutabiles] *inimitabiles* t; *imitabiles* v. 10 invicem] om. m alone. 11 mansuetudine] *mansuetudinem*, all the MSS apparently. Yet I have altered without scruple, such errors

2. εἰς] For this preposition after εἶναι see the note on Ign. *Rom.* i εἰς τέλος εἶναι.

τὸν ὀφειλόμενον κ.τ.λ.] An expression derived from Clem. *Rom.* 5, where it is used of S. Peter.

παρὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ] See the note on Phil. i. 23.

3. συνέπαθον] *Rom.* viii. 17 εἰπερ συνπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθώμεν.

τὸν νῦν κ.τ.λ.] The expression is from 2 Tim. iv. 10.

4. τὸν ὑπὲρ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. 2 Cor. v. 15, 1 Thess. v. 10; and especially Ign. *Rom.* 6 ἐκέινον ζητῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντα, ἐκέινον θέλω τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀναστάντα.

X. 'Follow the example of Christ. Be firm in the faith; be kindly, affectionate, and helpful one to another; despise no man. Do good, while you can. Submit one to another. So live, that your good works may be manifest to the Gentiles, and that Christ's name may not be blasphemed through you. Teach all men

to be sober, even as ye yourselves walk.'

8. *firmi in fide* etc] 1 Cor. xv. 58 ἑδραῖοι γίνεσθε, ἀμετακίνητοι, Col. i. 23 τῇ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἑδραῖοι καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι κ.τ.λ., Ign. *Ephes.* 10 ὑμεῖς ἑδραῖοι τῇ πίστει (comp. *Polyc.* 3).

9. *fraternitatis amatores*] 1 Pet. ii. 17 τὴν ἀδελφότητα ἀγαπᾶτε (comp. iii. 8); see however the note on 'alterutri praestolantes' below.

10. *in veritate*] It may be a question whether these words should not be connected with the preceding clause, as in 2 Joh. 1, 3 Joh. 1, ἀγαπῶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. In this case 'mansuetudine Domini' would be attached to 'sociati.'

11. *mansuetudine Domini*] 2 Cor. x. 1 τῆς πραΰτητος καὶ ἐπεικειᾶς τοῦ Χριστοῦ; comp. Ign. *Philad.* 1 ἐν πάσῃ ἐπεικειᾷ Θεοῦ, *Ephes.* 10 ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν εὐρεθώμεν τῇ ἐπεικειᾷ, μιμηταὶ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου κ.τ.λ. See for a similar expression § 5 κατὰ τὴν ἀλή-

veritate sociati, mansuetudine Domini alterutri *praestolantes*, nullum despicientes. *Cum potestis bene*
 15 *facere*, nolite differre, quia *Eleemosyna de morte liberat*.
Omnes vobis invicem sub-
jecti estote, conversationem
vestram irreprehensibilem

φιλόστοργοι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κοινωνοῦντες, τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀλλήλοισι προηγοῦμενοι, μηδενὸς καταφρονοῦντες. ἀγνατοὶ ὄντες εὖ ποιεῖν, μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθε, ὅτι ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται. πάντες ἀλλήλοισι ὑποτάγητε, τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἀνεπίλημπτον ἔχοντες ἐν

being very common: e.g. in the Vulg. of Rom. xii. 10 (quoted in the lower notes) the two oldest MSS, Am Fuld, have *caritatem*, and Fuld has also *honorem*. 12 Domini] om. m alone. alterutri] *alterutrum* o. praestolantes] rovbct; *praestantes* (*prestantes*) mf, and app. p (see Dressel). 14 potestis] ovbct; *possitis* rpmf. 19 irreprehensibilem habentes] rpsmf; *considerantes irreprehensibilem* (*inreprehensibilem*) ovbct.

θειαν τοῦ Κυρίου.

12. alterutri praestolantes] ‘being beforehand with one another,’ ‘forestalling one another.’ In Lam. iii. 26 this verb *praestolari* corresponds to ὑπομένειν, in Job vii. 2 to ἀναμένειν, in Judges xvi. 2 to ἐνεδρεῖν, in the LXX, while the substantive *praestolatio* takes the place of ἐλπίς in several passages; comp. Rönsch *Itala u. Vulgata* pp. 76, 301. It denotes properly ‘to be beforehand at a place and waiting for another,’ and so ‘to anticipate,’ ‘to forestall.’ For the derivation see Peile’s *Greek and Latin Etymology* p. 43. I have rendered it by προηγούμενοι, from Rom. xii. 10 τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι, τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι (*caritate fraternitatis invicem diligentes, honore invicem praevenientes* Vulg.), where προηγούμενοι signifies ‘being beforehand with,’ as Chrysostom says, μὴ μένε φιλεῖσθαι παρ’ ἐτέρου ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐπιπῆδα τούτῳ καὶ κατάρχου. If I am right in this conjecture as to the source of the ex-

pression, the context of Polycarp, ‘fraternitatis amatores diligentes invicem,’ will probably be a rendering of τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι. Zahn reproduces the Greek, ἐπιεικείαν Κυρίου ἀλλήλοισι ἐπιχορηγούντες; but assuming *praestolantes* (not *praestantes*) to be the correct reading in the Latin, as he rightly does, it is difficult to get this sense out of the words.

14. Cum potestis etc] Prov. iii. 28 μὴ εἴπῃς, Ἐπανελθὼν ἐπάνηκε, αἴριον δώσω, δυνατοῦ σου ὄντος εὖ ποιεῖν.

16. Eleemosyna etc] A quotation from Tobit iv. 11, xii. 9.

17. invicem subjecti] Ephes. v. 21 ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ, 1 Pet. v. 5 πάντες δὲ ἀλλήλοισι [ὑποτάγητε], Ign. *Magn.* 13 ὑποτάγητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι.

18. conversationem etc] From 1 Pet. ii. 12 τὴν ἀναστροφὴν ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἔχοντες καλὴν, ἵνα, ἐν ᾧ καταλαοῦσιν ὑμῶν ὡς κακοποιῶν, ἐκ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἐποπτεύοντες κ.τ.λ.

τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἵνα ἐκ τῶν κα-
λῶν ἔργων ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς
ἔπαινον λάβητε καὶ ὁ Κύριος
μὴ βλασφημῇται ἐν ὑμῖν.
οὐαὶ δὲ δι' οὗ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ
Κυρίου βλασφημεῖται. σ-
φροσύνην οὖν πάντας διδάσ-
κετε, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀναστρέ-
φεσθε.]

*habentes in gentibus, ut ex
bonis operibus vestris et vos
laudem accipiat et Domi-
nus in vobis non blasphe-
metur. Vae autem per quem
nomen Domini blasphema-
tur. Sobrietatem ergo do-
cete omnes, in qua et vos
conversamini.*

2 bonis] *omnibus* f alone.

5 autem] txt rpmf; add. *illi* ovbct.

11 pres-

byter factus est] *factus est presbiter* p alone.

13 ignoret is] *ignoretis*, all the

MSS apparently.

15 vos ut abstineatis vos] o (?) ; *ut abstineatis vos* rpf; *vos*

5. Vae autem etc] See the note on Ign. *Trall.* 8 οὐαὶ γὰρ δι' οὗ ἐπὶ ματαιότητι τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται.

8. in qua et vos etc] 1 Thess. iv. 1 καθὼς καὶ περιπατεῖτε. The word here may have been either ἀναστρέφεσθε or πολιτεύεσθε (§ 5).

XI. 'I grieve exceedingly over your presbyter Valens, that he should so forget his office. Avoid covetousness. Abstain from all evil. How can a man teach others, when he is unable to govern himself? Covetousness is idolatry. The covetous man shall be judged as a Gentile; whereas the saints shall themselves judge the world, as Paul teacheth. Not that I am aware of any such fault in you, among whom Paul laboured and of whom he boasted in all the churches at a time when we Smyrnæans were not yet converted to Christ. I grieve greatly for Valens and his wife. God grant them true repentance. Treat ye them with moderation, and restore them as erring members, that your whole body may be made whole. So doing, ye shall edify yourselves.'

II. Valente] The name *Valens* seems to have been common at Phi-

lippi. It is found not less than four times on the tablets of one Latin inscription at this place, *C.I.L.* III. 633, L. Nutrius Valens Jun., M. Publicius Valens, M. Plotius Valens, Sedius Valens, besides occurring in other inscriptions in the same neighbourhood, *ib.* 640, 690: comp. the note on *Ζωσίμω* § 9. See also *Philippians* p. 64.

14. locum] i.e. τόπον 'the office'; see the note on Ign. *Polyc.* I.

qui datus etc] § 3 τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑμῖν πίστιν; comp. § 4.

15. abstineatis etc] 'Abstinerere se a' is the common rendering of ἀπέχεσθαι, §§ 2, 6 (bis).

16. avaritia] The original was probably φιλαργυρίας, as φιλαργυρία is always rendered by *avaritia* (§§ 2, 4, 6) and ἀφιλάργυροι by *avarī* (§ 5). On the other hand πλεονεξία, in the only passage where it occurs, is translated by *concupiscentia* § 2. Some indeed suppose the original here to have been πλεονεξίας, to which they give the meaning 'sensuality, uncleanness.' But whether we adopt πλεονεξίας or not, the vice here denounced is clearly avarice: for (1) From the repeated denunciations of φιλαργυρία

10 XI. Nimis contristatus
sum pro Valente, qui pres-
byter factus est aliquando
apud vos, quod sic ignoret
is locum qui datus est ei.
15 Moneo itaque vos, ut absti-
neatis vos ab avaritia et si-
tis casti veraces. Abstinete
vos ab omni malo. Qui
autem non potest se in his

[XI. Ἄγαν ὑπερελυπήθην
ὑπὲρ Οὐάλεντος τοῦ ποτε πρεσ-
βυτέρου γενομένου παρ' ὑμῖν,
ὅτι οὕτως ἀγνοεῖ τὸν δοθέντα
αὐτῷ τόπον. νουθετῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς
ἵνα ἀπέχῃσθε φιλαργυρίας καὶ
ἀγνοίᾳ ἢ τε καὶ ἀληθεῖς. ἀπέ-
χεσθε παντὸς κακοῦ. ὁ δὲ μὴ
δυναμὲνος ἑαυτὸν ἐν τούτοις

ut abstineatis mvsbcsts.

17 veraces] rpmvbcft; *et veraces os.*

19 non

potest se in his] p; *in his non potest se bcstsvs; non potest in his se rmf; non potest se (om. in his) o.*

elsewhere in this epistle (see the note on § 4), it is clear that Polycarp had some notable example of this sin fresh in his memory; (2) The wife of Valens was implicated in the crime, and this points rather to some sordid and dishonest money transaction, as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira; (3) In the context allusion is made to Col. iii. 5 καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἣτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία, or to Ephes. v. 5 πλεονέκτης, ὃ ἐστὶν εἰδωλολάτρης, which point plainly to the worship of mammon; (4) In all the instances where πλεονέκτης, πλεονεκτεῖν, πλεονεξία, are supposed to refer to sins of sensuality, the words either have been misinterpreted or derive this meaning from something in the context: see the note on Col. iii. 5.

17. casti] Assuming this word to stand for ἀγνοί, it has been supposed to point to some sin of unchastity on the part of Valens. We may indeed allow that the original was more probably ἀγνοί than καθαροί, both because the former is the more natural equivalent, and because ἀγνός, ἀγνεῖα, are elsewhere in this epistle rendered by *castus*, *castitas*, §§ 4, 5: but ἀγνοί

might still apply to the absence of sordid and dishonest motives, as e.g. in Phil. i. 17 Χριστὸν καταγγέλλουσιν οὐχ ἀγνός: see Pind. *Olymp.* iii. 21 ἀγνὰ κρίσις. Here it would be altogether appropriate, because avarice is denounced as idolatry, and ἀγνεῖα denotes purity of worship as opposed to the cultus of idols (1 Macc. xiv. 36). This idea is carried out in the words 'ab idololatria coinquinabitur' below. The other epithet *veraces* again points to dishonesty, rather than unchastity, as the vice which is here condemned. It is worth observing however that there is no authority for the conjunction *et* in the Latin text, and perhaps the two adjectives 'casti veraces' are alternative renderings of one word εἰλικρινεῖς, which by an accident have both retained a place in the text.

Abstinete vos etc] 1 Thess. v. 22 ἀπὸ παντὸς εἰδους πονηροῦ ἀπέχεσθε.

18. Qui autem etc] Comp. 1 Tim. iii. 5 εἰ δέ τις τοῦ ἰδίου οἴκου προστήναι οὐκ οἶδεν, πῶς ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ἐπιμελήσεται;

19. in his] i.e. 'in matters relat-

κυβερνᾶν, πῶς ἐτέρῳ τοῦτο καταγγέλλει; ὃς εἰ μὴ ἀπέχεται φιλαργυρίας, ὑπὸ εἰδωλολατρείας μανθήσεται καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν κριθήσεται, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔγνωσαν κρίσιν Κυρίου. ἢ οὐκ οἶδαμεν ὅτι οἱ ἄγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσιν; ὡς Παῦλος διδάσκει. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ἔγνω ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδὲ ἤκουσα, ἐν οἷς ἐκοπίασεν ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος, τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ.

gubernare, quomodo alii pronuntiat hoc? Si quis non se abstinuerit ab avaritia, ab idololatria coinquinabitur, et tanquam inter gentes judicabitur, qui ignorant *judicium Domini*. Aut nescimus, quia sancti mundum judicabunt? sicut Paulus docet. Ego autem nihil tale sensi in vobis vel audiui, in quibus laboravit beatus Paulus, qui estis in principio *epistolae* ejus: de

1 alii pronuntiat hoc] c; alio pronuntiat (-ciat) hoc onbt; alii hoc pronuntiat rs; hoc alio pronuntiabit m; hoc aliud pronuntiatur (-ciatur) fp. 3 non se abstinuerit] rpf; se non abstinuerit m; non abstinuerit se osvbcsts. 6 qui] rpvbct; quae mf; qui autem os. 8 Aut] rpm; aut ut f; an osvbcsts. 11 vel]

ing to gain,' and accordingly 'hoc' is 'the duty of abstaining from avarice.'

4. ab idololatria etc] See the passages, Col. iii. 5, Ephes. v. 5, quoted above, with the note on the former. The Latin 'coinquino' is a rendering of *μαίνω* in 1 Macc. i. 63, Tit. i. 15, Herm. *Mand.* iii. 1, iv. 1.

5. tanquam etc] The nations (*ἔθνη*) shall appear at the bar; the chosen λαὸς shall sit in judgment: comp. Is. xlii. 1 *ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ' αὐτόν, κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει* (quoted in Matt. xii. 18), Dan. vii. 22 (LXX) *τὸ κρίμα ἔδωκεν ἁγίοις ὑψίστου*, Wisd. iii. 8 *κρινούσιν ἔθνη*. For the expression 'tanquam inter gentes' comp. Matt. xviii. 17 *ὥσπερ ὁ ἔθνικος*.

6. qui ignorant etc] Jer. v. 4 *οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὁδὸν Κυρίου καὶ κρίσιν Θεοῦ*.

8. Aut nescimus etc] A reference to 1 Cor. vi. 2 *ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι οἱ ἄγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσιν*;

10. Ego autem etc] Ign. *Trall.* 8 *Οὐκ ἐπεὶ ἔγνω τοιοῦτόν τι ἐν ὑμῖν*: comp. *Magn.* 11.

13. qui estis etc] 'ye who in the beginning (of the Gospel) were his letters (of commendation).' For 'in principio' comp. Phil. iv. 15 *ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, and see above § 1 *ἐξ ἀρχαίων καταγγελλομένη χρόνων*; and for 'epistolae ejus,' 2 Cor. iii. 2 *ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡμῶν ὑμεῖς ἐστε*. This interpretation was, I believe, first suggested by Nolte (see Hefele, ed. iv) and is adopted by Hofmann *Heilige Schrift Neuen Testaments* iv. 3. p. 101, v. p. 29. Supposing it to be correct, the present tense 'estis' is probably a mistranslation of the ambiguous participial form; see the parallel instance in § 13 'de his qui

- 15 vobis etenim *gloriatur in* *περὶ ὑμῶν γὰρ καυχᾶται ἐν*
omnibus ecclesiis, quae so- *πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, αἵτινες*
lae tunc Dominum cogno- *μόναι τότε τὸν Κύριον ἐγνώ-*
verant; nos autem nondum *σαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐπω ἐγνώκειμεν.*
cognoveramus. Valde ergo, *λίαν οὖν ὑπερλυποῦμαι, ἀδελ-*
20 *fratres*, contristor pro illo *φοί, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς*
et pro conjuge ejus, quibus *γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ· οἷς δὲ ὁ Κύ-*
det Dominus poenitentiam *ριος μετάνοιαν ἀληθινήν. ὁσω-*
veram. Sobrii ergo estote *φρονήσατε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν*
et vos in hoc; et non sicut *τούτῳ, καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθροῖς*
25 *inimicos tales existimetis,* *ἡγεῖσθε τοὺς τοιούτους, ἀλλ'*
sed sicut passibilia membra *ὡς μέλη παθητὰ καὶ πλανώ-*
et errantia eos revocate, ut *μενα ἐπιστρέψατε, ἵνα πάντων*
omnium vestrum corpus *ὑμῶν τὸ σωματεῖον σώζηται·*

om. m alone.

15 etenim] rsovsbsb; et enim t; enim pmf.

16 solae tunc

Dominum] pmf; deum solae tunc rsovsbsb.

19 cognoveramus] rpm;

noveramus osvbsb.

21 et pro] psmsovsbs; et (om. pro) rvt.

23 veram]

vestram r.

25 existimetis] aestimetis f.

27 eos] om. m alone.

cum eo *sunt*' with the note. If this interpretation be rejected, the only alternative is to suppose with Smith that 'laudati' or some similar word has fallen out, and that 'in principio epistolae ejus' refers to the Apostle's commendation of the Philippians in Phil. i. 3—9; but the phenomena of the MSS lend no support to this conjecture.

14. de vobis etc] 2 Thess. i. 4 *ὥστε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγκανχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

18. nos autem] i.e. 'we Smyrnæans.' Nothing is heard of Christianity at Smyrna at the time when the Philippian Church was founded. A few years later however (Rev. ii. 8) there was an important Church there. Probably the conversion of Smyrna, as of Colossæ, was an indirect con-

sequence of S. Paul's long sojourn at Ephesus; comp. Acts xix. 10, 26 (*πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἀσίαν, σχεδὸν πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας*).

21. quibus det etc] 2 Tim. ii. 25 *μήποτε δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς μετάνοιαν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας.*

23. Sobrii...estote] *σωφρονήσατε*, i.e. 'be moderate in your punishment of the offender.'

24. non sicut etc] 2 Thess. iii. 15 *καὶ μὴ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ νοθεύετε ὡς ἀδελφόν.*

26. passibilia] i.e. 'frail.' For this sense of *παθητὸς* comp. Plut. *Vit. Pelop.* 16 *τὸ θνητὸν καὶ παθητὸν ἀποβαλόντας*. The word occurs, though in a somewhat different sense, Acts xxvi. 23, Ign. *Ephes.* 7, *Polyc.* 3.

28. omnium vestrum corpus] For *σωματεῖον* see Ign. *Smyrn.* 11, where

τοῦτο γὰρ ποιοῦντες, ἑαυτοὺς οἰκοδομεῖτε.]

[XII. *πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι εὖ γεγυμνασμένοι ἐστέ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς καὶ οὐθὲν ὑμᾶς λέληθεν· ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτέτραπται. μόνον, ὡς ταῖς γραφαῖς ταύταις εἴρηται, ὀργι-
ζεσθε καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδέγῃ ἐπὶ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν. μακάριος ὁ μνημονεύων· ὅπερ ἐγὼ πέποιθα εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν. ὁ δὲ*

salvetis. Hoc enim agentes, vos ipsos aedificatis.

XII. Confido enim vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis, et nihil vos latet; mihi autem non est concessum. Modo, ut his scripturis dictum est, *Ira-* 5
scimini et nolite peccare, et Sol non occidat super ira- 10
cundiam vestram. Beatus, qui meminerit; quod ego credo esse in vobis. Deus

7 ut] rsovbct; *uti* pmf.
12 meminerit] *crediderit* m alone.
p. 212]; *ipse autem deus* Sev (Cureton C. I. p. 214).
Tim Sev; *ipse* (om. *et*) ovbct.
(but add. *ejus* rpmf); *deus* Tim Sev.
18 veritate] L; *in veritate* [Sev].

8 dictum est] txt rsovbct; add. *enim* pmf.
13 Deus autem] L Tim (Cureton C. I. p. 214).
15 et ipse] txt rpspsfms
16 pontifex] om. r alone. Dei filius] L
17 Jesus] om. r. aedificet] *deficiet* f.
in omni] rsovsbctrs Tim [Sev]; *omni*

also it is translated by 'corpus' in this version. For the sentiment see 1 Cor. xii. 26 *εἰ πάσχει ἐν μέλος, σὺν-πάσχει πάντα τὰ μέλη.*

2. vos ipsos aedificatis] For *οἰκοδομεῖν* (*ἐποικοδομεῖν*) *ἑαυτὸν* comp. 1 Cor. xiv. 4, Jude 20.

XII. 'You are versed in the Scriptures far beyond myself. Remember therefore how these Scriptures warn you not to give way to anger. Blessed are ye, if ye remember this. May God the Father and the Eternal High-Priest, Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and truth and gentleness and patience and chastity, and grant to you and to us our portion among the saints, with all those who shall believe on our Lord Jesus Christ. Pray for all saints. Pray

for kings and rulers, for your persecutors, for the enemies of the Cross, that your fruit may be seen and ye may be perfect in Christ.'

5. nihil vos latet] See above § 4 *λέληθεν αὐτὸν οὐδέν*, which is translated by a present 'nihil eum latet'; comp. also Ign. *Ephes.* 14 *οὐδὲν λανθάνει ὑμᾶς.*

6. non est concessum] 'This degree of knowledge *has not been granted to me.*' For the Greek comp. Hermas *Vis.* ii. 4 *ἐκεῖνον γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται.*

7. Modo] To be attached to what follows. For this use of *μόνον* see Ign. *Ephes.* 11, *Rom.* 5, *Smyrn.* 4. The reading *uti* (wrongly taken as the infin. from *utor*) led to the attachment of these words with the

autem et pater Domini nos-
 15 tri Jesu Christi et ipse sem-
 piternus pontifex, Dei filius
 Jesus Christus, aedificet vos
 in fide et veritate et in
 omni mansuetudine et sine
 20 iracundia et in patientia et
 in longanimitate et tole-
 rantia et castitate; et det
 vobis sortem et partem in-
 ter sanctos suos, et nobis
 25 vobiscum, et omnibus qui

Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου
 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ αὐ-
 τὸς ὁ αἰώνιος ἀρχιερεύς, Θεὸς
 Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐποικοδομοίη
 ὑμᾶς ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀληθείᾳ
 καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ ἐν
 πάσῃ ἀοργησίᾳ καὶ ἀνοχῇ καὶ
 μακροθυμίᾳ καὶ ἐν ὑπομονῇ καὶ
 ἐν ἀγνείᾳ, καὶ δώῃ ὑμῖν κλῆρον
 καὶ μερίδα ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐ-
 τοῦ, καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν, καὶ

(om. *in*) pmf.

19 sine iracundia] L; *in omni non-iracundia* Sev.

20 et

in patientia] rsmvsjbcets; *et patientia* Sev; *in patientia* (om. *et*) pf. The words
patientia et are omitted in o.

21 in longanimitate] rpvt; *longanimitate*

(om. *in*) msfsscs Sev.

et tolerantia et castitate] L; *et in tolerantia et in*

castitate Sev.

24 nobis] *in nobis* obct* (but corr. t**).

25 omnibus] *in*

omnibus obvct* (but corr. t**).

preceding sentence and the conse-
 quent insertion of 'enim' after 'dic-
 tum est.'

8. Irascimini etc] Word for
 word from Ps. iv. 4 (LXX), which is
 also quoted in Eph. iv. 26; comp.
Apost. Const. ii. 53.

10. Sol non occidat etc] S. Paul's
 comment in Eph. i. c. on the passage
 which has been previously quoted
 from the Psalms. It was a rule also
 of the Pythagoreans, Plut. *Mor.* 488 B
*εἴποτε προαχθεῖεν εἰς λαιδορίας ὑπ' ὀρ-
 γῆς, πρὶν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον δῦναι τὰς δεξιὰς
 ἐμβάλλοντες καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι διελύοντο.*

12. quod] i.e. τὸ μνημονεύειν. For
 the expression comp. 2 Tim. i. 5
πέπεισμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοί.

16. pontifex] See the note on
 ἀρχιερεύς, Clem. Rom. 36; and com-
 pare Polycarp's own prayer in *Mart.*
Polyc. 14 for this expression.

Dei filius] In the attempt to re-

produce the original Greek, I have
 followed the quotations in Timotheus
 and Severus, as being much more
 ancient than our other authorities,
 and have given Θεός in place of Θεοῦ
 νίος.

19. sine iracundia] The word
 was doubtless ἀοργησία (see the trea-
 tise περὶ ἀοργησίας in Plut. *Mor.*
 p. 453), as the Syriac of Severus'
 quotation shows; comp. ἀόργητος
 Clem. Rom. 19 (with the note), τὸ
 ἀόργητον Ign. *Philad.* i.

23. sortem et partem] Acts viii.
 21 οὐκ ἔστιν σοι μερίς οὐδὲ κλῆρος,
 Deut. xii. 12, xiv. 26, 28; comp. Col.
 i. 12 εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν
 ἁγίων.

25. qui sunt sub caelo] Col. i. 23
 ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν,
 Acts ii. 5 ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ
 τὸν οὐρανόν.

παῖσιν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν,
οἵτινες μέλλουσιν πιστεῖν εἰς
τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν
Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὸν
πατέρα αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐγείραντα
αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. ὑπὲρ πάν-
των τῶν ἀγίων προσεύχεσθε.
προσεύχεσθε καὶ ὑπὲρ βασι-
λέων καὶ ἐξουσιῶν καὶ ἀρ-

sunt sub caelo, qui credituri
sunt in Dominum nostrum
et Deum Jesum Christum
et in ipsius partem *qui re-*
suscitavit eum a mortuis. 5
Pro omnibus sanctis orate.
Orate etiam *pro regibus* et
potestatibus et principibus

1 sunt] om. 1 alone. 2 Dominum] et dominum 1. nostrum] rpmosvsfst; om. bc. 3 et Deum] rpf; om. osvsbscsts. 7 Orate etiam pro] L; et pro Fragn-Syr. (Zingerle *Mon. Syr.* p. 1), thus omitting the second προσεύχεσθε. 8 et] msrsosvsbscsts; atque pf. principibus] L; pro principibus Fragn-Syr. 9 atque] rsosvsbscsts; et mpf. persequentibus et odientibus vos] L (but om. *persequentibus* et m); *odientibus nos et persequentibus nos* Fragn-

1. qui credituri sunt] 1 Tim. i. 16 τῶν μελλόντων πιστεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

4. qui resuscitavit etc] The expression occurs Gal. i. 1, Col. ii. 12, 1 Pet. i. 21, besides similar language elsewhere.

6. Pro omnibus sanctis] Eph. vi. 18 προσευχόμενοι...περὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων κ.τ.λ.

7. pro regibus etc] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2 ποιείσθαι δεήσεις, προσευχὰς...ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων κ.τ.λ. For the objection against the genuineness of this epistle on the ground of the plural 'regibus,' see the general introduction.

9. pro persequentibus etc] Matt. v. 44 ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς (comp. Luke vi. 27, 28), where the received text among other interpolated words introduces καλῶς ποιείτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, but the balance of authority is against them. The passage is variously quoted or alluded to in Justin *Apol.* i. 15 (p. 62), *Dial.*

133 (p. 363), Athenag. *Leg.* 11, Theoph. *ad Autol.* iii. 14, *Clem. Hom.* iii. 19, xi. 32, xii. 32, *Apost. Const.* i. 2, vii. 1; but in none of these passages is the combination of words exactly the same as here. The nearest approach is *Apost. Const.* i. 2 καλῶς ποιείτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεάζοντων καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

10. inimicis crucis] Phil. iii. 18 τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. In S. Paul the expression probably refers to Antinomian excesses (see the note there). Here however it seems to refer to Docetism: see the note on § 7 τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ. There is a similar transference in the application of the σκάνδαλον τοῦ σταυροῦ in Ign. *Ephes.* 18 (see the note there).

11. ut fructus vester etc] John xv. 16 ἵνα...ὁ καρπὸς ὑμῶν μένη, 1 Tim. iv. 15 ἵνα σου ἡ προκοπὴ φανερά ᾖ [ἐν] πάσιν.

13. sitis in illo etc] Col. ii. 10 καὶ ἔστε ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι, James i. 4

atque *pro persequentibus* et
 10 odientibus *vos* et *pro ini-*
micis crucis, ut fructus ves-
ter manifestus sit in om-
nibus, ut sitis in illo per-
 fecti.

χόντων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν διω-
 κόντων καὶ μισούντων ἡμᾶς,
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τοῦ
 σταυροῦ, ἵνα ὁ καρπὸς ὑμῶν
 φανερόσ ᾖ ἐν πᾶσιν, ἵνα ᾗτε
 ἐν αὐτῷ τέλειοι.]

15 XIII. Ἐγράψατέ μοι καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ Ἰγνάτιος ἵνα,
 ἐάν τις ἀπέρχεται εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπο-

Syr. 11 crucis] txt L; add. *christi* Fragm-Syr. (with Phil. iii. 18). 15 Ἐγρά-
 ψατε κ.τ.λ.] Where L generally agrees with Eusebius, I have not thought it
 necessary to record variations in individual MSS of this version. 16 καὶ τὰ
 παρ' ὑμῶν...γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω] *litteras meas quas fecero ad vos* L (as if it had
 read ἡμῶν and ἅπερ). There is a v.l. ἡμῶν also in Eus, but it is inadequately
 supported and does not deserve consideration: see the lower note.

ἵνα ᾗτε τέλειοι.

XIII. 'I have been asked by you and by Ignatius to allow our messenger to carry your letter to Syria. I will do this—either myself or the delegate whom I shall send on your behalf as well as on ours. I have also attended to your other request, and sent you such letters of Ignatius as I had in my possession. They are attached to this letter. You will find them highly profitable, for they teach faith and patient endurance and are in all ways edifying. In return do ye communicate to me the latest news of Ignatius and his companions.'

15. καὶ Ἰγνάτιος] There is no direct charge in the letter of Ignatius to Polycarp, that the Smyrnæan messenger should carry the letter of the Philippians to Syria. If therefore Polycarp has used a rigidly accurate expression here, it will be necessary to suppose that Ignatius had written other instructions (no longer extant) to Polycarp—probably a few lines by way of postscript to the letter of the Philippians. We may observe how-

ever; (1) That Polycarp does not separate the instructions of the Philippians from those of Ignatius, but masses them together; and (2) That Ignatius, writing to Polycarp, does charge him generally to place in the hands of the Smyrnæan delegate the letters of divers churches which were not able to send messengers of their own (*Polyc. 8 οἱ δὲ ἐπιστολὰς διὰ τῶν ὑπό σου πεμπομένων*). Polycarp therefore, writing loosely, might very naturally infuse the instructions of Ignatius into the request of the Philippians, as applying indirectly to them, though not immediately referring to them.

16. καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν] 'The letter from you Philippians as well as that from us Smyrnæans.' Ignatius had given directions to the churches generally (*Philad. 10, Smyrn. 11, Polyc. 7, 8*) to send letters, and (where it was possible) delegates bearing these letters to the Antiochene Church. The Philippian Church was too far distant to send a delegate (see *Polyc. 7*), and hence they entrusted their letter to the

κομίση γράμματα· ὅπερ ποιήσω, εἰάν λάβω καιρὸν εὐ-
 θετον, εἴτε ἐγὼ εἴτε ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύσοντα καὶ περὶ
 ὑμῶν. τὰς ἐπιστολὰς Ἰγνατίου τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄλλας ὅσας εἴχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐπέμ-
 ψαμεν ὑμῖν, καθὼς ἐνετείλασθε· αἵτινες ὑποτεταγμένοι 5
 εἰσὶ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ ταύτῃ· ἐξ ὧν μεγάλα ὠφεληθῆναι
 δυνήσεσθε. περιέχουσι γὰρ πίστιν καὶ ὑπομονὴν καὶ
 πᾶσαν οἰκοδομὴν τὴν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀνήκουσαν.

1 εἰάν λάβω] *si habuerimus* L.
legatus quem misero pro vobis L.

2 ὃν πέμψω πρεσβεύσοντα καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν]
 3 τὰς πεμφθείσας ἡμῖν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ] *quae trans-*

Smyrnæan messenger. The reading ὑμῶν is required by the presence of καί. The Latin translator, reading ἡμῶν and not being familiar with the circumstances, has gone altogether wrong.

ἀποκομίσθ] 'carry to its destination,' i.e. to Antioch; comp. e.g. Polyb. xxviii. 10. 7 κατέστησαν πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Ἀτταλον τοὺς περὶ Τηλέκριτον, ἀποκομίζοντας τὸ δόγμα. The force of the preposition is the same as in ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἀποδιδόναι, ἀπέχειν; see the note on Gal. iv. 5.

1. εἰάν λάβω κ.τ.λ.] Diod. Sic. v. 57 καιρὸν εὐθετον λαβόντες. For καιρὸς εὐθετος see also Ps. xxxi (xxxii). 6 (LXX), Alex. Polyhist. in Eus. *Præf. Ev.* ix. 27 (p. 432).

2. εἴτε ἐγὼ] Ignatius had only asked that Polycarp and the Smyrnæans should send some one whom they held ἀγαπητὸν λίαν καὶ ἄοκνον (*Polyc.* 7; comp. *Smyrn.* 11). It appears from this passage that Polycarp contemplated going himself, as a possibility, as churches less distant from Syria had sent their bishops (*Philad.* 10 αἱ ἐγγιστα ἐκκλησῖαι ἐπεμψαν ἐπισκόπους). Obviously however this did not enter into the mind of Ignatius himself, for he prays for a blessing on this unknown delegate of

the Smyrnæans and on 'Polycarp who sendeth him' (*Polyc.* 8).

καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν] 'for you Philip-
 pians, as well as for us Smyrnæans.'

3. τὰς ἐπιστολὰς] It has been shown elsewhere (see the note on § 3 ἐπιστολὰς) that the plural does not necessarily imply more than a single letter. Nor is the following ἄλλας any obstacle; comp. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43 ἦλθον δ' οὖν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπιστολαὶ Κορνηλίου Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐκκλησίας Φάβιον...καὶ ἄλλαι πάλιν Ῥωμαϊκῇ φωνῇ συντεταγμένοι Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄμ' αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ., Justin *Hist.* xi. 12 'Dareus...per epistulas Alexandrum precatur...Interjecto tempore aliae epistulae Darei Alexandro redduntur...Scribit itaque et tertias epistulas,' in both which passages a single letter is denoted by the plural. The reference here therefore would be satisfied by the single Epistle to Polycarp, and critics are not justified in assuming that the Epistle to the Smyrnæans is also included. The expression however more naturally suggests more than one letter; and, so far, it favours the genuineness of the short Greek Epistles.

5. αἵτινες κ.τ.λ.] On the epistles of Ignatius which were probably in

Et de ipso Ignatio et de
 10 his qui cum eo sunt, quod
 certius agnoveritis, signi-
 ficate.

XIV. Haec vobis scripsi
 per Crescentem, quem in
 15 praesenti commendavi vo-

[καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰγνατίου
 καὶ περὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, εἴ τι
 ἀσφαλέςτερον ἐπεγνώκατε,
 δηλώσατε.]

[XIV. Ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἔγραψα
 διὰ Κρήσκεντος, ὃν ἄρτι συνέ-
 στησα ὑμῖν καὶ νῦν συνιστάνω·

missae sunt vobis ab eo L (but most mss have *habeo* or *abeo* for *ab eo*). 6 μεγάλα
 ὠφεληθῆναι δυνήσεσθε] *magnus vobis erit profectus* L. 10 his] pmsfsts;
 ἱρσις rovbc. 14 in praesenti] prmovbcf; *praesentem* t* (but corr. *praesenti* t**).

Polycarp's hands and attached by him to this letter, and on the bearing of this notice generally on the preservation of the Ignatian letters, see the general introduction to Ignatius.

8. ἀνήκουσαν] See the notes on Clem. Rom. 45, and Ign. *Philad.* i.

10. qui cum eo sunt] The Latin translator thus makes Polycarp speak as though Ignatius were still living, but this is inconsistent with § 9. The expression in the original was doubtless neutral as regards time, probably τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ 'his companions,' as in the opening of this epistle where τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ is translated in the same way 'qui cum eo sunt,' and thus has been wrongly rendered by a present. There is a similar error in § 9, where τοῖς ἐξ ὑμῶν is rendered 'qui ex vobis sunt,' though the persons were no longer living. The companions alluded to here may have been Zosimus and Rufus, mentioned by name in § 9. Other associates of Ignatius are mentioned in his own epistles, such as Philo and Rhaius Agathopus (*Philad.* II, *Smyrn.* 10), who were with him at Troas and would probably accompany him further on his route. This letter of Polycarp must have been written shortly after the death of Ignatius,

and before the particulars of his martyrdom had reached Smyrna. On the difficulties, which this expression 'qui cum eo sunt' has suggested, see the chapter in the general introduction on the genuineness of this letter.

XIV. 'This letter will reach you through Crescens. I commend him to you now, as I have done heretofore. His conduct with us was blameless, as doubtless it will be with you. Welcome his sister also, when she meets you. Farewell all of you in Christ. Amen.'

14. per Crescentem] Crescens appears from the context to have been the bearer of the letter, and may have been the amanuensis also. See the note on Ign. *Rom.* 10 δι' Ἐφεσίῳν. The name Crescens is common. It occurs in 2 Tim. iv. 10, and is found also in a Philippian inscription (*C. I. L.* III. 633).

in praesenti] Looking at the authorities, there can be no doubt that this should be adopted as the reading of the Latin Version. But as it makes no sense it must be a mis-translation. Now in *praesenti* is a very natural rendering of ἄρτι, though altogether unsuited to this passage, where ἄρτι signifies 'recently,' 'not

ἀνεστράφη γὰρ σὺν ἡμῖν ἀμεί-
πτως, πιστεύω δὲ ὅτι καὶ σὺν
ὑμῖν ὡσαύτως. τὴν δὲ ἀδελ-
φὴν αὐτοῦ ἔξετε συνιστανο-
μένην ὅταν ἔλθῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.
Ἐρρωσθε ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ
Χριστῷ ἐν χάριτι μετὰ πάν-
των τῶν ὑμετέρων. ἀμήν.]

bis et nunc commendo :
conversatus est enim no-
biscum inculpabiliter, credo
autem quia et vobiscum
similiter. Sororem autem 5
ejus habebitis commenda-
tam, cum venerit ad vos.
Incolumes estote in Do-
mino Jesu Christo in gra-
tia cum omnibus vestris. 10
Amen.

2 est] om. m. enim] psrmsosfs; om. vbct. 4 et] om. v alone. vobis-
cum] vobis r alone. 9 in gratia] pmovbctfs; gratia ipsius r. 10 vestris]
povbctfs; nostris m; vobis rs. 11 Amen] ispovbc; om. mft.

long ago,' like our 'just now'; comp. e.g. Jos. *Antiq.* i. 6. Ἰ Καππαδόκαι μὲν ἄρτι κέκληνται. The word might be used equally well of the recent past and of the actual present, and was sometimes used even of the near future: but purists, while recognizing the two former usages, objected to this last; Phryn. *Ecl.* p. 18 ἄρτι ἤξω μηδέποτε εἶπῃς ἐπὶ μέλλοντος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος καὶ παρωχημένου, ἄρτι ἤκω καὶ ἄρτι ἀφικόμεν (see Lobeck's note). When used of the past, it is sometimes contrasted with νῦν, as e.g. in Plato *Alcib. Pr.* 130 D ὁ ἄρτι οὕτω πως ἐρρήθη... νῦν δὲ κ.τ.λ. (comp. *ib.* 127 C οὐκ ἄρτι γε, νῦν δὲ κ.τ.λ.), *Meno* 89 C μὴ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἄρτι μόνον δέη αὐτὸ δοκεῖν καλῶς λέγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν

τῷ νῦν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔπειτα. This seems to have been the case here. Zahn renders *in praesenti* by εἰς τὸ παρὸν, which has the advantage of simplicity; but εἰς τὸ παρὸν could hardly stand for μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος, which is the meaning intended.

3. credo autem etc] For the form of the sentence comp. 2 Tim. i. 5 πέπεισμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοί.

9. in gratia] Comp. Ign. *Smyrn.* 13 ἔρρωσθε ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ.

10. omnibus vestris] 'all your people'; comp. *Mart. Polyc.* 9 τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ παρόντες. *Iren.* i. 13. 5 τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τῶν ἡμετέρων, *ib.* v. 28. 4, Ign. *Smyrn.* 11 πέμψαι τινὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων.

LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS

ON THE

MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP.

MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP.

1.

THIS document is in the form of a letter addressed by the Church of Smyrna to the Church of Philomelium. At the same time the address is so worded as to imply that it was intended for much wider circulation, and at the close (§ 20) directions are given to secure its being so circulated. On the other hand it is not, properly speaking, an encyclical letter, of which copies would be forwarded to a certain number of specified communities—each copy being addressed accordingly.

The letter seems to have been written shortly after the martyrdom itself, which happened A.D. 155 or 156. Questions relating to its date, authenticity, etc., are fully discussed in the first volume of this work.

2.

The following is a brief *analysis* of its contents :

‘THE CHURCH OF SMYRNA TO THE CHURCH OF PHILOMELIUM and to all the brotherhoods of the Catholic Church.’

‘We send you an account of the martyrdom of Polycarp and his companions. Nearly all the incidents followed the precedent of the Gospel. Thus they are an example to us (§ 1). Mangled and exposed to the most excruciating tortures, the sufferers endured without a groan or a murmur. These temporal torments were as nothing to them compared with the eternal torments. Their eyes were set on the glories of eternity. In vain did the devil attempt to seduce them (§ 2). The brave youth Germanicus more especially fought courageously to the end, refusing to take quarter. Then there was a cry, ‘Search for Polycarp’ (§ 3). On the other hand Quintus a Phrygian, who had officiously courted martyrdom, yielded when the crisis came, and was found a renegade (§ 4).’

‘Meanwhile Polycarp had been persuaded to retire to a farm not far from the city. There he saw in a vision his pillow in flames, and prophesied that he should die by fire (§ 5). At length he was detected, being betrayed by a lad of his household; and Herod, the captain of police, sent a mounted force to apprehend him (§ 6). They found him in an upper chamber. He refused to flee. He ordered meat and drink to be given to his pursuers, and betook himself to prayer (§ 7), interceding after his wont for all, high and low. Then seated on an ass, he was led to the city, where he was met by Herod and Herod’s father Nicetes, who transferred him to their own carriage. They intreated him to sacrifice, but he staunchly refused. So he was taken into the stadium amidst a general uproar (§ 8). As he entered, a voice was heard from heaven, bidding him quit himself as a man. Again and again the proconsul urged him to yield and to revile Christ. He refused to be faithless to the good Master whom he had served eighty-six years (§ 9). The importunities of the proconsul were continued. Polycarp declined at his instance to appeal to the people (§ 10). The proconsul’s entreaties were exchanged for menaces. He threatened Polycarp with wild-beasts and with fire. It was all in vain (§ 11). Polycarp joyfully declared himself a Christian. The people cried out against him, and asked the Asiarch Philip to let a lion loose upon him. This he refused to do, as the *venationes* were over. Then they cried out for fire. This was so ordained, that his vision of the burning pillow might be fulfilled (§ 12). Accordingly a huge pyre of logs and faggots was heaped up, the Jews being the most active at this work. He took off his clothes and his sandals. On their attempting to nail him to the stake, he asked to be left free (§ 13). They were satisfied with binding him, and there he stood like a ram ready for sacrifice. Then he poured forth prayer and thanksgiving, glorifying God that He had accepted him as a sacrificial victim (§ 14). The fire was lighted; but the flame refused to touch him, arching itself into a vault round him; while a sweet odour rose, as of incense (§ 15). At length, as the fire refused to do its work, an executioner was ordered to stab him. From the wound issued [a dove and] a quantity of blood, so as to quench the flames to the marvel of all. Thus died this saint, whose every prophecy was fulfilled (§ 16).’

‘Then the devil prompted Nicetes at the instigation of the Jews to intercede with the magistrate not to give up the body; lest we should worship it. They do not know that it is impossible for us to abandon the Saviour and adore any human being in His stead (§ 17). The centurion therefore had the body burnt, and we gathered up the bones,

more precious to us than any jewel, and hid them in a place where, by the Lord's favour, we purpose celebrating his birthday year by year (§ 18).'

'Thus died Polycarp, along with eleven others from Philadelphia; but he stands out pre-eminent, as a teacher and an example, who having overcome the enemy and won the immortal crown, in company with Apostles and righteous men exults and glorifies God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ (§ 19).'

'We send you this letter by the hand of Marcianus. Circulate it among the brethren beyond. Praise and glory be to God. Salute all the saints. All here, including the writer Euaeristus, salute you (§ 20).'

Date of the martyrdom (§ 21).

['We bid you farewell in Christ Jesus, with whom be glory to God the Father and the Holy Spirit (§ 22).'

'Transcribed by Gaius from the papers of Irenæus. [This Irenæus records how Polycarp confronted and denounced Marcion in Rome. The martyrdom of Polycarp in Smyrna was announced to him in Rome by a divine voice at the time of its occurrence.】'

'I Socrates transcribed it in Corinth from the copy of Gaius.'

'I Pionius transcribed it from the last-mentioned copy, which was revealed to me by Polycarp himself. I gathered up the record worn with time, as I hope myself to be gathered up into heaven (§ 23).'

3.

The *authorities* for the text are threefold: (i) The Greek manuscripts; (ii) The extracts in Eusebius; (iii) The Latin version.

(i) GREEK MANUSCRIPTS [G].

The manuscripts of the original Greek are now five in number.

(1) *Mosquensis* 160 (now 159) [m], in the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow, rightly ascribed (says Gebhardt) by Matthäi (*Cod. Graec. MSS Bibl. Mosq. S. Synod. Not.* 1. p. 89, Lips. 1805) to the thirteenth century. This volume contains legends and encomia of saints. The martyrdom of Polycarp is on fol. 96—99 a. A full account and collation of it was given by Gebhardt in *Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.* XLV (xxxix). p. 355 sq (1875). Zahn (1876) was thus the earliest editor who was able to make use of it for his text. This ms omits the first paragraph of § 22, containing the final salutation 'Ἐρρῶσθαι...εὐρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς, and amplifies the remaining part of this same chapter, more especially the portion relating to the connexion between Polycarp and

Irenæus. This is the most important of the Greek manuscripts, as is shown by the coincidence of its readings with those of Eusebius.

(2) *Baroccianus* 238 [b], in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, stated in Coxe's *Catalogue* to belong to the eleventh century and looking quite as old. The ms is a thin folio, containing 54 (numbered 1—3, 6—56) leaves of vellum. It is mutilated at the beginning and end, and has lost two leaves (4 and 5), since it was last numbered apparently in the seventeenth century. The earlier paging shows that the ms is only a fragment of a much larger volume, having lost 200 leaves at the beginning and an indefinite number at the end. It is well written, in double columns, in the ordinary cursive hand of the period, with some small uncials intermixed. It has accents and breathings, both rather carelessly noted, but not iota subscript or adscript. Itacisms are numerous: e.g. $\omicron$ and ω are frequently confused, and so (though less frequently) $\epsilon\iota$ and ι , η and ι , η and $\epsilon\iota$. Polycarp's martyrdom follows the martyrdom of Papias, Diodorus, and Claudius, and is succeeded by a discussion of the manner in which the head of John the Baptist came to Emesa. It begins on fol. 14 b, $\mu\eta\gamma\iota\ \tau\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\ \kappa\Gamma$:— $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu\ \pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\pi\omicron\nu\ \sigma\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\eta\nu\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma.$ $\pi\rho\acute{o}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\acute{\alpha}$ (sic) $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\omega\nu\ \phi\epsilon\nu\rho\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omega\nu.$ The month intended is February, as appears plainly from the other contents of the volume (e.g. fol. 25 $\mu\eta\nu\eta\ \phi\epsilon\gamma\rho\omicron\gamma\alpha\rho\iota\omega\ \kappa\epsilon$); so that $\phi\epsilon\nu\rho\omicron\nu\alpha\rho\iota\omega\nu$ is an error for $\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$. This indeed is apparent from the number $\kappa\Gamma$, which corresponds to vii Kal. only in the month of February.

From this ms Ussher derived his text of the Martyrdom of Polycarp (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* p. iv, Lond. 1647). More recently it was collated throughout by Dr Jacobson, who also gives a facsimile. I am indebted for a thorough and accurate re-collation to the kindness of the Rev. J. Wordsworth, of Brasenose College, now Bishop of Salisbury, to whom also I owe the account of the ms which is given here. He confirms the substantial accuracy of Jacobson's collation.

(3) *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Graec.* 1452 [p], called by Halloix *Mediceus*; see *Catal. Cod. MSS Bibl. Reg.* II. p. 322 (1740). It is also described in Duchesne *Vita S. Polycarpi Auctore Pionio* p. 6. A parchment ms in double columns in handwriting of the tenth century, with accents often wrong and iota frequently adscript, often omitted, but never subscript. It contains lives, martyrdoms, and eulogies of saints for the month of February. The Martyrdom of Polycarp is on fol. 192 b—196 b. It is preceded by the Life of Polycarp by Pionius, wrongly entered in the Catalogue as *Martyrium Polycarpi*, and is

followed by *Narratio de invento S. Joannis capite*. A copy of this MS, procured by Rosweid, was used by Halloix for his life of Polycarp (see Zahn p. lii), and Bolland translated it for his *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. II. p. 695 sq. A facsimile is given by Jacobson, who collated the Letter of the Smyrnæans for his edition. I have myself made a fresh collation for the present work.

(4) *Vindob. Hist. Graec. Eccl.* iii (formerly xi) [v]; a parchment MS of very large size, consisting of 390 leaves, written in a cursive hand, and belonging to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, except fol. 137—152 which are in a fourteenth century hand. A facsimile is given by Jacobson. The iota adscript is almost always omitted. The title of the MS given on the first leaf is *βίοι καὶ μαρτύρια τῶν ἁγίων*. It contains a menology for the month of February. The Martyrdom of Polycarp begins on fol. 200 b, col. 2. It omits considerable portions of §§ 10, 17, alters freely throughout, and leaves out §§ 20—23, substituting a much shorter ending of its own which is chiefly made up of the omitted portion of § 17. Altogether the MS betrays all the marks of an arbitrary literary revision. T. Smith gave a few various readings from this MS, taking them from Lambecius *Comm. de Bibl. Caesar. Vindob.* VIII. p. 88, where the beginning and end of these Acts are given. Jacobson collated it throughout. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr H. Schenke, of Vienna, for a new collation.

(5) *S. Sep. Hierosol.* 1 fol. 136 [s] at Jerusalem; discovered by Prof. J. Rendel Harris (while these sheets were passing through the press for my second edition) in the monastery of the Holy Sepulchre, if I rightly interpret my correspondent's brief account. To Prof. Rendel Harris' extreme kindness and promptitude I owe a very careful collation of this document. It is described as belonging to the tenth century, and is of the family bpv, but possesses little or no distinctive peculiarity. It is however valuable as being probably the earliest MS of that group.

(ii) EUSEBIUS [E].

The extracts of Eusebius are found in *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 15. The historian speaks of Polycarp's death as *ἐγγράφως ἐπι φερόμενον*, 'still circulated in a written record.' He describes this record as follows; *ἔστι δὲ ἡ γραφὴ ἐκ προσώπου ἧς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας ἡγάειτο ταῖς κατὰ Πόντον παροικίαις τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀποσημαίνονσα*. The strange statement *κατὰ Πόντον* is considered in the note on *κατὰ πάντα τόπον*.

He then quotes the opening words, *Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ...κατέπανσε τὸν διωγμὸν* (§ 1). Next after this (*τούτοις ἐξῆς*) he gives an abridged

account of the sufferings of the other martyrs (§ 2), and speaks more at length of Germanicus and Quintus (§§ 3, 4). He then gives a summary of the earlier stages of the persecution of Polycarp himself, adopting more or less the words of the document itself (§§ 5, 6, 7). For the apprehension and martyrdom itself he quotes directly from the document, § 8 Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε κ.τ.λ... § 19 ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι. Thus he preserves the greater part of the work. He introduces this long extract however with the words, ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφὴ κατὰ λέξιν ὧδέ πως τὰ ἐξῆς τῆς ἱστορίας ἔχει, where the expression ὧδέ πως seems to qualify the promise of exact verbal quotation held out in κατὰ λέξιν. As a matter of fact however a comparison shows that the extract is generally given word for word. At the same time he seems to have made slight alterations here and there for the sake of clearness (e.g. substituting ὄχημα for καρῶχα in two places § 8); and possibly (though this is doubtful) the omission of περιστερὰ καὶ (§ 16) may have been an arbitrary alteration of his own. No stress however can be laid on the expression ὧδέ πως, which he uses elsewhere to introduce *verbatim* quotations (see above, I. p. 59). As the extract ends in the middle of § 19, we are unable to say whether or not the copy of Eusebius contained the supplementary paragraphs (§§ 21, 22, 23), which give the date of the martyrdom and the history of the transmission. This question is discussed in the general introduction.

As Eusebius is much the earliest authority for the text of this document, so he is the most valuable; and, wherever he is confirmed by any one other authority, we can (as a rule) have little doubt about accepting his reading. I have not thought it necessary to give the various readings in the mss and versions of Eusebius himself, except where these correspond to various readings in the other authorities for this Martyrdom. In other cases that reading in Eusebius may be assumed to be correct which is confirmed by the reading of the independent authorities for this document.

(iii) LATIN VERSION [L].

The different forms in which the *Passio S. Polycarpi* appears in the Latin language are investigated by A. Harnack, who examined several Paris mss and gives the results in an appendix to *Die Zeit des Ignatius* p. 77 sq. His account is much fuller and more accurate than can be found elsewhere. These forms are threefold.

(1) The Letter of the Smyrnæans is given as it appears in Rufinus' translation of Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 25). A typical example is *Paris*.

Bibl. Nat. Lat. 5568 (tenth cent.). In this form it is commonly accompanied, as in the ms just mentioned, by a collection of the notices of Polycarp gathered from Irenæus, as they appear in the same translation of Rufinus. The manner in which these extracts are combined is described by Harnack (p. 81 sq); but we are not concerned with this matter here.

(2) It appears in an independent Latin translation, either complete, or mutilated, or abridged at the end.

(3) In some mss both forms are given. This is the case in *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 17003 (formerly *Feuillantinus*), *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5291 (formerly *Colbertinus*), and *Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 5341 (formerly *Colbertinus*).

With the Rufinian form (1) we have no concern, and may therefore confine our attention to those mss which contain the independent version, i.e. to those which belong to heads (2) and (3). These again fall into three classes :

(a) The letter is given complete, as in

Salisburyensis, used by Ussher. I am informed that this ms is no longer in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury.

Brit. Mus. Cotton. Nero E. i. 27, also used by Ussher.

Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 9741, to be identified with the *Cod. S. Maximini Trevirensis*, used by Bolland. A collation is given in Harnack, l. c. p. 78 sq.

Audomarensis (S. Omer), likewise used by Bolland.

(b) The letter ends with the actual martyrdom, stopping at § 19 'martyrium in Smyrna videtur implese' (ἐν Σμύρνῃ μαρτυρήσας), and omitting the subsequent matter. This is only a few words before the point at which Eusebius (and therefore Rufinus) breaks off; but, as it forms a natural termination, the coincidence is probably accidental;

Chiffletianus, from which Bolland gives readings, describing them as 'quæ ex alio Burgundico ms nobis communicavit Petrus Franciscus Chiffletius noster.' I do not know that this ms has been identified.

(c) The letter is mutilated and ends at 'cupiebant' in § 13;

Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 17003.

Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 5291.

Paris. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 5341.

(d) The same mutilation, but the missing end is supplied by an excerpt from Rufinus;

Paris. Bibl. de l'Arsenal 996 (formerly *Carmelit. Discalceat.*), a MS known to and cited by Ruinart.

Pratellensis, also a MS used by Ruinart.

All these MSS give one and the same version. Ruinart indeed mentions 'aliam versionem,' which was contained in a MS 'Carmelitarum Discalceatorum'; and this expression raised great hopes (see Zahn p. liv, Funk p. xcviij). But these hopes were quenched by the investigations of Harnack, who has identified this MS of the Carmelites with *Paris. Bibl. de l'Arsenal* 996 (see p. 86). Thus the peculiarities of this and the allied MS *Pratellensis* (e.g. the omission of 'the dove' in § 16), which seemed to betoken a different version, are due to the fact that the latter part is taken from Rufinus.

This version is very loose and paraphrastic, and betrays great ignorance on the part of the translator, who moreover adds and omits freely of his own caprice. As regards the date it is impossible to form any opinion. Gregory of Tours (†594: for the dates of his works see Teuffel *Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.* § 454) speaks of the history of Polycarp's passion being read in the Church of Ricomagus on his festival (*Mirac.* i. 86); and elsewhere (*Hist. Franc.* i. 26) he writes 'In Asia autem orta persecutione beatissimus Polycarpus Joannis apostoli et evangelistae discipulus octogesimo [sexto] aetatis suae anno, velut holocaustum purissimum, per ignem Domino consecratur,' where 'sexto' is omitted probably by accident. This latter passage is evidently taken from the Letter of the Smyrnæans. Hence Ussher (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* praef.) infers that our Latin version must have been already in existence. So too Ruinart (p. 74). They did not notice however that, while Gregory might have derived the 86 years either from Rufinus or from the independent Latin version, he could have got the 'holocaustum' only from Rufinus, for the Latin version here (§ 14) substitutes something wholly different. It is probable therefore that the history of Polycarp's passion, which was read in the Churches of Gaul, was taken from Rufinus.

It will have been seen from the account given that this version is quite valueless for interpretation; and, as the various readings of the Latin MSS do not affect the Greek text, I have not thought fit to reprint it. It is carefully edited by Zahn, so far as was possible with the materials accessible to him.

Zahn (prol. liv) speaks of a *Syriac Version* 'quae in Museo Britannico (MS 14641) editorem expectat,' and adds 'haec a Pionii recensione derivata est.' Elsewhere again (p. 157) he describes it as belonging to the Pionian recension and states on the authority of

Lagarde that it is not free from 'vitio vetusto', i.e. the erroneous reading of Pionius (as he conceives it) *περιστέρα καί*. This is a mistake. The Martyrdom of Polycarp contained in *Brit. Mus. Add. 14641* (fol. 146 a) is correctly described by Wright (*Catalogue of Syriac MSS* p. 1045) as 'an extract from the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, lib. iv, comprising the last sentence of cap. 14 [*Ἀντωνῖνον μὲν δὴ κ.τ.λ.*] and the whole of cap. 15.' Accordingly it omits *περιστέρα καί* with the text of Eusebius.

There is likewise a *Coptic Version* in the Memphitic dialect in the Vatican MS *Copt.* 58, fol. 79 sq; but this again, like the Syriac, is made not from the document itself, but from the account in Eusebius. This account however is somewhat manipulated, especially at the beginning and end, so as to read continuously. A transcript of this Coptic version was made for me by the kindness of Professor Guidi; but as it furnishes no independent evidence, I have not reprinted it. It commences

Φμαρτυρολογιον ἡφνεθотаѳ ѱепископос отоз ѡмартѳрос
 ѱтепѳс аѳѳа πολικαρπος φμαѳнтис ѱпапостолос етаѳжорс
 еѳол ѱсот кѳ ѡпаѳот меѳир ѳеп отѳирни ѱтеѳѳ амин.

'The martyrology of the holy bishop and martyr of Christ, Abba Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostles, which he accomplished on the 29th of the month Mechir; in the peace of God. Amen.'

4.

In the following history of the *printed text* only those editors are mentioned who have made some direct use of original authorities.

Halloix first of all gave in full the contents of this document for his Latin Life of Polycarp (*Illustr. Eccl. Orient. Script. Vet.* i. p. 542 sq, Duaci 1623), but did not print it *totidem verbis*. Of his materials he writes; 'Haec [i.e. the doings of Polycarp] hactenus non edita, sed tantum in manuscriptis codicibus conservata sunt; quorum exemplar unum atque alterum nactus cum Menaeo Graecorum contuli.' Elsewhere however he speaks only of one MS, and there is no evidence that for these Acts he used more than one. Twenty years later Bolland (*Act. Sanct.* Jan. 26, II. p. 692 sq, Antwerp 1643) gave a translation of this document, which he made from a Greek MS belonging to the library 'Regis Christianissimi.' At the same time he published the old Latin version from three Latin MSS, S. Maximini Trevirensis, Audoma-

rensis, and Chiffletianus, all described above. He speaks of Halloix as deriving his matter 'ex hoc ms nostro alioque,' meaning by 'nostro' the ms in the King's Library at Paris, as already mentioned. This must be identified with *Paris. Graec.* 1452 (*Mediceus*). The reasons which have been urged against this identification will be considered hereafter in the introduction to the Life of Polycarp by Pionius. A few years later Ussher (*Ignat. et Polyc. Martyr.* 1647) published both the Greek and the Latin. The former, which appeared now for the first time, was taken from the Oxford ms, *Barocc.* 238. He likewise mentions in his preface 'Mediceus Regis Gallorum,' i.e. the ms used by Halloix, but he does not appear to have made any use of it. For the Latin version he used *Sarisburiensis* and *Cottonianus*. He betrays no knowledge of Bolland's work. Ruinart (*Act. Mart. Sinc.*, ed. 2, 1713) also gave the Greek and the Latin, being entirely dependent upon Ussher, except that for the Latin version he made use likewise of two other mss, *Colbertinus* and *Pratellensis*. In his notes, as already mentioned (p. 360), he also refers to a ms or mss of the Carmelites. The Colbertine ms used by Ruinart should probably be identified with *Paris. Graec.* 5291 or *Paris. Graec.* 5341, though Harnack (p. 81) gives an inconclusive reason for supposing that it may have been some other unknown ms. T. Smith, as already mentioned (p. 357), in his edition (1709) added in his foot-notes a few various readings of the Greek text of the Vienna ms. Jacobson (ed. 1, 1838) collated the three Greek mss, b p v, for his edition. Lastly Zahn (A.D. 1876), besides making full use of all the existing materials, added to them Gebhardt's collation of m, and published a thoroughly revised text of both the Greek original and the Latin version.

Besides the new ms s now used for the first time in the present edition of the Greek text, I have also procured fresh collations of b p v. The principles which must guide an editor in the construction of the text are simple and obvious. A reading found in Eusebius and any one other authority must, as a rule, be accepted. Where Eusebius fails us, the coincidence of the Latin version with any one Greek ms should commonly be regarded as decisive. Of the Greek mss themselves the general order in point of authority is m b p s v; but in individual cases the peculiarities of the several mss may require to be considered in estimating their relative value.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ.

Ἡ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ἐμύρναν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ καὶ

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ] μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου πολυκάρπου mb (add. τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μαρτυρίσαντος ἐν σμύρνῃ πρὸ ζ' καλανδῶν μαρτίων m; add. ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης τῆς ἀσίας πρὸ ἐπτὰ (sic) καλανδῶν φευρουαρίων b; add. ἐπισκόπου γεναμένου (sic) ἐν σμύρνῃ τῆς ἀσίας τῇ πρὸ ἐπτὰ (sic) καλάνδων...eras. s); μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἱερομάρτυρος πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου σμύρνης τῆς ἀσίας v; ἄθλησις τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν πολυκάρπου γενομένου σμύρνης νῆς (sic) τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀσίαν κειμένης p.

1 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ] mbpsE; *ecclesiis dei* L; om. v. 2 Φιλομηλίῳ] mn (φιλομλίω s) LE; φιλαδελφία bp.

1. ἡ παροικοῦσα] For the meaning of this word *παροικεῖν*, and for its several constructions, see the notes on Clem. Rom. I, Polyc. *Phil.* inscr.

2. ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ] Philomelium was a town in Phrygia Paroreios, not far in actual distance from Pisidian Antioch. The two however were separated by a mountain range or *chine* (ὄρεινὴ ῥάχis), which ran from East to West and gave its name to the district; Philomelium lying in the plain on the north side, and Antioch on a hill on the south side of this range (Strabo xii. p. 577). Strabo elsewhere also assigns it to Phrygia (xiv. p. 663). By Ptolemy (v. 2. 25) it is given to Phrygia Magna; by Pliny to Lycaonia (Plin. *N. H.* v. 25); by Hierocles (*Synecd.* p. 25, ed. Parthey), and by the *Notitiae* generally (*ib.* p. 158, 177, 194, 713), to Pisidia; while Eusebius (*H. E.*

iv. 15) is supposed to place it in Pontus (see below). It stood on the great high road to Cappadocia, between Synnada and Iconium, and was a place of some importance (Cic. *Ep. ad Div.* iii. 8, xv. 4). It was wrongly identified by Leake (*Asia Minor* p. 58 sq) with Ilgun. Its true site has since been discovered to be the modern Ak-Shehr (Hamilton's *Asia Minor* i. p. 472, II. pp. 181, 184 sq). No mention is made elsewhere of Philomelium in the earliest records of Christianity. A bishop of this place appears for the first time at the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381). It must therefore have been owing to some accidental circumstance that on this particular occasion the Philomelians come prominently forward. There is nothing in its situation or history which explains the fact.

The other reading ἐν Φιλαδελφίᾳ

πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς ἀγίας καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας παροιکیαις, ἔλεος καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ [τοῦ] Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη.

I. Ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὰ κατὰ τοὺς μαρ-
τυρήσαντας καὶ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὅστις ὥσπερ
ἐπισφραγίσας διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ κατέπανσε τὸν
διωγμόν. σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντα τὰ προάγοντα ἐγένετο,
ἵνα ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος ἀνωθεν ἐπιδείξῃ τὸ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέ-
λιον μαρτύριον. περιέμενεν γὰρ ἵνα παραδοθῇ, ὡς 10
καὶ ὁ Κύριος, ἵνα μιμηταὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῦ γενώμεθα,

1 ἀγίας καὶ] mbps; ἀγίας vE; al. L. 2 καὶ εἰρήνη] mL; εἰρήνη (om. καὶ)
bppsE. 3 Θεοῦ] mLE; ἀπὸ Θεοῦ bpps. τοῦ] mbpv; om. sE. 5 ἀδελφοί]
add. ἀγαπητοὶ m alone. τὰ] pvsE; om. bm. 6 ὅστις] ὥστις m. ὥσπερ] ὡς
m alone. 7 ἐπισφραγίσας] ἐπισφραγίσας s. διὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας] mE; τῇ μαρ-
τυρίᾳ bpps; om. L. 8 πάντα] ἅπαντα m alone. 9 τὸ εὐαγγέλιον] τοῦ εὐαγ-
γελίου m alone. 10 ἵνα παραδοθῇ] παραδοθῇνα v alone. ὡς] καθὼς v alone.
11 καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἵνα] ὁ κύριος καὶ ἵνα m alone. μιμηταὶ] μιμηταὶ b. γενώμεθα]

is doubtless a later substitution, suggested partly by the greater prominence of Philadelphia both in itself and in ecclesiastical history, and partly by the fact that it is mentioned in a later chapter of this epistle (§ 19). This mention however is of such a kind as to show that the epistle could not possibly have been addressed to the Philadelphians themselves.

I. κατὰ πάντα τόπον] Though Eusebius quotes these words of the letter correctly, yet he introduces them with the remark that the letter is addressed ταῖς κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησίαις. Of this there is no trace in the letter itself, for Philomelum was certainly not in Pontus. Perhaps therefore we ought to adopt the conjecture of Valois and substitute πάντα τόπον for Πόντον, though Rufinus and the Syriac version both

read Πόντον, and so it appears in all the extant Greek MSS.

There is no ground for supposing that any other name besides Philomelum appeared in any of the copies of this letter which were circulated at the time. It was directly addressed to the Philomelians in answer to a question which they had asked, and the additional words καὶ πάσαις κ.τ.λ. are added to give it a wider circulation; comp. 1 Cor. i. 2 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ...τῇ οὖσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ...σὺν πάσιν τοῖς ἐπικαλου- μένοις κ.τ.λ....ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ.

καθολικῆς] See §§ 8, 16, 19, below, and the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 8. Compare also the general introduction.

2. παροιکیαις] See the note on Clem. Rom. inscr.

ἔλεος κ.τ.λ.] Jude 1 ἔλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ ἀγάπη πληθυνθείη. For πληθυνθείη see also 1 Pet. i. 2, 2 Pet.

μὴ μόνον σκοποῦντες τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
κατὰ τοὺς πέλας· ἀγάπης γὰρ ἀληθοῦς καὶ βεβαίαις
ἐστὶν μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν θέλειν σώζεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ
15 πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς.

II. Μακάρια μὲν οὖν καὶ γενναῖα τὰ μαρτύρια
πάντα [τὰ] κατὰ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγονότα· δεῖ
γὰρ εὐλαβεστέρους ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχοντας τῷ Θεῷ τὴν
κατὰ πάντων ἐξουσίαν ἀνατιθέναι. τὸ γὰρ γενναῖον
20 αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπομονητικὸν καὶ φιλοδέσποτον τίς οὐκ ἂν
θαυμάσειεν; οἱ μάλιστα μὲν καταξανθέντες, ὥστε μέχρι

γενόμεθα b; γενώμοιθα s. 12 τὸ pri] τὰ m alone. τὸ sec] om. ms. 13 τοὺς
πέλας] Ussher; τοὺς παῖδας (παιδας for πελας) vs; τοὺ (sic) πέλας m; τοῦ πέλας b;
τοὺς πελονας p; al. L. 16 τὰ μαρτύρια] μαρτύρια (om. τὰ) m alone.
17 δεῖ] mn; καὶ bp; el s; al. L. 18 ἡμᾶς] bvsL; ὑμᾶς mp. 19 ἐξουσίαν]
add. αὐτῷ p alone. ἀνατιθέναι] pn; ἀνατεθῆναι m; ἀνατεθῆναι b.
20 αὐτῶν] mb; αὐτοῦ p; om. vs; al. L. ὑπομονητικὸν] ὑπομονιτικὸν s. 21 θαυ-
μάσειεν] θαυμάσιεν bs. καταξανθέντες] add. τοσοῦτον v alone.

i. 2, Clem. Rom. inscr., Polyc. *Phil.* inscr.

5. Ἐγράψαμεν] *'We write.'* For this epistolary aorist see the notes on Gal. vi. 11, Philem. 19.

6. μακάριον] Not necessarily used of the dead at this date; see the notes on Clem. Rom. 47, Polyc. *Phil.* 3.

7. ἐπισφραγίσας] Comp. Euseb. *Mart. Pal.* 11, ὕστατος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας μαρτύρων τοὺς ἄθλους ἐπεσφραγίσας, *ib.* 13 ὡς ἂν ὕστατον γένοιτο παντὸς τοῦ κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἀγῶνος ἐπισφράγισμα. So too Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xv. 7 (I. p. 293) ὁ πρῶτος ἔσται τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁδός, καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος σφραγὶς ἀθλήσεως. This is not the only instance in which the phraseology of this epistle—perhaps the earliest genuine martyrology—has set the fashion for after times.

9. ἀνωθεν] *'afresh', 'anew',* as e.g. in Gal. iv. 9, and probably John iii. 3, 7.

κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον] i.e. in accord-

ance with the Gospel history of His own passion. So again § 19 οὗ τὸ μαρτύριον πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν μιμεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γενόμενον. On the tendency of these Acts to find parallels to our Lord's history in the final scenes of Polycarp's life, see the general introduction.

11. καὶ ἡμεῖς] *'we as well as Polycarp.'*

12. μὴ μόνον κ.τ.λ.] *Phil.* ii. 4 μὴ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι σκοποῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐτέρων ἕκαστοι.

19. γενναῖον] A favourite epithet as applied to martyrs; e.g. § 3, Clem. Rom. 5, *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 2, 7, *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* in Euseb. *H.E.* v. 1 (several times). See Zahn's note.

20. φιλοδέσποτον] A not uncommon epithet of faithful slaves in classical writers; comp. Philo *de Spec. Leg.* 7 (II. p. 340).

21. μάλιστα μὲν κ.τ.λ.] It would seem as if the antithetic clause had

τῶν ἔσω φλεβῶν καὶ ἀρτηριῶν τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς οἰκονομίαν θεωρεῖσθαι, ὑπέμειναν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς περιεστῶτας ἐλεεῖν καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον γενναιοῦτος ἐλθεῖν ὥστε μήτε γρύξαι μήτε στενάξαι τινὰ αὐτῶν, ἐπιδεικνυμένους ἅπασιν ἡμῖν ὅτι ἐκείνη τῇ ὥρᾳ 5 βασανιζόμενοι τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεδήμουν οἱ μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅτι παρεστῶς ὁ Κύριος ὠμίλει αὐτοῖς. καὶ προσέχοντες τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτι τῶν κοσμικῶν κατεφρόνουν βασάνων, διὰ μιᾶς ὥρας τὴν αἰώνιον κόλασιν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἦν αὐτοῖς 10

1 ἀρτηριῶν] ἀρτιριῶν s. 2 θεωρεῖσθαι] τῇρεῖσθαι (sic) m. 3 ὀδύρεσθαι] add. αὐτοὺς v alone. τοὺς δὲ] τοῦ δὲ b. καὶ εἰς] εἰς (om. καὶ) m alone. 4 μήτε pri] μὴ δὲ m alone. γρύξαι] mvs; βρύξαι bp (Jacobson). μήτε στενάξαι] om. m alone. 5 αὐτῶν] vs; ἐαντῶν bp (Jacobson); om. m. ἐκείνη] ἐν ἐκείνῃ v alone. 6 οἱ] txt bv; add. γενναῖοι (-ώτατοι ms) mps. μάρτυρες τοῦ Χριστοῦ] vρ; μάρτυρες χριστοῦ bs; τοῦ χριστοῦ μάρτυρες m. 7 ὁ Κύριος] bvms [L]; χριστός p. ὠμίλει] mp; ὀμίλι b; ὀμίλει vs. 8 τοῦ Χριστοῦ] bvs; χριστοῦ m; τοῦ κυρίου p; al. L. χάριτι] χάρητι m. τῶν] καὶ τῶν p alone. 9 κατεφρόνουν βασάνων] βασάνων κατεφρόνουν m alone. 10 κόλασιν] ζωὴν m alone. 11 ψυχρὸν] ψυχρῶν b. τὸ] om. p alone. ἀπανθρώπων] ἀπανων m; ἀπηνῶν v; ἀπεινῶν bp; ἀπεινῆς s. 12 τὸ] τῷ b. 13 σβεννύμενον] txt bps; add. πῦρ mn.

been intended to run ἐλεηθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν περιεστῶτων...εἰς τοσοῦτον γενναιοῦτος ἦλθον κ.τ.λ., but the form of the sentence is altered by the dependent clause ὡς καὶ τοὺς περιεστῶτας κ.τ.λ., and the words which ought to have formed the antithesis to μᾶστιξι μὲν are changed and made antithetical to this dependent clause, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον κ.τ.λ. Eusebius however in his abridgment gives a different antithesis, τότε μὲν μᾶστιξι...καταξαινομένους, τότε δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης κήρυκας ὑποστρωννυμένους.

I. οἰκονομίαν] 'the internal structure and mechanism,' as e.g. in Plut. *Mor.* 595 D, 496 A, where likewise it is used of the natural processes of 'the house we live in.' Eusebius paraphrases the expression here, τὰ ἐν μυχοῖς ἀπόρρητα τοῦ σώμα-

τος σπλάγχνα τε αὐτῶν καὶ μέλη.

4. ὥστε μήτε γρύξαι κ.τ.λ.] *Εφ. Vienn. et Lugd.* 51 (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1) τοῦ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου μήτε στενάξαντος μήτε γρύξαντός τι ὁλως ἀλλὰ κατὰ καρδίαν ὀμιλοῦντος τῷ Θεῷ (comp. *ib.* § 56), *Act. Perp. et Felic.* 4 'et ego quae sciebam me fabulari cum Domino' etc.; passages quoted by Zahn.

6. τῆς σαρκὸς ἀπεδήμουν] Probably suggested by 2 Cor. v. 6 εἰδότες ὅτι ἐνδημοῦντες ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐκδημοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου.

11. πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *Εφ. Vienn. et Lugd.* 26 (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1) ὑπομνησθεῖσα διὰ τῆς προσκαιροῦ τιμωρίας τὴν αἰώνιον ἐν γενέσῃ κόλασιν, quoted by Zahn. Imitated in *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 5 τὸ καυστικὸν τοῦ πυρὸς σου εἰς ὑπόμνησίν με ἄγει τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἀσβέστου πυρός, καίπερ πρόσκαιρον

ψυχρὸν τὸ τῶν ἀπανθρώπων βασανιστῶν· πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ εἶχον φυγεῖν τὸ αἰώνιον καὶ μηδέποτε σβεννύμενον, καὶ τοῖς τῆς καρδίας ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀνέβλεπον τὰ τηρούμενα τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν ἀγαθὰ, ἃ οὔτε οὔτε
 15 ἤκουσεν οὔτε ὀφθαλμὸς εἶδεν, οὔτε ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου ἀνέβη, ἐκείνοις δὲ ὑπεδείκνυτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, οἵπερ μηκέτι ἄνθρωποι ἀλλ' ἤδη ἄγγελοι ἦσαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ εἰς τὰ θηρία κριθέντες ὑπέμειναν δεινὰς κολάσεις, κήρυκας μὲν ὑποστρωννύμενοι καὶ ἄλλαις ποι-

ἀνέβλεπον] ἐνέβλεπον m alone.

14 ὑπομείνασιν] ὑπομένουσιν p alone; ἀπομείνασιν s. οὔτε οὐδ'...εἶδεν] bvs; the clauses transposed in mp (after 1 Cor. ii. 9).

15 εἶδεν] m; ἴδεν bpvs.

16 ἀνέβη] insert οὐκ before ἀνέβη s. ἐκείνοις δέ] add. καὶ v alone.

17 ὅπερ] b; εἰπερ pvs; οἵτινες m.

μηκέτι] bvs; λοιπὸν οὐκέτι m; μὴ p.

18 δὲ] om. p. alone.

οἱ] m alone. Eusebius seems not to have had it (though Zahn thinks otherwise).

κριθέντες] κατακριθέντες m alone.

ὑπέμειναν] By some freak b substitutes χρόνον. 19 κήρυκας μὲν] b;

κήρυκας (om. μὲν) m; ξίφη μὲν p; ξίφη τε v; ξίφει τε s. E has the word κήρυκας.

ὑποστρωννύμενοι] pv (comp. E); ὑποστρωννύμενοι b; ὑπεστρωμένοι m.

ποικίλων βασάνων ἰδέαις] m (but written εἰδέαις), comp. E (as quoted in the next note);

ποικίλαις βασάνοις bpvs.

ζν. See also below, § 11 πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς κ.τ.λ.

14. τὰ τηρούμενα κ.τ.λ.] *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6 τὰ ἡτοίμασμένα τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν ἀγαθὰ.

τοῖς ὑπομείνασιν κ.τ.λ.] For this mixed quotation (*Is.* lxiv. 4, 1 *Cor.* ii. 9), see the note on *Clem. Rom.* 34.

17. μηκέτι κ.τ.λ.] *Clem. Recogn.* iii. 30 Futurum tempus...in quo ex hominibus angeli fient, qui in spiritu mentis Deum videbunt, *Tertull. de Res. Carn.* 26, 62.

19. κήρυκας] 'heralds' or 'trumpeters,' the Greek name for a certain mollusc of the whelk family (*buccinidae*); see *Aristot. Hist. An.* v. pp. 544, 546, 547, *Part. An.* iv. pp. 679, 683, and elsewhere. *Pliny N.H.* ix. 36 explains the reason of the Latin name, 'Bucinum...concha ad similitudinem ejus bucini quo sonus editur, unde et causa nomini.' There

is a play on the word in a saying of Stratoniceus related by Machon in *Athen.* viii. p. 349 μή ποτ' ἐπιβὰς κήρυκι τὸν πόδ' ἀναπαρῶ, which is explained in the context. Owing to this ambiguity Eusebius goes out of his way to paraphrase the passage by τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης κήρυκας καὶ τινὰς ὀξεῖς ὀβελίσκους. Commentators seem disposed here to explain the word as designating some manufactured implement of torture, just as the Latin *murices* is several times used of iron spikes. But there is no reason for this interpretation. Sea-shells, potsherds, and the like, appear not unfrequently as instruments of torture in the accounts of martyrdoms: *Act. S. Vincent.* 7 (*Ruinart* p. 403, *Ratisb.* 1859, comp. p. 408); *Act. Tarach. Prob. etc.* 3 (*ib.* p. 457); *B. Felicis Conf. Vit.* in *Bedae Op.* v. 790, ed. Migne.

κίλων βασάνων ιδέαις κολαφιζόμενοι, ἵνα, εἰ δυνηθείη, διὰ τῆς ἐπιμόνου κολάσεως εἰς ἄρνησιν αὐτοὺς τρέψῃ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ διάβολος.

III. Ἀλλὰ χάρις τῷ Θεῷ· κατὰ πάντων γὰρ οὖν ἴσχυσεν. ὁ γὰρ γενναιότατος Γερμανικὸς ἐπερρῶν· 5 νυν αὐτῶν τὴν δειλίαν διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπομονῆς· ὃς καὶ ἐπισήμως ἐθριομάχησεν. βουλομένου γὰρ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου πείθειν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγοντος τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ κατοικτεῖραι, ἐαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο τὸ θηρίον προσ-

1 κολαφιζόμενοι] brys; κολαζόμενοι m. Zahn quotes E, διὰ παντὸς εἶδους κολάσεων καὶ βασάνων, for κολαζόμενοι, but this seems to be derived from the preceding δεινὰς κολάσεις. εἰ] ἡ bs. 2 διὰ] txt m; praeft. ὁ τύραννος brys. τρέψῃ] στρέψῃ p. 3 ἐμηχανᾶτο κατ' αὐτῶν] κατ' αὐτῶν ἐμῆχανάτο (sic) m alone. In b the word is written ἐμηχανάτω. 4 κατὰ πάντων γὰρ] by; κατὰ πάντων μὲν m; ὅτι κατὰ πάντων p. οὖν] οὐκ G; but L omits the negative, *gratia domino nostro jesu christo qui* (l. *quia?*) *contra omnes fidus servorum suorum defensor adstetit.* 5 γενναιότατος] γενναιώτατος s. ἐπερρῶννεν...δειλίαν] om. m alone. E paraphrases as if he had

I. εἰ δυνηθείη κ.τ.λ.] The nominative ὁ τύραννος, which is supplied in the common texts, is not very appropriate, as applied to the pro-consul, and savours of a later age. As it is absent from the Moscow MS, which generally gives the best text, and does not appear either in Eusebius or in the Latin version, I have omitted it. With this omission we are obliged to connect the sentence πολλὰ...ὁ διάβολος with the preceding words, in order to obtain a subject for δυνηθείη and τρέψῃ. It is commonly made the beginning of the next chapter. The late postponement of this nominative διάβολος has given occasion to a scribe to insert τύραννος.

4. οὖν ἴσχυσεν] So I venture to correct the text. The ordinary reading οὐκ ἴσχυσεν must mean one of two things; either (1) 'He (i.e. the devil) did not prevail against all

of them,' but against the great majority, which statement the writers cannot have intended to make; or (2) 'He did not prevail against any of them' (for this sense of πᾶς οὐκ, equivalent to οὐδεὶς, see Winer, *Gramm.* § xxvi. p. 214 sq), which is untrue, for Quintus is mentioned immediately afterwards (§ 4) as being overcome. With the reading which I have substituted, the meaning will be κατὰ πάντων (τῶν μηχανημάτων) ἴσχυσεν (ὁ Θεός).

5. Γερμανικὸς] The day of Germanicus in the Latin Martyrologies is Jan. 19, though they place the martyrdom of the companions of S. Polycarp, whom they make ten or eleven in number, on the same day with his, Jan. 26. The Greek Calendar contains no mention of Germanicus (see Tillemont *Mémoires* II. p. 314).

7. τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου] L. Statius Quadratus; see the note on § 21. He was

10 βιασάμενος, τάχιον τοῦ ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου βίου αὐτῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι βουλόμενος. ἐκ τούτου οὖν πᾶν τὸ πλήθος, θαυμάσαν τὴν γενναιότητα τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ θεοσεβοῦς γένους τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἐπεβόησεν· Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, ζητείσθω Πολύκαρπος.

15 IV. Εἰς δὲ ὀνόματι Κόϊντος, Φρῦξ προσφάτως ἐληλυθὼς ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίας, ἰδὼν τὰ θηρία ἐδειλίασεν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ὁ παραβιασάμενος ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τινας

read ἑαυτοῦ (αὐτοῦ) for αὐτῶν. ἐπερρώννεν] ἐπερώννεν s. 6 ὑπομονῆς] praef. γενναίας m alone. 7 ἐπισήμως] ἐπισίμως ps. ἐθηριομάχησεν] ἐθηριωμάχησεν b. γὰρ] bpvs; γέ τοι [E]; om. m. 8 πείθειν] πείθην m. λέγοντος] p; λέγειν mbvs. 9 κατοικτεῖραι] κατοικτῆραι b. 10 τάχιον] b; τάχειον vs; καὶ τάχιον m (but written τάχειον) p. ἀδίκου καὶ ἀνόμου] ἀνόμου καὶ ἀδίκου m alone. αὐτῶν] bpE (but some MSS om.); αὐτὸν mn. 12 θαυμάσαν] θαυμάσας b alone. τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς καὶ θεοσεβοῦς] τοῦ θεοσεβοῦς καὶ θεοφιλοῦς s. 13 Αἶρε] αἶραι b. 15 δέ] bpvs; οὖν m; *tunc* L. Κόϊντος] κυστός v; κυπτός s. Φρῦξ] txt mbpsL; add. τῷ γένει v (so φρύγα τινὰ τὸ γένος E). προσφάτως] προσφάτος (sic) b. 16 ἐδειλίασεν] ἐδηλίασεν bs. 17 τινας] add. ἄλλους b alone, but E says σὺν ἐτέροις.

a rhetorician and a friend of the rhetorician Aristides (Aristid. *Op.* I. pp. 451, 521, ed. Dindorf) and should probably be identified with 'the consul Quadratus' mentioned by Philostratus (*Vit. Sophist.* ii. p. 250) as the master of Varus. His name occurs in a Magnesian inscription *C. I. G.* 3410. He is to be distinguished from Quadratus the great builder and restorer of the city of Pergamum (Aristid. *Op.* I. p. 116), whose name, as Mommsen informs me, was not Statius, but Julius. The name Statius Quadratus is also found elsewhere in inscriptions in other parts of the world (*C. I. G.* 337, 5996). For the date of this proconsulship, see above, I. pp. 634 sq, 650 sq.

9. ἐαυτῷ ἐπεσπάσατο κ.τ.λ.] See the note on Ign. *Rom.* 5 προσβιάσαμα.

12. θεοσεβοῦς γένους κ.τ.λ.] So Melito in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26 calls

the Christians τὸ τῶν θεοσεβῶν γένος, a passage quoted by Jacobson; comp. *Mart. Ign. Ant.* 2 τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβὲς γένος. For this use of θεοσεβεῖς, θεοσεβεία, see Heinichen's note on Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 32. See also below, § 14 τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων.

13. Αἶρε] 'Away with,' i.e. to execution, as below, § 9; comp. Luke xxiii. 18, Acts xxi. 36 (comp. xxii. 22).

τοὺς ἀθέους] See the note on Ign. *Trall.* 3.

15. Φρῦξ] Thus illustrating the proverbial cowardice of the Phrygians; comp. Tertull. *de Anim.* 20 'Comici Phrygas timidus illudunt,' and see *Colossians etc.* p. 312 (378), note 2. Another Phrygian however acted in a very different way in the persecutions in Gaul; *Ep. Lugd. et Vienn.* 49 sq (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1).

προσελθεῖν ἐκόντας. τοῦτον ὁ ἀνθύπατος πολλὰ ἐκλιπαρήσας ἔπεισεν ὁμόσαι καὶ ἐπιθῦσαι. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν, ἀδελφοί, οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς προδιδόντας ἑαυτούς, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὕτως διδάσκει τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

V. Ὁ δὲ θαυμασιώτατος Πολύκαρπος τὸ μὲν 5
πρῶτον ἀκούσας οὐκ ἐταράχθη, ἀλλ' ἐβούλετο κατὰ
πόλιν μένειν· οἱ δὲ πλείους ἔπειθον αὐτὸν ὑπεξελθεῖν.
καὶ ὑπεξῆλθεν εἰς ἀγρίδιον οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς
πόλεως, καὶ διέτριβε μετ' ὀλίγων, νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν
οὐδὲν ἕτερον ποιῶν ἢ προσευχόμενος περὶ πάντων καὶ 10
τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν· ὅπερ ἦν σύνηθες

I προσελθεῖν] ἐλθεῖν p alone. τοῦτον...ἔπεισεν] bps; τοῦτον ἐκλιπαρήσας πολλὰ ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν v (Jacobson); τοῦτον ὁ ἀνθύπατος πολλὰ ἐξελεπάρησεν m. ἐκλιπαρήσας] ἐκλειπαρήσας b. 2 ὁμόσαι] ὁμῶσαι mbvs (but corr.). 3 προδιδόντας ἑαυτούς] s; προδιδόντας ἑαυτοῖς v; προσίοντας ἑαυτοῖς m; προσίοντας ἑαυτοῖς bp (but ἑαυτοῖς without accent in p); *qui se ultro offerunt* L. 5 θαυμασιώτατος] mbs (comp. E); θαυμάσιος p; τίμιος καὶ θαύμασιώτατος v. 7 πόλιν] mbps; τὴν πόλιν v. The mss of E vary. ὑπεξελθεῖν] ὑπεξίναί m alone. 8 καὶ ὑπεξῆλθεν] bps; ὑπεξῆλθεν οὖν m; καὶ πεισθεὶς ὑπεξῆλθεν v. ἀγρίδιον] bms; ἀγρήδιον p; τὸ ἀγρίδιον v (Jacobson). ἀπέχον] ἀπέχων mbs. ἀπὸ] om. m alone. 9 διέτριβε] mps (comp. E); ἔτριβε[v] bv. μετ' ὀλίγων] pm (μετὰ), and so E, σὺν ὀλίγοις; μετ' ὀλίγων ἀδελφῶν v; μετ' ὀλίγον bs. νύκτα] νύκταν s. ἡμέραν] ἡμέρα m. 10 οὐδὲν] bps (comp. E οὐτι); μηδὲν mv. καὶ] om. p alone. 11 τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην] τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένηνης (sic) s.

4. οὐχ οὕτως κ.τ.λ.] See Matt. x. 23, John vii. 1, viii. 59, x. 39, etc. 'A communi priscae ecclesiae sententia,' writes Zahn, 'Tertullianus recessit, cum *fugendum in persecutione non esse studeret demonstrare (de Fuga 4 sq.)*.'

6. κατὰ πόλιν] If we adopt this reading, it must be 'in town' (as opposed to κατὰ χώραν 'in the country'), and this is quite a possible meaning in itself. As a matter of fact however κατὰ πόλιν commonly means 'from city to city,' e.g. Luke viii. 1, 4, xv. 21, xx. 23, Tit. i. 5.

11. σύνηθες αὐτῷ] This accords with his own injunctions, Polyc.

Philiph. 12; comp. *Mar. Ign. Ant.* 6.

15. Δεῖ με κ.τ.λ.] See the note on § 12, where this presentiment is fulfilled.

17. ἐπιμενόντων] 'persisting in their search,' as again below §§ 8, 10; see Plato *Laches* 194 A ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ζητῇ ἐπιμενόμεν τε καὶ καρτεροῦμεν. It is paraphrased by Eusebius ἐπικειμένων σὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ.

22. οἰκείοι ὑπῆρχον] Matt. x. 36 ἔχθροὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ οἰκιακοὶ αὐτοῦ. Here again the martyrdom of Polycarp was κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (see above § 8), for Christ likewise was betrayed by one of His own house-

αὐτῷ. καὶ προσευχόμενος ἐν ὀπτασίᾳ γέγονεν πρὸ
 τριῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι αὐτόν, καὶ εἶδεν τὸ
 προσκεφάλαιον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ πυρὸς κατακαίόμενον· καὶ
 15 στραφεὶς εἶπεν πρὸς τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, Δεῖ με ζῶντα
 καῆναι.

VI. Καὶ ἐπιμενόντων τῶν ζητούντων αὐτόν, μετ-
 έβη εἰς ἕτερον ἀγρίδιον· καὶ εὐθέως ἐπέστησαν οἱ
 ζητοῦντες αὐτόν. καὶ μὴ εὐρόντες συνελάβοντο παι-
 20 δάρια δύο, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον βασανιζόμενον ὡμολόγησεν·
 ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀδύνατον λαθεῖν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ προδι-
 δόντες αὐτόν οἰκείοι ὑπῆρχον. καὶ ὁ εἰρήναρχος, ὁ

ἦν] ἡ s. 12 γέγονεν] or γέγονε, bpvs; om. m (comp. E). 13 τριῶν] mpvs
 LE; τῶν b. καὶ εἶδεν] καὶ ἶδεν mpbs; ἶδεν γὰρ v. τὸ] mpvs; om. b.
 15 σὺν] m (comp. E τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν); συνόντας bpvs; dub. L (*qui cum eo*
erant). αὐτῷ] txt mL; add. προφητικῶς bpvs (comp. E μονονυχὶ τὸ μέλλον
 προθεσπίσαντα). Δεῖ] praef. ἀδελφοὶ καὶ τέκνα v alone. 16 καῆναι]
 κάηναι (sic) m; καυθῆναι bpvs. Ussher read κατακαυθῆναι and was followed by some
 later edd. 17 ἐπιμενόντων] ἐπιμαυόντων s. 18 ἀγρίδιον] ἀγρήδιον p.
 εὐθέως] ἅμα τοῦ ἐπαναχωρήσαι v. 20 ὧν...ὡμολόγησεν] ἃ καὶ βασανιζόμενα
 ὡμολόγησαν v; βασανιζόμενων δὲ τῶν παιδίων ὡμολόγησαν (sic) s. ἕτερον] ἐτέρων
 b; στερεόν p. 21 ἐπεὶ] ἐπειδὴ v alone. προδιδόντες] προδιδοῦντες m.
 22 αὐτόν] om p. alone. οἰκείοι] οἰκίοι s. ὑπῆρχον] v omits all after this
 to the end of the chapter.

hold (John xiii. 18). It does not appear whether this ἀγρίδιον was Polycarp's own or not. The most natural explanation however is that these were his own slaves (see *Colossians* p. 329); and this supposition at all events agrees with the old story that he possessed considerable property.

εἰρήναρχος] 'the captain of the police,' though in some respects 'the high-sheriff' would be a nearer equivalent. This officer (εἰρήναρχος, εἰρηναρχης, εἰρηναρχεῖν) is mentioned not unfrequently in the inscriptions in connexion with cities of Asia Minor; *C. I. G.* 2768 (Aphrodisias), 2882 (Miletus), 2929, 2930 b (Tralles), 3496 (Thyatira), 3831 a⁴

(Aezani), 4020 (Ancyra), 4085 (Pessinus), *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* VII. p. 273 (Nysa), *Papers of the American School at Athens* I. pp. 99, 108 (Tralles). At Attalia (*C. I. G.* 4341 f) such a person is described in hexameter verse as εἰρήνης ἄρξας, owing to the necessities of the metre; and at Smyrna itself (*C. I. G.* 3151) we have mention of a στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, who is doubtless the same officer. See also Pallad. *Hist. Lausiaca*. c. 116 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, translated 'irenarcha' in the Latin. It was a λειτουργία and seems to have been regarded as an honourable office. The rhetorician Aristides, himself a native of Smyrna, thus describes the way in which these irenarchs were ap-

κεκληρωμένος τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα, Ἡρώδης ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔσπενδεν εἰς τὸ στάδιον αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν, ἵνα ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὸν ἴδιον κλῆρον ἀπαρτίσῃ, Χριστοῦ κοινωνὸς γενόμενος, οἱ δὲ προδόντες αὐτὸν τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰούδα ὑπόσχοιεν τιμωρίαν.

5

VII. Ἐχοντες οὖν τὸ παιδάριον, τῇ παρασκευῇ περὶ δείπνου ὥραν ἐξηλθον διωγμῖται καὶ ἱππεῖς μετὰ τῶν συνήθων αὐτοῖς ὅπλων, ὡς ἐπὶ ληστήν τρέχοντες. καὶ ὁψὲ τῆς ὥρας συνεπελθόντες, ἐκείνον μὲν εὔρον ἐν τινι δωματίῳ κατακείμενον ἐν ὑπερώῳ· κάκειθεν δὲ

10

- 1 κεκληρωμένος] mp; κεκληρομένος s; καὶ κληρονόμος (sic) b. ἐπιλεγόμενος] bps; λεγόμενος m. 2 ἔσπενδεν] bps; ἔσπενσεν m. αὐτὸν] mbpv; om. s. 3 ἀπαρτίσῃ] ἀπαρτήσῃ bs; ἀπαρτήσῃ m. γενόμενος] γεννόμενος s. 4 τὴν αὐτοῦ] bps; τῆς αὐτῆς m. τοῦ] τῷ ss. 5 ὑπόσχοιεν τιμωρίαν] b (ὑπόσχυν) ps; τύχῳσιν τιμωρίας m (comp. L *roenam accipiant*). 6 τὸ παιδάριον] τὰ παιδάρια v alone. 7 περὶ] m; om. pbvs. ὥραν] mb; ὥρα pvs (comp. L). διωγμῖται] διωγμῆται bvs. 8 ληστήν] λῆστῃ v. τρέχοντες] bpsv; ἀπερχόμενοι m. 9 συνεπελθόντες] s; συναπελθόντες bv; ἐπελθόντας E; ἀπελθόντες m; καταλαβόντες p. 10 δωματίῳ] δωματίῳ bv. κατακείμενον] here, bpsv; after ὑπερώῳ, mE (who however omits ἐν τινι δωματίῳ). ἐν sec] vsE; om. mbp. ὑπερώῳ] ὑπερώῳ s. δὲ] mpvs; om. b. 11 ἡβουλήθη] mpvs; ἐβουλήθη b. 12 Θεοῦ] pvsLE; (but with v. l. κυρίου);

pointed; *Or. Sacr.* iv (*Op.* I. p. 523, Dindorf) ἐπέμπετο τοῖς ἡγεμόσι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἀφ' ἐκάστης πόλεως ἐκάστου ἔτους ὀνόματα δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων ταῦτα ἔδει σκεψάμενον τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὃν προκρίνειεν ἐξ ἀπάντων καθίσταται φύλακα τῆς εἰρήνης. On the 'irenarchae' see Gothofred on *Cod. Theodos.* Lib. xii. Tit. xiv (iv. p. 647), and Valois on Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15; and on εἰρήναρχος generally Waddington's note *Asie Mineure* Inscr. III. 57 (p. 27), *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* xi. p. 99 (1887), and Mommsen *Röm. Gesch.* v. p. 324.

ὁ κεκληρωμένος] 'who had had assigned to him' by a providential fitness; as in Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxvi. 10 (p. 923) σὺ ἀνόμιος γέγονας, κληρωθεὶς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα. The reading

ὁ καὶ κληρονόμος is obviously corrupt.

1. τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα] 'the same name' with the persecuting tyrant in the Gospel. The meaning is explained by the following words, Ἡρώδης ἐπιλεγόμενος. Zahn emends the text by reading Ἡρώδη for Ἡρώδης, and omitting [ἐπι]λεγόμενος. Having dealt thus violently with the text, he explains his reading, 'Herodis nomen quod Smyrnaeorum irenarcha sortitus est, revocavit Herodem tetrarcham.'

6. παρασκευῇ] On the meaning of this word here see the general introduction.

7. διωγμῖται] 'gens d'armes,' literally 'pursuers'; Amm. Marc. xxvi. 9 'adhibitis semiermibus paucis

ἡδύνατο εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἡβουλήθη, εἰπών· Τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ γενέσθω. ἀκούσας οὖν [αὐτοὺς] παρόντας, καταβὰς διελέχθη αὐτοῖς, θαυμαζόντων τῶν παρόντων τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐ-
 15 σταθές, [καί] εἰ τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἦν τοῦ συλληφθῆναι τοιοῦτον πρεσβύτην ἄνδρα. εὐθέως οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευσε παρατεθῆναι φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ, ὅσον ἂν βούλωνται· ἐξητήσατο δὲ αὐτούς, ἵνα δώσιν αὐτῷ ὥραν πρὸς τὸ προσεύξασθαι ἀδεῶς. τῶν δὲ ἐπιτρε-
 20 ψάντων, σταθεῖς προσηύξατο πλήρης ὢν τῆς χάριτος

κυρίου bm (with Acts xxi. 14). γενέσθω G; γινέσθω E. οὖν] mpsL; δὲ bv.
 13 αὐτοὺς παρόντας] pvs; τοὺς παρόντας b; παρόντας αὐτοὺς m; παρόντας [E]. καταβὰς] p [E] (comp. L); καὶ καταβὰς bvs; om. (altogether) m. διελέχθη] διηλέχθη p. θαυμαζόντων] pv; θαυμαζόντων s; add. δὲ b; praef. καὶ m.
 15 καὶ εἰ] [E]; εἰ m; καὶ ὅτι p; τινὲς ἔλεγον ἡ b; ἡ alone vs. τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἦν] vs; τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἡ b (adding ἦν after ἄνδρα); τοσαύτη σπουδὴ (sic) εἰ (sic) m; τοσαύτη γένοιτο σπουδὴ E; τοσαύτη σπουδὴ ἐχρήσαντο p. 16 τοιοῦτον] add. θεοφιλεῖ m alone. αὐτοῖς] here, bs; after ἐκέλευσεν, m; after παρατεθῆναι, v; αὐτοὺς here, p. 18 βούλωνται] βούλονται ps. αὐτοὺς] mbs; αὐτοῖς pv. δώσιν] bp; δώσωσιν mvs. αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν m alone. 19 πρὸς τὸ προσεύξασθαι] mvs; πρὸς τὸ εὐξασθαι p; προσεύξασθαι b; ὡς ἂν προσεύξοιτο [E]. 20 σταθεῖς] add. πρὸς ἀνατολὰς m alone.

quos diocmitas appellant,' Jul. Capitol. *Vit. M. Anton.* 21 'armavit et diocmitas,' *Cod. Justin.* x. 30. 4 τῶν διωγματικῶν, *Corr. Inscr. Graec.* 3831 a⁸ παρασχόντα τῷ κυρίῳ Καίσαρι σύμμαχον διωγμείτην παρ' ἑαυτοῦ (at Aezani). With this last passage comp. Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* c. 116 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης...πρὸς τὸν ἐχόμενον σύμμαχον εἶπεν, whence it appears that these διωγμῖται were under the command of the irenarch. See also Waddington on *Inscr.* III. 992 (p. 225)=*C. I. G.* 3831 a⁸ above.

μετὰ τῶν...ὄπλων] John xviii. 3 λαβὼν τὴν σπείραν...ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ μετὰ...ὄπλων.

8. ὡς ἐπὶ ληστήν] Matt. xxvi. 55 ὡς ἐπὶ ληστήν ἐξήλασε; comp. Mark xiv. 48, Luke xxii. 52.

11. χωρίον] 'farm', 'estate'; see the note on Ign. *Rom.* inscr.

12. Τὸ θέλημα κ.τ.λ.] Acts xxi. 14 τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ θέλημα (v. l. τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου) γινέσθω (v. l. γενέσθω); see also Matt. vi. 10, xxvi. 42 (comp. Luke xxii. 42).

14. τὸ εὐσταθές] 'his firmness', 'constancy'; see the note on Ign. *Polyc.* 4.

15. εἰ...ἦν] This is the reading to which the variations in the authorities point. For the construction θαυμάζειν εἰ, followed by an indicative, see Kühner's *Gramm.* II. p. 887 sq.

18. δώσω] If the other reading δώσωσιν be correct, see for this future conjunctive Winer *Gramm.* § xiii. p. 89, § xv. p. 102.

20. σταθεῖς] For this attitude in

τοῦ Θεοῦ οὕτως, ὡς ἐπὶ δύο ὥρας μὴ δύνασθαι σιγῆσαι, καὶ ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, πολλοὺς τε μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον θεοπρεπῇ πρεσβύτην.

VIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε κατέπαυσε τὴν προσευχήν, 5 μνημονεύσας ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν πώποτε συμβεβληκότων αὐτῷ, μικρῶν τε καὶ μεγάλων, ἐνδόξων τε καὶ ἀδόξων,

1 ὥς] m [E]; ὥστε bpsv. ἐπὶ δύο ὥρας] mbpνE; om. s. σιγῆσαι] mν; σιωπῆσαι bps. 2 καὶ] ἀλλ' v alone. ἐκπλήττεσθαι] πλήττεσθαι s. πολλοὺς τε] bpsE; πολλοὺς δὲ m; καὶ (om. πολλοὺς τε) v. 3 ἐπὶ τῷ] sE; ἐπὶ τὸ mbv; καὶ p. θεοπρεπῇ] p [E]; θεοπρεπεῖ bvs; θεοφιλῇ m. 5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε] mE; ὡς δὲ bpsv. From this point onward Eusebius quotes directly from the document. 6 ἀπάντων] πάντων m; ἀπάντων (sic) s. καὶ τῶν πώποτε] pν sE; καὶ τῶν ποτὲ b; τῶν καὶ ποτὲ (sic) m. συμβεβληκότων] sE (best MSS, Ruf); συμβαλότων m; συμβεβηκότων bpsv. 8 πάσης] mE; ἀπάσης bpsv. 9 ὄν] mvsE; ἐν ὄν] bp. καθίσαντες] καθίσαντες s. 10 ἤγαγον] mE (best

prayer see e.g. Matt. vi. 5, Luke xviii. 11, 13.

9. ὄν] Evidently regarded by the writers as a parallel to the incident in the Gospels; Matt. xxi. 2 sq, John xii. 14 sq.

10. σαββάτου μεγάλου] 'a high sabbath'; see the general introduction.

12. Νικήτης] The name occurs more than once in the inscriptions at Smyrna and in the immediate neighbourhood; *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3148, 3359. As it is not a common name until a later date, this fact is not without its value. It was borne by a great sophist, a citizen of Smyrna, who lived in the time of Nerva and was highly esteemed by his fellow-townsmen (*Philostr. Vit. Soph.* i. 19, p. 511 sq; i. 21, pp. 516, 518; ii. 16, p. 596). He is styled 'Sacerdos' (*Plin. Ep.* vi. 6, [*Tacit. Dial.* 15], which appears to be an official title, not a proper name. It is apparently this Smyrnæan, whose oratory is described by Automedon in *Anthol.* II. p. 210. Fabricius

(*Bibl. Graec.* VII. p. 755, ed. Harles) would identify him with our Nicetes, but chronological considerations make this hardly possible. The rhetorician of this name mentioned by the elder Seneca (*Suas.* 3, *Controu.* i. 5, 7, 8, iv. 25, 29, v. 31, 33, 34) seems to have been a different person from the Smyrnæan, for it is hardly possible that the same man who lived under or before Tiberius (*Senec. Suas.* 3) can have been flourishing still under Nerva (*Philostr. Vit. Soph.* i. 20, p. 512). Possibly however Philostratus has misnamed the emperor in question. In the Clementine fiction Nicetes and Aquila are the brothers of Clement (*Clem. Hom.* ii. 1, etc., esp. xiii. 6, 7). They are made bishops τῶν κατὰ Ἀσίαν παρικοίων, *Apost. Const.* vii. 46. An account of all the writers bearing the name Nicetas or Nicetes is given in Fabricius *Bibl. Graec.* VII. p. 745 sq.

καροῦχαν] As in *Is.* lxvi. 20 (*Symm.*), *Edict. Diocl.* 15. 9 (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* III. p. 835). It is the

καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλη-
 σίας, τῆς ὥρας ἐλθούσης τοῦ ἐξίεναι, ὄνῳ καθίσαντες
 10 αὐτὸν ἤγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὄντος σαββάτου μεγάλου.
 καὶ ὑπήντα αὐτῷ ὁ εἰρήναρχος Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ πατὴρ
 αὐτοῦ Νικήτης, οἱ καὶ μεταθέντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν καροῦ-
 χαν ἔπειθον παρακαθεζόμενοι καὶ λέγοντες· Τί γὰρ
 κακὸν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, Κύριος Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἐπιθῆσαι, καὶ τὰ

MSS, but v. l. ἦγον; ἦγον b^{pv}s. ὄντος] ὄντως s. μεγάλου] mbvsLE; om. p.
 11 ὑπήντα] bmE; ὑπάντα (sic) ps; ὑπαντᾶ v. αὐτῷ] mpE; αὐτὸν bsv* (but
 corr. v** marg). Ἡρώδης] praef. ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς v alone. 12 Νικήτης]
 bmvsE; Νικήτας p. Praef. ὀνόματι v alone. Add. ἐπὶ τὸ ὄχημα (ᾠχημα v) b^{pv}n;
 om. msE. It is obviously a gloss on ἐπὶ τὴν καροῦχαν just below, and has crept into
 the text at the wrong place. οἱ] om. m alone. ἐπὶ τὴν καροῦχαν] b^{pv}s;
 ἐπὶ καροῦχαν m; εἰς τὸ ὄχημα E. 14 Κύριος] G; Κύριε E (comp. L).
 ἐπιθῆσαι] G; θῆσαι E. καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα] mbvs (comp. L); τὰ τούτοις
 ἀκόλουθα (om. καὶ) p; om. (altogether) E.

Latin word *carruca*, somewhat trans-
 formed for the sake of a common
 Greek termination (-ουχα from ἔχω).
 In *Edict. Diocl.* l. c., where it is
 written καροῦχον, it is distinguished
 from the *rheda*, the *dormitorium*, etc.
 It was a stately, covered carriage,
 used by high functionaries or by
 ladies. See Ducange *Gloss. Med.*
Lat. s.v. 'carruca.'

14. Κύριος Καῖσαρ] '*Cæsar is*
Lord.' This, combined with the
 further demand § 9 λοιδορήσον τὸν
 Χριστόν, was a defiance of 1 Cor. xii.
 3 οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι Θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει
 Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς, καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται
 εἰπεῖν Κύριος Ἰησοῦς εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύ-
 ματι ἁγίῳ (the correct text). In a
 certain sense Κύριος Καῖσαρ might
 have been said innocently; but, as
 intended, it was a direct negation
 of Κύριος Ἰησοῦς and a virtual deifi-
 cation of the emperor: see Tertull.
Apol. 34 'Dicam plane imperatorem
 dominum, sed more communi, sed
 quando non cogor ut Dominum Dei
 vice dicam,' quoted by the commen-
 tators. The reading of the Greek

MSS is Κύριος Καῖσαρ, for which the
 vocative Κύριε Καῖσαρ of Eusebius
 is a very natural but less expressive
 substitute.

On the title 'Dominus' see Mar-
 quardt *Röm. Alterth.* II. 3, p. 304,
 note 1353 (ed. 1), and esp. Mommsen
Römisches Staatsrecht II. p. 737 sq.
 Augustus and Tiberius had declined
 to be so called; but at a later date
 emperors entertained no scruples
 on this point. On coins and docu-
 ments of Antoninus Pius for instance,
 it occurs; Eckhel *Num.* VIII. p. 365,
 Orelli *Inscr.* 4370 (this last belonging
 to the year 155, and therefore nearly
 synchronous with Polycarp's martyr-
 dom), passages quoted by Mommsen.
 The title Κύριος is applied to
 the emperor in more than one ex-
 tant Smyrnan inscription; Boeckh
Corp. Inscr. Graec. 3295, 3384.
 Though it occurs in the connexion
 'dominus et deus' as early as Do-
 mitian (Suet. *Dom.* 13; comp. Mar-
 tial v. 8), it was not in itself con-
 nected with the deification of the

τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, καὶ διασώζεσθαι; ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν
 πρῶτα οὐκ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς, ἐπιμενόντων δὲ αὐτῶν
 ἔφη· Οὐ μέλλω ποιεῖν ὃ συμβουλευέτέ μοι. οἱ δέ,
 ἀποτυχόντες τοῦ πείσαι αὐτόν, δεινὰ ῥήματα ἔλεγον
 καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς καθήρουν αὐτόν, ὡς κατιόντα ἀπὸ τῆς 5
 καρούχας ἀποσύραι τὸ ἀντικνήμιον. καὶ μὴ ἐπιστρα-
 φείς, ὡς οὐδὲν πεπονθώς, προθύμως μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐπο-
 ρεύετο, ἀγόμενος εἰς τὸ στάδιον, θορύβου τηλικούτου
 ὄντος ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ὡς μηδὲ ἀκουσθῆναί τινα δύνασθαι.

- 1 ὁ δὲ] add. ἄγιος πολύκαρπος v. 2 αὐτοῖς] bpvs; αὐτοὺς m; om.
 E. 3 μέλλω] μέλω b. ποιεῖν] G; πράττειν E. συμβουλευέτε]
 συμβουλευεται mps. 4 αὐτόν] add. διὰ πειθανολογίας v. ἔλεγον] mE;
 add. αὐτῷ bpvs. 5 σπουδῆς] prae. πολλῆς v alone. καθήρουν] καθή-
 ρον vs; καθήριον (sic) p; καθήρον b. αὐτόν] G; om. E. Add. ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχρή-
 ματος bpvs; om. mE. It is obviously a gloss on ἀπὸ τῆς καρούχας just below. ὡς]
 txt mpE; add. καὶ bvs. ἀπὸ τῆς καρούχας] G; ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀχρήματος E.
 6 ἀποσύραι] (ἀποσύραι m) mE; ἀποσυρῆναι bpvs. In L the sentence runs, *ut suas*
aliqua ex parte quassaret. ἀντικνήμιον] ἀντικνίμιον s. καὶ] G; ἀλλὰ γὰρ E.
 μὴ] μηδὲ v alone. 7 ὡς] G; ὅλα E. προθύμως] mbvs; πρόθυμος pE
 (but v. l. προθύμως). 8 ἀγόμενος...στάδιον] εἰς τὸ στάδιον ἀγόμενος m alone.
 θορύβου—εἰς τὸ στάδιον (c. 9)] om. s. by homeoteleuton. θορύβου] txt mbpv; add.
 δὲ E, omitting it in τῷ (δὲ) Πολυκάρπῳ, just below, so as to begin the new sen-
 tence here. 9 μηδὲ] txt mbpv; add. πολλοῖς E. ἀκουσθῆναί τινα δύνασθαι]
 mbpv; πολλοῖς ἀκουσθῆναι E. For ἀκουσθῆναι m has ἀκουτισθῆναι. τινα] mbpv;
 om. [E]. 10 Τῷ δὲ] add. μακαρίῳ v alone. For τῷ δὲ...εἰσίνοντι m alone has τοῦ

emperor, as Tertullian seems to think (*Apol.* 34 'Augustus...ne dominum quidem se dici volebat, et hoc enim Dei est cognomen'), but rather implied that his subjects were his slaves (Plin. *Paneg.* 2 'non enim de tyranno sed de cive, non de domino sed de parente loquimur'). The Christians, having their own Κύριος, imported a corresponding meaning into it when applied to the emperor, and so regarded it as blasphemous.

ἐπιθύσαι] 'to offer incense'. This compound is used especially, though not solely, in the sense 'thus impo-
 nere', 'thurificare'; see esp. Porphyr.
ac Abst. ii. 58 αὐτὸ τὸ θύειν τοῦ θυ-

μῶν εἶχετο ('was allied to') καὶ τοῦ
 νῦν παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένου ἐπιθύειν.
 ὁ γὰρ ἡμεῖς νῦν θύειν λέγομεν, ἔρδειν
 ἔλεγον κ.τ.λ. Comp. Joseph. *Bell.*
Jud. vii. 3. 3 τεκμήριον ἐμπαρέχειν
 οἰόμενος τὸ ἐπιθύειν, ὥσπερ νόμος ἐστὶ
 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν κ.τ.λ. (of Antiochus
 Epiphanes), Diod. Sic. xviii. 60
 ἐπέθυον ἐκ κιβωτίου χρυσοῦ πάντες
 οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὸν τε λιβανωτὸν καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων εὐδῶν τὰ πολυτελέστατα καὶ
 προσεκύουν ὡς θεὸν τὸν Ἀλέξαν-
 δρον (a good illustration of our text).
 See Wesseling's note on Diod. Sic.
 xii. 11, from which these references
 are taken. For the offering of incense
 to the emperors see Tertull. *Apol.*
 30, Arnob. *ad Nat.* vii. 36, Euseb.

10 IX. Τῷ δὲ Πολυκάρπῳ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὸ στάδιον
 φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐγένετο· Ἰσχυε Πολύκαρπε καὶ
 ἀνδρίζου. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα οὐδεὶς εἶδεν, τὴν δὲ
 φωνὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ παρόντες ἤκουσαν. καὶ λοιπὸν
 15 ὅτι Πολύκαρπος συνείληπται. προσαχθέντα οὖν αὐτὸν
 ἀνθρώπα ὁ ἀνθύπατος, εἰ αὐτὸς εἴη· τοῦ δὲ ὁμολο-
 γοῦντος, ἐπειθεν ἀρνεῖσθαι λέγων, Αἰδέσθητί σου τὴν
 ἡλικίαν, καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς

δὲ πολυκάρπου εἰσιόντος. 11 ἐγένετο] G; γέγονεν E. Add. λέγουσα v (Jacobson) alone. Πολύκαρπε] here, mE; after ἀνδρίζου, b^{pv}s. After πολύκαρπε add.

μετὰ σοῦ γάρ εἰμι v (from Acts xviii. 9, 10). 12 εἶδεν] bE; οἶδεν p^vs; ἶδεν m.

13 τῶν ἡμετέρων] τῶν οἱ μετέρων b; om. s. οἱ παρόντες] G (comp. L, *qui in arena erant*); πολλοὶ E.

καὶ λοιπὸν προσαχθέντος] G; προσαχθέντος οὖν E.

15 Πολύκαρπος] ὁ πολύκαρπος m alone; πολύκαρπον v. συνείληπται] mpE;

συνήληπται b; συνελήφθη vs. προσαχθέντα οὖν] m; προσαχθέντα δὲ p; λοιπὸν

προσαχθέντα bs; λοιπὸν οὖν προσελθόντα E; τοῦ δὲ προσαχθέντος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος

v. αὐτὸν] here, mbps; after ἀνθρώπα, v alone. 16 εἴη] m; εἰ

πολύκαρπος p; εἴη πολύκαρπος bsE; εἴη πολύκαρπος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος v. τοῦ δὲ

ὁμολογοῦντος] G; καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος E. 17 ἐπειθεν] add. ὡς ἐνόμιζεν v.

18 ἡλικίαν] add. ὡ καλὲ πολύκαρπε καὶ φίλε ἡμῶν καὶ θύσον τοῖς θεοῖς ἵνα καὶ τιμῶν

μεγίστων καὶ δωρεῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀξιωθῇς v. ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα] ἔλεγεν

ἀκόλουθα m alone. ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς] b^vs; ὡς ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἔθος p; ὡν ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς

m; ἃ σύνθηες αὐτοῖς E.

H. E. vii. 15, and esp. Plin. *Eph.* x. 97 'Qui negant esse se Christianos aut fuisse, quum praeunte me deos appellarent et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac vino *sufflicarent*, praeterea maledicerent Christo, quorum nihil posse cogi dicuntur, qui sunt revera Christiani, dimittendos esse putavi.'

καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα] sc. λέγοντες, 'and the like'. This clause appears not to be given as forming part of the words of the magistrates; comp. § 9 καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα. These words καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα are omitted by Eusebius and therefore by Rufinus. It is a mistake of Cotelier to say that they are repre-

sented in his '*de caetero*'; for '*de caetero vivere securum*' is an attempt to give the full force of the compound διασώζεσθαι.

2. ἐπιμενόντων δὲ] See the note on § 6.

11. φωνὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κ.τ.λ.] This is apparently related as a parallel to the incident in the Gospel, John xii. 28 ἦλθεν οὖν φωνὴ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κ.τ.λ. The actual words however, ἰσχυε καὶ ἀνδρίζου, are taken from Josh. i. 6, 7, 9 (comp. Deut. xxxi. 7, 23); see Ps-Ign. *Hero* 8.

12. τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Acts ix. 7.

16. εἰ αὐτὸς εἴη] 'if it were the man himself', αὐτὸς being the predicate, not the subject.

λέγειν· "Ομοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, μετανόησον, εἶπον, Λῖρε τοὺς ἀθέους. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεῖ τῷ προσώπῳ εἰς πάντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν ἐμβλέψας καὶ ἐπισείσας αὐτοῖς τὴν

1 λέγειν] mpvs; λέγειν ἐστίν E (but v. 1. ἐστι λέγειν); λέγων b. "Ομοσον] ὁμοσον b; ὡμοσον s; τύχην] τύχειν b. 2 εἶπον] mE; εἰπέ bpvs. τοὺς] om. v alone. ἀθέους] θεοὺς b. ὁ δὲ] add. τίμιος καὶ μακάριος v. ἐμβριθεῖ] pbE; ἐμβριθεῖς m; ἐμβριθῇ vs. 3 τῷ προσώπῳ] add. καὶ στιβαρῷ v. τὸν sec] mv[E]; τῶν bps. 4 ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν] G (comp. L); om. E. καὶ...ἀναβλέψας]

1. τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην] This is called in Latin either 'genius' or 'fortuna' or 'numen Caesaris'—most commonly the first. This oath was invented under Julius Caesar, and caused some scandal at the time; Dion Cass. xlv. 6 τὴν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ ὀμνύναι (comp. c. 50). Under Augustus days were set apart for the worship of the genius of the emperor (see Marquardt *Röm. Alterth.* II. 3, p. 270). During the same emperor's reign we have the notice, Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 10. 8 Συλλαίου τὴν σὴν τύχην ἐπομόσαντο. This oath however was repudiated at first by Tiberius (Dion Cass. lvii. 8 οὐτ' ὀμνύναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην συνεχώρει), though afterwards we hear that the name of Sejanus was associated with his own in it (*ib.* lviii. 2 τὴν τε τύχην αὐτῶν ὀμνυσαν). At a subsequent date it became very common. The emperor Gaius even punished persons because they had never pronounced it; Suet. *Calig.* 27 'quod numquam per genium suum dejerassent.' In a form of this oath found in two Baetican inscriptions of the time of Domitian (*C.I.L.* II. 1963, 1964, pp. 253, 255, 257), the genius of the living emperor is mentioned after the names of the deceased and deified emperors; 'Per Jovem et divom Augustum et divom Claudium et divom Vespasianum

Augustum et divom Titum Augustum et genium imperatoris [Caesaris] Domitiani Augusti deosque Penates.' Sometimes it runs 'per salutem et genium'; e.g. Dion Cass. xlv. 50 οὐ τὴν τε ὑγίειαν τὴν τε τύχην ὀμνυσαν. Hence the oath of the mad emperor Gaius, who glorifying a certain horse τὴν τε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τύχην ὀμνυε (Dion Cass. lix. 14). The Christians were prepared to accept the first, *per salutem*, but repudiated the second, on the ground that the 'genius' or 'fortune' was a demon, a false god, which they could only adjure for the purpose of exorcising; Tertull. *Apol.* 32 'sed et juramus, sicut non per genios Caesarum, ita per salutem eorum, quae est augustior omnibus geniis: nescitis genios daemonas dici...ceterum daemonas, id est genios, adjurare consuevimus, ut illos de hominibus exigamus, non dejerare, ut eis honorem conferamus', Minuc. Fel. 29 'sic eorum numen vocant, ad imagines supplicant, genium, id est, daemonem ejus, implorant', Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 65 τὴν μέντοι βασιλέως οὐκ ὀμνυμεν...εἴτε γάρ, ὡς ὠνόμασάν τινες, ἐκφορὰ μόνον ἐστίν...οὐκ ὀμνυμεν τὸ μηδαμῶς ὄν ὡς θεόν...εἴτε καὶ...δαίμων ἐστίν ἢ τύχη τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανήτεον ἐστὶ μάλλον ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ὁμῶσαι κ.τ.λ., *Exhort. ad*

5 χεῖρα, στενάξας τε καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,
εἶπεν· Αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους. ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου
καὶ λέγοντος· Ὁμοσον, καὶ ἀπολύω σε· λαιδόρησον
τὸν Χριστόν· ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος· Ὁγδοήκοντα καὶ ἐξ

omitted in s by homeoteleuton. καὶ] G; om. E. 6 ἀθέους] add. ἀπὸ προσ-
ώπου τῆς γῆς v (comp. Acts xxii. 22). ἐγκειμένου] ἐνκειμένου b. ἀνθυπάτου]
G; ἡγουμένου E; *praeseptor* L. 7 Ὁμοσον] ὁμωσον (sic) b; ὤμοσον s. ἀπο-
λύω σε] ἀπολύο σε b. λαιδόρησον] λυδώρησον bs. 8 ἔφη ὁ Πολύκαρπος] mE;
tunc ait polycarpus L; ὁ (add. μακάριος v) πολύκαρπος ἔφη b^{rvs}. Ὁγδοήκοντα]
ἐγδοήκοντα b.

Martyr. 7 πηλίκον ἀμάρτημα εἶναι νομιστέον τὸ ὀμνῦναι τύχην τινός (*Op.* i. p. 278, ed. Delarue). Pliny (*Paneg.* 52) makes it a merit of Trajan that 'non apud genium tuum bonitati tuae gratias agi, sed apud numen Iovis Optimi Maximi pateris'; and yet he himself punished the Bithynian Christians for repudiating the cultus of this emperor (*Ep.* x. 97, quoted above on § 8 ἐπιθύσαι). This worship of the emperor's genius was a natural outcome of Roman polytheism, for we meet in the inscriptions with 'genius oppidi, municipi, cohortis, legionis, populi Romani, etc.', and even private individuals had their 'genii.' But it outran all bounds, and this was held the most terrible of all oaths; Tertull. *Apol.* 28 'Citius denique apud vos per omnes deos quam per unum genium Caesaris pejeratur', Minuc. Fel. l. c. 'et est eis tutius per Jovis genium pejerare quam regis'; see also Melito *ad Antonin.* 4 (p. 425, Otto) with Otto's notes, p. 464 sq. Tiberius indeed, when Rubrius was accused of violating the 'numen Augusti' by perjury, deprecated his punishment on the ground that 'perinde aestimandum quam si Jovem fefellisset; deorum injurias diis curae' (Tac. *Ann.* i. 73); but this was not an insult offered to a living emperor.

4. ἀνόμων] An epithet of the Gentiles, Acts ii. 23, 1 Cor. ix. 21. See also the antithesis of Ἰουδαῖοι and παράνομοι in a passage from an early writer in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 16 quoted below, p. 383.

7. λαιδόρησον κ.τ.λ.] This was the test applied by Pliny in the Bithynian persecution; *Ep.* x. 97 'praeterea maledicerent Christo...ii et Christo maledixerunt.'

8. Ὁγδοήκοντα κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Polycrates in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24 ἐγὼ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐξήκοντα πέντε ἔτη ἔχων ἐν Κυρίῳ κ.τ.λ. It is doubtful whether Polycarp means that he was a Christian from his birth and was now 86 years old, or that it was 86 years since he became a Christian. With the reading ἔχω δουλεύων (for δουλεύω) the former interpretation seems more natural, as it is also more probable in itself. In favour of the latter Halloix (l. p. 588), followed by others, quotes the dying words of Hilarion, 'Egrederere, anima mea; quid dubitas? septuaginta prope annis servisti Christo, et mortem times?' (Hieron. *Vit. Hilar.* 45, *Op.* ii. p. 39), spoken when he was in his 80th year (*ib.* 44). But even if we take the reading δουλεύω, this parallel only shows that Polycarp might have meant the 86 years to reckon from his conversion, not that he did actually mean it.

ἐτη [ἔχω] δουλεύω[ν] αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδέν με ἠδίκησεν· καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, τὸν σῶσαντά με;

X. Ἐπιμένοντος δὲ πάλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος, Ὅμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ἀπεκρίνατο· Εἰ κενοδο- 5 ξεῖς ἵνα ὁμόσω τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ὡς σὺ λέγεις, προσποιεῖ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν με τίς εἰμι, μετὰ παρρησίας ἄκουε, Χριστιανός εἰμι. εἰ δὲ θέλεις τὸν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ μαθεῖν λόγον, δὸς ἡμέραν καὶ ἄκουσον. ἔφη ὁ ἀνθύπατος· Πείσον τὸν δῆμον. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος εἶπεν· 10

1 ἔχω δουλεύων] *h*rvs (δουλείον *s*) (comp. *L*, *octogesimum jam et sextum annum aetatis ingredior, nomini ejus probatus et serviens semper*); δουλεύω *mE* [*Chron-Pasch.*]. αὐτῷ] αὐτὸν *v*. οὐδέν με ἠδίκησεν] *h*rvs*E* [*Chron-Pasch.*] (but add. ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον διεφύλαξέν με ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ *v*); *nimiquam ab eo laesus, semperque servatus* *L*; ἐφύλαξέν με *m*.

2 βασιλέα μου] κύριόν μου καὶ βασιλέα *v* alone, but *L* expands in another way. σῶσαντά με] add. ἀπὸ πολλῶν θλίψεων καὶ ἀναγκῶν *v*.

3 με] *mai* *b*. 4 πάλιν] *om. m* alone. αὐτοῦ] τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου *v* alone.

5 Ὅμοσον] ὥμοσον *s*. τύχην] τύχην *b* (and so below). Add. καὶ ἀπολύω σε *v*. ἀπεκρίνατο...τύχην] *om. s* by homoeoteleuton.

ἀπεκρίνατο] *mbpv* (but add. ὁ μακάριος *v*); *a*it *L*; ὁ πολύκαρπος *E* (adding *φησὶν* after *κενοδοξεῖς*). Εἰ κενοδοξεῖς] *E*; ἐκεῖνο δόξης *m*; ἐκεῖνο δόξην *bn*; μή μοι γένοιτο *p*; *quid...cogis* *L*.

6 σὺ] *G*; *om. E*. 7 προσποιεῖ δὲ] *G* (but *προσποιεῖ* *p*, *προσποιεῖς* *m*); *προσποιούμενος* *E*. με τίς] *G*; ὅστις *E*.

8 εἰμι] εἴμη *s*. θέλεις...λόγον] *E*; θέλεις τὸν χριστιανισμοῦ μαθεῖν λόγον *m*; μαθεῖν θέλεις τὸν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ λόγον *h*rvn; θέλεις μαθεῖν τὸν τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ λόγον *s*.

9 ἔφη ὁ ἀνθύπατος] *mE*; ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔφη *h*rvs. 10 δῆμον] add. καὶ ἀκούω σου *v*. ὁ δὲ] *mbps*; ὁ ἅγιος *v*; *om. E*. εἶπεν] *G*;

5. κενοδοξεῖς] 'vainly imaginest', 'vainly expectest'. For the two senses of κενόδοξος -ξεῖν, -ξία, (1) 'vain-glory', (2) 'vain opinion,' see the note on *Ign. Magn.* 11.

6. ἵνα ὁμόσω] 'that I would swear'. For examples of similar uses of ἵνα see *Winer Gramm.* § xlv. p. 422 sq. liii. p. 577. As κενόδοξεῖν involves a latent desire, the expression here has a parallel in θέλειν ἵνα, which is not uncommon. It would appear that ὁμόσω is the conjunctive.

7. μετὰ παρρησίας] 'plainly', lit. 'with unreservedness of speech on

my part', as in *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 10 ἄκουε γοῦν μετὰ παρρησίας. The phrase is generally used with λαλεῖν, εἰπεῖν, etc.: *Acts* ii. 29, iv. 29, 31, xxviii. 31, *Demosth. Phil.* ii. p. 73. In *Clem. Rom.* 34, as in *Lev.* xxvi. 13, i *Macc.* iv. 18, it signifies 'with boldness, with confidence', all reference to speech being lost.

8. Χριστιανός εἰμι] See *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* 10, 19, 20, etc., in *Euseb. H. E.* v. 1; *Act. Justin. et Soc.* 2, 3, 4 (*Ruinart*, p. 106 sq. *Ratisb.* 1859); *Act. Perp. et Felic.* 3, 6; and comp. *Plin. Ep.* x. 97.

Ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· Θηρία ἔχω, τούτοις σε παραβαλῶ, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσης. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Κάλει· ἀμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν κρείττωνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω μετάνοια· καλὸν δὲ μετατίθεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια. ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτόν·

- 15 XI. Ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· Θηρία ἔχω, τούτοις σε παραβαλῶ, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσης. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Κάλει· ἀμετάθετος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν κρείττωνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω μετάνοια· καλὸν δὲ μετατίθεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν χαλεπῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δίκαια. ὁ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς αὐτόν·
20 Πυρί σε ποιῶ δαπανηθῆναι, εἰ τῶν θηρίων καταφρονεῖς;

ἔφη E. 11 Σὲ μὲν] add. ὦ ἀνθύπατε v. κἂν] mpvs; καὶ p (Jacobson) E. ἡξίωσα] bpsvE; ἡξιώκα m. 12 Θεοῦ] mE; τοῦ θεοῦ bpsv. τιμὴν...ἀπονέμειν] mbvs; ὑποτάσσεσθαι κατὰ τὸ προσήκον καὶ τιμὴν ἀπονέμειν τὴν μὴ βλάπτουσαν ἡμᾶς p. 13 ἀπονέμειν] ἀπονέμειν s. 14 οὐκ ἄξιους ἡγοῦμαι] E; οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι ἄξιους bpsv; οὐκηγοῦμαι ἄξιους εἶναι m (where the οὐκ points to the order in E). αὐτοῖς] αὐτοὺς m alone. 15 Ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν] mE (but with v. l. ἔφη); ὁ δὲ ἀνθύπατος πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν bps; ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀνθύπατος v. 16 παραβαλῶ] printed παραβαλῶ by an error in Jacobson; παραδώσω s. μετανοήσης] μετανοήσεις bs. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν] bpsE (comp. L); ὁ δὲ πολύκαρπος εἶπεν m; ἀπεκρίθη ὁ ἅγιος πολύκαρπος v. Κάλει] add. αὐτὰ ἐν τάχει v. 17 ἀμετάθετος] ἀπαράδεκτος p alone. ἡμῖν ἢ] εἰμὶ m alone. 18 καλὸν] καλῶν b. μετατίθεσθαι] μεταθέσθαι b alone. Add. με bpsv; om. mE. 19 χαλεπῶν] χαλαιπῶν b. ὁ δὲ] add. ἀνθύπατος v. 20 ποιῶ] bpsv; ποιήσω mE. δαπανηθῆναι] G; δαμασθῆναι E (translated however *consumi* by Ruf.). εἰ...καταφρονεῖς] here, mbps; before πυρί σε κ.τ.λ., v. For εἰ...καταφρονεῖς E has ἐὰν...καταφρονῆς.

10. Πείσον τὸν δῆμον] It is not clear with what motive the proconsul says this; whether (1) like Pilate, with a sincere desire to release the prisoner, or (2) as an excuse for his execution, knowing such an appeal to be useless.

11. δεδιδάγμεθα γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] See *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 6 ὑποτασσομένους ἄρχουσιν, ἐν οἷς ἀκίνδυνος ἡ ὑποταγή κ.τ.λ., with the notes (comp. *ib.* 2 χάριτας...τὰς μὴ βλαπτούσας ψυχὴν). The reference in δεδιδάγμεθα is especially to *Rom.* xiii. 1 sq, 1 *Pet.* ii. 13 sq.

17. ἀμετάθετος γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Again imitated in *Mart. Ign. Rom.* 9 καλόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἢ ἐκ κακῶν μετάνοια κ.τ.λ.

18. καλὸν δὲ κ.τ.λ.] From the choice of the words here, τὰ χαλεπὰ and τὰ δίκαια, it appears that this clause is intended to refer to the proconsul himself; 'It is you, not I, who have need to repent and to practise justice instead of cruelty'. The insertion of με therefore in some texts arises from a misunderstanding.

20. δαπανηθῆναι] Comp. § 16.

ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσης. ὁ δὲ Πολύκαρπος· Πῦρ ἀπει-
λεῖς τὸ πρὸς ὥραν καιόμενον καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον σβεν-
νύμενον· ἀγνοεῖς γὰρ τὸ τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως καὶ
αἰωνίου κολάσεως τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τηρούμενον πῦρ. ἀλλὰ
τί βραδύνεις; φέρε δ' βούλει.

5

XII. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἕτερα πλείονα λέγων, θάρσους
καὶ χαρᾶς ἐνεπίμπατο, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ χάρι-
τος ἐπληροῦτο, ὥστε οὐ μόνον μὴ συμπεσεῖν ταραχ-
θέντος ὑπὸ τῶν λεγομένων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τούναν-
τίον τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἐκστήναι πέμψαι τε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ 10

1 ὁ δὲ] mbs; ὁ δὲ ἅγιος p; ὁ ἅγιος v; om. (altogether) E. Πολύκαρπος] bp;
add. λέγει v; add. εἶπεν msE; add. *respondit* [L]. Πῦρ] add. μοι m alone. ἀπει-
λεῖς] p vE; ἀπειλῆς b; ἀπληγῆς s; μοι ἀπολεῖς m. 2 τὸ] om. E alone. 3 ἀγνοεῖς]
ἀγνοῆς s. κρίσεως...κολάσεως] κολάσεως...κρίσεως (transp.) p alone. 4 ἀλλὰ]
καὶ ἄλλα m alone. 5 τί βραδύνεις] mbpE; μὴ βραδύνῃς v; βραδύνῃς (om. μὴ) s.
δ'] mps; ᾧ vE (but with v. l. δ); ᾧ b. βούλει] mbp; βούλη s; add. ἐν τάχει v.
6 δὲ] τοίνυν v alone. ἕτερα] mE; ἄλλα bpvs. πλείονα] bs (πλείονα bs) p v;
πλείω E (with v. l. πλείονα); om. m. λέγων] εἰπὼν v alone. 7 ἐνεπίμπατο
...χάριτος] om. s by homœoteleuton. ἐνεπίμπατο] pE; ἐνεπήμπατω b; ἐνεπι-
πλάτο m; ἀνεπιμπλάτο v. χάριτος] add. θείας v. 8 ἐπληροῦτο] praef. ὡς s.
ὥστε] ὥσπερ vs. οὐ] G; μὴ E. μὴ] bpvsE (but some MSS omit); om. m.
συμπεσεῖν] συμπεσῖν s. ταραχθέντος] pvs; ταραχθέντα mbE. 9 ἀλλὰ

1. Πῦρ ἀπειλεῖς κ.τ.λ.] See the note on § 2 πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

8. μὴ συμπεσεῖν κ.τ.λ.] If ταραχ-
θέντος be read, the subject of συμπε-
σεῖν will be τὸ πρόσωπον; if ταραχ-
θέντα, the subject must be Polycarp
himself, and the construction will
be μὴ συμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ προσ-
ώπῳ. Both constructions are illus-
trated by the LXX of Gen. iv. 5, 6,
Καὶν...συνέπεσε τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ εἶπε Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Καῖν...ἵνα
τί συνέπεσε τὸ πρόσωπόν σου;

13. Ἰουδαίων] See also § 17.
There is ample independent evidence
of the presence of Jews at Smyrna.
In Rev. ii. 8 reference is made in
Smyrna to τὴν βλασφημίαν τῶν λε-
γόντων Ἰουδαίους εἶναι ἑαυτούς, καὶ
οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ συναγωγὴ τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

In Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 9897
is a Greek sepulchral inscription of
Smyrna mentioning two Jewish el-
ders, father and son, and concluding
with the Hebrew יְהוָה. In another
Smyrnaean inscription (*ib.* 3148), be-
longing to Hadrian's reign, mention
is made of οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι—appa-
rently renegades who had conformed
to heathenism—as making large con-
tributions to certain public works.
The presence of a Judaic Docetism
in Smyrna, as shown in Ign. *Smyrn.*
2, 5, etc., is also a significant fact.
The Jews appear likewise at the
martyrdom of Pionius and his
companions, who also suffered at
Smyrna in the Decian persecution;
Act. Pion. 3 'Innumerae quoque
aderant feminarum catervae, quia

κήρυκα, ἐν μέσῳ τῷ σταδίῳ κηρύξαι τρίς· Πολύκαρπος
ὡμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι. τούτου λεχθέντος
ὑπὸ τοῦ κήρυκος, ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰου-
δαίων τῶν τὴν Ἐμύρναν κατοικούντων ἀκατασχέτῳ
15 θυμῷ καὶ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ ἐπεβόα· Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς
Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁ τῶν
ἡμετέρων θεῶν καθαιρέτης, ὁ πολλοὺς διδάσκων μὴ
θύειν μηδὲ προσκυνεῖν. ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεβόων καὶ
ἡρώτων τὸν Ἀσιάρχην Φίλιππον, ἵνα ἐπαφῇ τῷ Πολυ-

τοῦναντίον τὸν] om. s alone. ἀλλὰ] add. καὶ p alone. τοῦναντίον]
τοῦναντίων b. 10 ἐκστήναι] bE; ἐκστήναι (sic) m (transposing the words,
ἐκστήναι τὸν ἀνθύπατον); ἐκστήσαι s; μᾶλλον ἐκστήσαι v; ἐκπλήξαι p. πέμψαι
τε] πέμψεται b; καὶ πέμψαι v; πέμψαι (om. τε) s. ἑαυτοῦ] G; om. E. 11 ἐν
μέσῳ] ἐμμέσῳ bs. τῷ σταδίῳ] bE; τοῦ σταδίου mpvs. κηρύξαι] mbE; καὶ
κηρύξαι pvs. τρίς] mE; τρίτον bpvs. 12 ὡμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν] pvsE; ὡμολόγησεν
ἑαυτὸν b; ἑαυτὸν ὡμολόγησεν m alone. τούτου] add. δὲ m alone. 13 ἐθνῶν]
G; τῶν ἐθνῶν E (but some MSS om. τῶν). 14 τῶν] τὸν s. Σμύρναν]
σμύρνην p alone. κατοικούντων] οἰκούντων p alone. ἀκατασχέτῳ] ἀκατα-
σχέτο s. 15 φωνῇ] praef. τῇ s alone. ἐπεβόα] mbvs; ἐβόα pE. 16
Ἀσίας] mE; ἀσεβείας bpvs. ὁ τῶν] καὶ τῶν v alone. 18 προσκυνεῖν]
txt mE; add. τοῖς θεοῖς bpvs. ἐπεβόων] bvsE; ἐπεβόουν m; ἐβόουν p.
19 ἡρώτων] bpvE; ἡρώτων m; ἡρώτα s.

erat dies sabbati et Judaeorum feminas ab opere diei festivitas relaxabat' (comp. § 4). This explains the large concourse of Jews at Polycarp's martyrdom, which occurred also at a festival time. As in the Apostolic times, so also in subsequent ages, the Jews took an active part in instigating the persecutions of the Christians; Tertull. *Scorp.* 10 'synagogas Judaeorum, fontes persecutionum', comp. Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 31 (p. 72), with Otto's note for other references in Justin. Their activity in this respect in Proconsular Asia appears from an anonymous writer in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 16, where twitting the Montanists he says, ἔστι τις τῶν ἀπὸ Μοντανοῦ... ὅστις ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἐδιώχθη ἢ ὑπὸ παρανόμων ἀπεκράνθη; οὐδεὶς... οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐν συναγωγαῖς Ἰουδαίων τῶν

γυναικῶν τις ἐμαστιγώθη ποτὲ ἢ ἐλιθοβολήθη; οὐδαμῶσε οὐδαμῶς.

14. ἀκατασχέτῳ] 'ungovernable', as in the v. l. in James iii. 8, where however the correct reading is ἀκράτατον.

15. Οὗτός ἐστιν κ.τ.λ.] See *Passio Cypriani* 17 (Ruinart's *Act. Sinc. Mart.* p. 17) 'Sectae signifer et inimicus deorum.'

19. Ἀσιάρχην] The Asiarch was the head of the *Commune Asiae*, the confederation of the principal cities of the Roman province of Asia. As such he was the 'chief-priest' of Asia (§ 21) and president of the games. For more see the excursus on the Asiarchs at the end of this Letter (p. 403 sq).

Φίλιππον] This Philip is mentioned as a Trallian below § 21, and Strabo tells us that owing to the

κάρπῳ λέοντα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη μὴ εἶναι ἐξὸν αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ πεπληρώκει τὰ κυνηγέσια. τότε ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπιβοῆσαι, ὥστε τὸν Πολύκαρπον ζῶντα κατακαῦσαι. ἔδει γὰρ τὸ τῆς φανερωθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκεφαλαίου ὀπτασίας πληρωθῆναι, ὅτε ἰδὼν αὐτὸ καιόμενον 5 προσευχόμενος εἶπεν ἐπιστραφεὶς τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ πιστοῖς προφητικῶς· Δεῖ με ζῶντα καῆναι.

1 ὁ δὲ] mE (comp. L); add. φίλιππος bpvs. ἐξὸν] ἐξὼν s alone. αὐτῷ] pE; αὐτὸ (but transp. αὐτὸ ἐξὸν) m; αὐτὸν b; αὐτῶν vs. 2 πεπληρώκει] πεπληρώκη s. αὐτοῖς] αὐτοὺς m alone. 3 ζῶντα] om. b alone, which reads πολύκαρπον ἐπιβοῆσαι κατακαυθῆναι. E places ζῶντα after ὥστε. κατακαῦσαι] E (not κατακαῆναι, as stated in Jacobson); καῦσαι (sic) m (some letters being omitted by homœoteleuton ζῶν[τα κα]τακαῦσαι); κατακαυθῆναι bpvs (derived from the passage just below); ut vivunt polycarpi ignis exureret L. 4 ἔδει] εἶδη b. φανερωθείσης] bpvs (φανερωθήσης s); add. αὐτῷ mE. 5 αὐτὸ] αὐτῷ bps. καιόμενον] om. p alone. 6 σὺν αὐτῷ] G; μετ' αὐτοῦ E. 7 Δεῖ]

wealth of Tralles its citizens were constantly appointed Asiarchs, xiv. p. 649 καὶ αἰεὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὗς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν. The name Philip occurs in connexion with Tralles in Galen *Op.* XIII. p. 105 (ed. Kühn) ἐδόθη ὑπὸ Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῖς, and on no less than eight Trallian inscriptions (given above, I. p. 629 sq), where there is mention of three generations of persons bearing the name Γ. Ἰούλιος Φίλιππος, the grandfather being entitled ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας, the father ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν and ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαλασιοῦ, and the son Ἰούλιος Φίλιππος συγκλητικὸς στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων, the father, if not the grandfather also, being mentioned as ἀγωνοθέτης. Boeckh (see his note on no. 2790 at Aphrodisias, where the father is again mentioned) conjectures that this person derived his name from the emperor Julius Philippus; but an inscription since discovered at Olympia clearly shows that he is wrong. This inscription, published by Dittenberger in the *Archäologische*

Zeitung xxxviii (1880), Hft. I, and commented on by R. A. Lipsius in *Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1881, p. 575, runs thus; Ἡ Ὀλυμπι[κῇ] βουλῇ Γ[άιον] Ἰούλιο[ν] Φίλιππον Τραλλιανὸν τὸν Ἀσιάρχην ἡθῶν ἕνεκα, Ὀλυμπιάδι σλβ' (given above I. p. 629). The proximity of date (Olymp. 232 = A.D. 149) points to the same person who presided over the martyrdom of Polycarp. He is evidently the same whose name appears in the Trallian inscriptions as ἐπίτροπος τῶν Σεβαστῶν. Perhaps also this is the person mentioned in the Anthology (II. p. 450), where there is an epigram by Theodoretus the grammarian (see Fabric. *Bibl. Graec.* VI. p. 320) εἰς τὴν εἰκόνα Φιλίππου ἀρχοντος ἐν Σμύρῃ, from which it appears that the Philadelphians sent offerings in recognition of his justice. A much later Philip is commemorated on coins as Recorder (γραμματεὺς) of Tralles in the age of the Gordians; Mionnet IV. p. 192 (no. I119), *ib. Suppl.* VII. p. 465 (no. 683).

Since the publication of my first

XIII. Ταῦτα οὖν μετὰ τοσούτου τάχους ἐγένετο, θᾶπτον ἢ ἐλέγετο, τῶν ὅχλων παραχρῆμα συναγόντων
 10 ἕκ τε τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καὶ βαλανείων ξύλα καὶ φρύ-
 γανα, μάλιστα Ἰουδαίων προθύμους, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς
 ταῦτα ὑπουργούντων. ὅτε δὲ ἡ πυρκαϊὰ ἡτοιμάσθη,
 ἀποθέμενος ἑαυτῷ πάντα τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ λύσας τὴν
 ζώνην, ἐπειράτο καὶ ὑπολύειν ἑαυτόν, μὴ πρότερον
 15 τοῦτο ποιῶν διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἕκαστον τῶν πιστῶν σπου-

δοι δεῖ v alone. με] και ps. καῆναι] mE (but some MSS κατακαῆναι); κατα-
 καυθῆναι bps; καυθῆναι v. 8 ἐγένετο] mbvsE; ἐγένετο p. 9 ἢ ἐλέγετο] mE;
 τοῦ λεχθῆναι bpsv. τῶν] καὶ τῶν m alone. συναγόντων] mpE (but v. l. συνα-
 γαγόντων); συναγαγόντων bvs. 10 τε] G; om. E. καὶ βαλανείων] om. m
 alone. βαλανείων] βαλανίων bs. καὶ φρύγανα] om. m alone. 12 ὑπουρ-
 γούντων] ὑπουργόντων s; ὑπουργεῖν v. πυρκαϊὰ] bpsv; πυρὰ mE. 13 ἑαυτῷ]
 bsE; ἑαυτοῦ pν; αὐτοῦ m. πάντα] om. m alone. 14 ζώνην] E; add. ἑαυτοῦ
 ps; add. αὐτοῦ mbv. ὑπολύειν ἑαυτόν] ἑαυτόν ὑπολύειν v. 15 ἀεὶ] om. m alone.

edition, Dr Sterrett (*An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor*, 1888, pp. 325 sq) has published the important Trallian inscription (no. 379 = no. 4 on I. p. 630 above) which mentions three distinct persons of the name Julius Philippus; but by mistake he has assigned (p. 326) to the youngest of the three the title of *ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρasiou* which belongs to his father.

2. πεπληρώκει] For the omission of the augment see Winer *Gramm.* § xii. p. 85.

τὰ κυνηγέσια] representing the Latin 'venationes', as e.g. in Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 2511 φαμίλια μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα κυνηγεσίων Νεμερίου Καστρικίου Λευκίου Πακωνιανοῦ Ἀσιάρχου καὶ Αὐρηλίας Σαφροῦς Πλάτωνος Δικιννιανῆς ἀρχιερείας γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, where, as here, it stands in connexion with an Asiarch; comp. also no. 3650, a similar inscription but mutilated. Thus κυνηγέσια would comprise all fights with wild beasts in the circus, whether dogs were

employed or not. On the 'venatio' see Friedländer *Sittengeschichte Roms* II. p. 218 sq, Marquardt *Röm. Staatsverw.* III. pp. 507, 542 sq.

4. εἶδει γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. John xviii. 32 ἵνα ὁ λόγος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πληρωθῇ, ὃν εἶπεν σημαίνων ποίῳ θανάτῳ ἡμελλεν ἀποθνήσκειν. It seems that this unexpected fulfilment of Polycarp's presentiment is regarded by the writer or writers of this epistle, after their wont, as a parallel to the unexpected fulfilment of Christ's prediction: see above, § 1, and I. p. 610 sq.

6. εἶπεν κ.τ.λ.] See above, § 5.

7. καῆναι] For this form see Winer *Gramm.* § xv. p. 106, Veitch *Irregular Verbs* s.v. καίω.

10. ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα] 'wood and fuel,' the former from the workshops etc., and the latter from the baths; comp. Cic. in *Verr.* II. i. 69 'ligna et sarmenta circumdare, ignemque subicere coeperunt,' quoted by Ussher, who also refers to Tertull. *Apol.* 50 'Licet nunc sarmenticios et semaxios appelletis, quia ad stipitem

δάξειν ὅστις τάχιον τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ ἄψηται·
[ἐν] παντὶ γὰρ ἀγαθῆς ἕνεκεν πολιτείας καὶ πρὸ τῆς
πολιᾶς ἐκεκόσμητο. εὐθέως οὖν αὐτῷ περιετίθετο τὰ
πρὸς τὴν πυρὰν ἡρμοσμένα ὄργανα. μελλόντων δὲ
αὐτῶν καὶ προσηλοῦν εἶπεν· "Ἀφετέ με οὕτως· ὁ 5
γὰρ δοὺς ὑπομεῖναι τὸ πῦρ δώσει καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ὑμε-
τέρας ἐκ τῶν ἥλων ἀσφαλείας ἀσκυλτον ἐπιμεῖναι τῇ
πυρᾷ.

XIV. Οἱ δὲ οὐ καθήλωσαν μέν, προσέδησαν δὲ

1 ὅστις] bpsE; τίς mν. τάχιον] E; τάχειον mpvs; ταχίαν b (Jacobson).
χρωτὸς] χρωτὸς s. ἄψηται] G; ἐφάψηται E. 2 ἐν παντὶ γὰρ] E (comp.
L); παντὶ γὰρ καλῶ b; πράξει γὰρ καλὰς pvs; πάσης γὰρ m. ἀγαθῆς ἕνεκεν
πολιτείας] m (but ἕνεκα for ἕνεκεν m) bvsE; καὶ ἀγαθὰς καὶ θεομίμητον πολιτείαν p.
3 πολιᾶς] E; μαρτυρίας bpvsL. All the words καὶ πρὸ τῆς μαρτυρίας (or πολιᾶς)
are omitted in m; and this is best accounted for by supposing that the scribe had
πολιᾶς in his copy and after writing πολιτείας his eye passed on inadvertently to it,
so as to omit the intervening words. ἐκεκόσμητο] ἐκεκόσμητο b; ἐκέκτητο p
alone. οὖν] δὲ m alone. αὐτῷ] ἐαυτῷ p. περιετίθετο] προετίθετο p alone.
5 αὐτῶν καὶ] αὐτὸν (om. καὶ) m alone. προσηλοῦν] txt bpvs; add. αὐτὸν E; add.
ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ v. εἶπεν] add. ὁ ἅγιος v. 6 δοὺς] G; διδοὺς E. Add. μοι bL;
om. mpvsE. ὑμετέρας] ὑμῶν p alone. 7 ἐκ τῶν ἥλων] om. m alone.
ἀσφαλείας] ἀσφαλίας s. ἀσκυλτον] m; ἀσκύλτως E; ἀσάλευτον bpvs. 9 μέν]

dimidii axis revincti sarmentorum
ambitu exuremur.

2. ἀγαθῆς κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Vit. Polyc.* 6 ἐν πολλῇ προκοπῇ τῆς ἐν
Χριστῷ πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν
ἀγαθὴν πολιτείαν ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἐγί-
νετο, comp. *ib.* § 20.

καὶ πρὸ τῆς πολιᾶς] i.e. 'even before
his advanced years called for this
assistance.' This reading which is
found in Eusebius seems to be cor-
rect. The omission of the whole
clause in the Moscow MS, which is
the best and which most commonly
agrees with Eusebius, may be ex-
plained in the manner suggested in
the upper note. Comp. the lan-
guage of Macar. Magn. *Apocr.* iii.
24 (p. 109) καὶ δὴ πρὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς
...καλῶς ἔσχεν ἅπαντα, speaking of

Polycarp.

7. ἀσκυλτον] Comp. *Acta Thomae*
12.

11. ὥσπερ κριὸς κ.τ.λ.] Imitated in
Mart. Ign. Ant. 2 ὥσπερ κριὸς ἐπί-
σημος, ἀγέλης καλῆς ἡγούμενος, said of
Ignatius under similar circumstances.
For προσδεθεὶς ὥσπερ κριὸς comp.
Melito *Fragm.* 9 (p. 416, ed. Otto)
ὡς γὰρ κριὸς ἐδέθη, where he dwells on
the κριὸς in the sacrifice of Isaac, as
a type of Christ.

12. ὀλοκαύτωμα] The adoption of
the other reading would not alter the
sense. In the LXX ὀλοκάρπωμα, ὀ-
λοκάρπωσις, are synonyms for ὀλο-
καύτωμα, ὀλοκαύτωσις, all the four
words being renderings of *להי*. In
Lev. xvi. 24 we have ὀλοκαύτωμα
αὐτοῦ καὶ ὀλοκάρπωμα τοῦ λαοῦ, where

10 αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω τὰς χεῖρας ποιήσας καὶ προσδεθείς,
ὥσπερ κριὸς ἐπίσημος ἐκ μεγάλου ποιμνίου εἰς προσφο-
ράν, ὀλοκαύτωμα δεκτὸν τῷ Θεῷ ἡτοιμασμένον, ἀνα-
βλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν· Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παν-
τοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ εὐλογητοῦ παιδός σου
15 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ, δι' οὗ τὴν περὶ σοῦ ἐπίγνωσιν
εἰλήφαμεν, ὁ Θεὸς [ὁ] ἀγγέλων καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ πάσης
κτίσεως παντός τε τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων οἱ ζῶσιν ἐνώ-
πιόν σου· εὐλογῶ σε, ὅτι κατηξίωσάς με τῆς ἡμέρας

om. E alone. προσέδησαν] mE; ἔδησαν pvs; ἔδεισαν b. 10 ὁ δὲ]
add. ἅγιος πολύκαρπος v. 11 ἐπίσημος] ἐπίσημος ps. Add. ἀναφερόμενος
E; om. G. 12 ὀλοκαύτωμα] mvsE; ὀλοκάρωμα bp. τῷ Θεῷ] G;
θεῷ παντοκράτορι E. ἡτοιμασμένον...οὐρανὸν] G (comp. L); om. E. ἡτοι-
μασμένον] add. εἰ (sic) s alone. 13 Κύριε...παντοκράτωρ] GL; om. E.
14 καὶ εὐλογητοῦ] om. vs by homoeoteleuton. σου] here, bvsE; after ἀγαπητοῦ,
p (Jacobson). For παιδός σου m has σου υἱοῦ. 15 δι' οὗ] om. p alone.
σοῦ] G; σὲ E. 16 ὁ ἀγγέλων] bv; ἀγγέλων (om. ὁ) mpsE. δυνάμεων]
δυναμῶν s. 17 κτίσεως] mvsE (but with v. l. τῆς κτίσεως); τῆς κτίσεως p;
τῆς κτήσεως b. Add. δημιουργός v alone. παντός τε] mE; καὶ παντός bpvs.
δικαίων] bpvsLE; ἀνθρώπων m. 18 κατηξίωσας] mE; ἡξίωσας bpvs. ἡμέρας
καὶ ὥρας ταύτης] bpsE; ὥρας ταύτης καὶ ἡμέρας v; ἡμέρας ταύτης m; hac passione L.

the same word *ἡν* stands in both places in the original.

14. παιδός σου] '*Thy son*,' rather than '*Thy servant*'; see the note on Clem. Rom. 59.

17. τοῦ γένους τῶν δικαίων] So again, § 17. Comp. Hermas *Sim.* ix. 17 quoted by Zahn. See also the note on § 3.

18. τῆς ἡμέρας κ.τ.λ.] '*This day of persecution and this hour of death*.' As the *ἡμέρα* denotes the period of suffering, so the *ὥρα* denotes the climax of that period. There is no reference to the day of the month, or the hour of the day, as some have thought. In such a connexion any chronometrical reference would be altogether out of place. The significance of the words is in fact explained by the following clause

τοῦ λαβεῖν με μέρος κ.τ.λ. When in John xii. 27 our Lord says *σῶσόν με ἐκ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης* (quoted by Steitz and others after him), the last idea which any one would think of importing into the text would be a reference to the exact hour of the day or night; and the case before us is a parallel. See also above § 2 *ἐκείνη τῇ ὥρᾳ βασανιζόμενοι*, § 7 *φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ*, and comp. *Acta Joannis* p. 6 (ed. Zahn) *ἡμαρτον, πᾶτερ Πέτρε, ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ κ.τ.λ.* The meaning is best explained by *Vita Cypriani* 16 (Cypr. *Op.* III. p. cvii, Hartel) '*Inluxit denique dies alius, ille signatus, ille promissus, ille divinus, quem si tyrannus ipse differre voluisset, numquam prorsus valeret*,' and below § 18 is the expression '*clarificationis hora matura*.'

καὶ ὥρας ταύτης, τοῦ λαβεῖν με μέρος ἐν ἀριθμῷ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ [σου] εἰς ἀνά-
 CTACIN ZΩHCAIΩΝΙΟΥ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΜΑΤΟΣ ἐν ἀφθαρσία
 πνεύματος ἁγίου· ἐν οἷς προσδεχθείην ἐνώπιόν σου σή-
 μερον ἐν θυσίᾳ πίονι καὶ προσδεκτῇ, καθὼς προητοιμάσας 5
 καὶ προεφανέρωσας καὶ ἐπλήρωσας, ὁ ἀψευδὴς καὶ ἀλη-
 θινὸς Θεός. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων σὲ αἰνῶ, σὲ
 εὐλογῶ, σὲ δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου
 ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός, δι' οὗ
 σοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ [ἡ] δόξα καὶ νῦν [καὶ 10
 αἰ.] καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

1 λαβεῖν] λαβεῖ b. με] bvs; om. mpE. μέρος] add. καὶ κλήρον v.
 2 μαρτύρων] txt mE; add. σου bpsv. σου] msbvs; om. pE. 4 προσ-
 δεχθείην] mE; accíptam L; προσδεχθείη b; προσδεχθείημεν pn; προσδεχθή-
 μεν s. 5 ἐν θυσίᾳ] θυσία m alone. πίονι] πίωνι s. 6 καὶ προ-
 εφανέρωσας] G; προφανέρωσας E. καὶ ἐπλήρωσας] bpsv; καὶ πληρώσας
 E; om. m. 8] om. p alone, inserting ὦν after θεός. 7 Θεός] here,
 bmpsE; after ἀψευδὴς, v. τοῦτο] τοῦτω s. σὲ αἰνῶ...δοξάζω] mE; αἰνῶ
 σε (add. καὶ p) εὐλογῶ σε δοξάζω σε bpsv. 8 διὰ τοῦ...παιδός] m, and so
 generally E (but om. καὶ ἐπουρανίου and ins. τοῦ before ἀγαπήτου); *per aeternum*
pontificem omnipotentem iesum christum L; σὺν τῷ αἰωνίῳ (αἰῶνι v) καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ
 (ἐπ' οὐρανίῳ v) Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἀγαπητῷ σου παιδί bpsv. 9 δι' οὗ] mE;
per quem L; μεθ' οὗ bpn; μεθού (sic) s. 10 σὺν αὐτῷ] mE; *et cum ipso*
 L; om. bpsv. ἡ] bpsv; om. mE. δόξα] add. κράτος m alone. καὶ
 sec.] bpsE; om. mv[L]. καὶ αἰ.] m (comp. L which has *et in futurum in saecula*

For the false inferences which have been drawn from these words, see the general introduction, where also the seeming parallel in S. E. Assem. *Act. Mart. Orient.* I. p. 31 is considered.

2. τῷ ποτηρίῳ] 'the cup,' which is mentioned Matt. xx. 22, 23, Mark x. 38, 39; Matt. xxvi. 39, 42, Mark xiv. 36, Luke xxii. 42; John xviii. 11: see *Galatians* p. 274.

εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς] These words occur John v. 29.

4. προσδεχθείην] passive. Comp. *Apost. Const.* ii. 58, viii. 31.

5. ἐν θυσίᾳ] 'as a sacrifice.' For

a similar use of the preposition comp. Acts vii. 14 ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε.

7. σὲ αἰνῶ κ.τ.λ.] *Apost. Const.* vii. 47 αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως κ.τ.λ., from the *Gloria in excelsis*.

8. αἰωνίου...ἀρχιερέως] The same expression which is used in Polycarp's own epistle, *Phil.* 12; see the note there.

12. Ἀναπέψαντος] Used of the offering up of prayer and speeding it to the throne of grace; as e.g. Justin

XV. Ἀναπέμψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἄμην καὶ πλη-
 ρώσαντος τὴν εὐχὴν, οἱ τοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθρωποι ἐξῆψαν
 τὸ πῦρ. μεγάλης δὲ ἐκλαμψάσης φλογός, θαῦμα
 15 εἶδομεν, οἷς ἰδεῖν ἐδόθη· οἱ καὶ ἐτηρήθημεν εἰς τὸ ἀναγ-
 γεῖλαι τοῖς λοιποῖς τὰ γενόμενα. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ καμά-
 ρας εἶδος ποιήσαν, ὥσπερ ὀθόνη πλοίου ὑπὸ πνεύ-
 ματος πληρουμένη, κύκλῳ περιετείχισεν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ
 μάρτυρος· καὶ ἦν μέσον, οὐχ ὡς σὰρξ καιομένη, ἀλλ'
 20 ὡς ἄρτος ὀπτώμενος, ἢ ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν
 καμίνῳ πυρούμενος. καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντε-

saeculorum); om. b^{pvs}E. 11 μέλλοντας αἰώνας] b^{vs}E; αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων mp;
saecula saeculorum L (see the last note). 12 Ἀναπέμψαντος...ἄμην]
 om. vs (by homœoteleuton). πληρώσαντος] add. αὐτοῦ v alone. 13 εὐ-
 χήν] G; προσευχὴν E. ἄνθρωποι] b^pE; ἐργάται καὶ ἄνθρωποι v; ὑπουργοὶ m;
 ἄνδρες s. 14 θαῦμα] txt mE; add. μέγα p^{vs}; add. μέγαν b. 15 εἶδομεν]
 E; ἴδομεν b^{pn}; ἴδωμεν ms. ἐδόθη] ἐδώθη s. ἐτηρήθημεν] G; ἐτηρήθησαν E
 (comp. L). 17 ποιήσαν] ποιείσαν s. ὀθόνη...πληρουμένη] m^bpn; ὀθόνην...
 πληρουμένη s; ὀθόνης...πληρουμένης E. πλοίου] πλοίοι b. πνεύματος]
 ἀνέμου v alone. 18 κύκλῳ περιετείχισεν] περιετείχισεν κύκλῳ v alone.
 περιετείχισεν] περιετίχισεν b. 19 μάρτυρος] ἀρχιερέως m alone. μέσον]
 G; εἰς μέσον E. Add. τοῦ πυρὸς v alone. 20 ὡς ἄρτος...ἦ] G (comp. L);
 om. E. ὀπτώμενος] ὀπτόμενος pⁿ. ἢ ὡς...πυρούμενος] om. m. 21 γὰρ]
 om. v alone. εὐωδίας] εὐοδίας s. τοσαύτης] G; τοιαύτης E (but with a v. l.).
 ἀντελαβόμεθα] ἀντελαβόμεθα s.

Mart. *Apol.* i. 65 (p. 97) αἶνον καὶ
 δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ...ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐ-
 χαριστίαν, *ib.* 67 (p. 98) ὁ προεστὼς
 εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας...ἀνα-
 πέμπει, Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 12
 (p. 311) αἶνον ἀναπέμψαι Κυρίῳ, *Strom.*
 vii. 6 (p. 848) ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν (τῆς
 εὐχῆς)...ἀναπέμπομεν, Euseb. *H. E.* x.
 4, 5, etc. So it is used not unfre-
 quently in the Greek Liturgies.

τὸ ἄμην] With the definite article,
 as in 1 Cor. xiv. 16; see Otto's note
 on Justin *Apol.* i. 65 (p. 97). Comp.
 also Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 9 συνεπιφθεγ-
 γάμενον τὸ ἄμην.

16. τὸ γὰρ πῦρ κ.τ.λ.] For parallels
 to this strange phenomenon, see
 above, I. p. 614 sq.

20. ὡς ἄρτος κ.τ.λ.] This first com-
 parison may have been omitted by
 Eusebius from homœoteleuton, or
 not improbably, because the homely
 image offended his literary taste.
 Ignatius adapts the image of 'bread'
 to his own martyrdom in a different
 way, *Rom.* 4.

ὡς χρυσὸς κ.τ.λ.] Euseb. *Mart. Pal.*
 10 διὰ πυρὸς οἷα χρυσὸς ἀκραυφίστα-
 τος...τὴν δοκιμὴν ἀποδέδωκε. The idea
 of the testing and refining power of
 fine or precious metals was doubt-
 less present here also to the writers'
 mind, though not definitely express-
 ed.

21. εὐωδίας κ.τ.λ.] On this sup-
 posed miracle see above, I. p. 615.

λαβόμεθα, ὡς λιβανωτοῦ πνέοντος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τιμίων ἀρωμάτων.

XVI. Πέρας γοῦν ἰδόντες οἱ ἄνομοι μὴ δυνάμενον

1 πνέοντος] om. m alone.

ἄλλου] om. m alone.

3 γοῦν] vE; δ'

οὖν m; οὖν bps; itaque L.

ἰδόντες] εἰδόντες m.

μὴ] mE; οὐ bpsv.

4 αὐτοῦ] G; om. E.

ἐκέλευσαν] ἐκέλευσε p alone.

5 αὐτῷ] αὐτὸ b.

3. Πέρας γοῦν] 'at last,' 'finally.' So πέρας γοῦν in Clem. Hom. i. 8, iii. 62, xv. 5, xvii. 14, 16, 17, 18, xix. 24; and πέρας γέ τοι in Barnab. *Epist.* 5, 10, 12, 15, 16.

μὴ δυνάμενον] At S. Stefano on the Cœlian, the text Ecclus. li. 4 'In medio ignis non sum aestuatus' is written under Polycarp. See Ussher's note.

5. κομφέκτορα] Sueton. *Octav.* 43 'Confectores ferarum, et nonnunquam ex nobilissima juventute, produxit,' *Nero* 12 'Confectores quoque ferarum et varia arenæ ministeria,' Quintil. *Decl.* ix. 7 'Exspectabam cruentum illum confectorem,' *Act. S. Meletii* 39 (quoted by Gersdorf in Heinichen Euseb. *H. E.* i. p. xxxix) τελεσάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν εὐχὴν προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ὁ κομφέκτωρ. It was the business of these 'confectores', as their name implies, to give the 'happy despatch' to wild beasts which had been hunted in the arena, and sometimes to human beings also, as here and in *Act. Perp. et Felic.* 21 'Perpetua...errantem dexteram tirunculi gladiatoris ipsa in jugulum suum posuit,' *Act. Prob. Tarach.* etc. 10 ἐκέλευσεν μαχαιοφόρους (l. μαχαιοφόρους) τῶν λουδαρίων εἰσελθεῖν καὶ ἀποσφάττειν αὐτούς. In the present instance the *venationes* had only just ceased, and therefore a 'confecter' was at hand. Otherwise he was not a functionary connected with the death by fire. The 'confecter' has been wrongly confused with the 'bestiarius.' The work of the

'confecter' began where that of the 'bestiarius' ceased.

παραβῦσαι ξιφίδιον] The incident doubtless presents itself to the mind of the writers as a parallel to John xix. 34 εἰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγχῃ αὐτοῦ τὴν πλευρὰν ἔνυξεν καὶ ἐξῆλθεν εὐθὺς αἷμα καὶ ὕδωρ. In both cases the act of piercing with the spear or sword was an exceptional act, which could not have been foreseen from the mode of execution.

6. περιστερά] Whether this word formed part of the original text or not, it must be explained by the belief that the human soul departed from the body at death in the form of a bird. In the case of a pure Christian soul, this bird would be a dove. So we are told of the martyrdom of Eulalia, Prudent. *Peristeph. Hymn.* iii. 33 sq,

Emicat inde columba repens,
Martyris os nive candidior
Visa relinquere, et astra sequi;
Spiritus hic erat Eulaliae,
Lacteolus, celer, innocuus...
Vidit et ipse satelles avem
Feminae ob ore meare palam,

which is an exact parallel to the incident before us. Again we read in the Latin Martyrologies (see Bedae *Op.* v. p. 1087, ed. Migne) under Nov. 1, concerning S. Benignus of Dijon, a reputed disciple of Polycarp, that at his martyrdom 'columba nivea de carcere Christianis aspicientibus ad caelos ascendit, et odor suavissimus quasi paradisi secutus est'. On

αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς δαπανηθῆναι, ἐκέλευσαν
 5 προσελθόντα αὐτῷ κομφέκτορα παραβῦσαι ξιφίδιον.
 καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος, ἐξῆλθε [περιστερὰ καὶ] πλήθος

κομφέκτορα] κομφαλκτορα v; κονφέκτορα m. παραβῦσαι] παραβῦσαι (sic) s.
 ξιφίδιον] G (ξίφη· διὸν b); *gladiunculum* L; τὸ ξίφος E. 6 ποιήσαντος]
 ποιήσαντες p alone. περιστερὰ καὶ] G (comp. L); om. E.

the other hand in reference to the soul of a rapacious and unscrupulous impostor, Lucian (*de Morte Peregr.* 39), ridiculing this belief, invents the fiction how, when Peregrinus threw himself on the pyre and was burnt to death, a vulture rose out of the flames (see above, i. p. 140). It was perhaps to humour this superstition, or to emphasize the symbolism which it involved (*Artemid. Oneir.* ii. 20 ἔθος γάρ τι παλαιὸν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τοὺς γε τοιούτους πλάσσειν τε καὶ γράφειν ἐπ' αἰσῶν ὀχουμένους, speaking of kings and great men), that from the funeral pyre of the Roman emperors an eagle was let fly as a token of their deification, Herodian iv. 2 αἰτὸς ἀφίεται σὺν τῷ πυρὶ ἀνελευσόμενος εἰς τὸν αἰθέρα, ὃς φέρειν ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν πιστεύεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. This passage has reference more especially to the funeral of Severus. We have accounts also of the same ceremonial at the exequies of Augustus (Dion Cass. lvi. 42) and of Pertinax (Dion Cass. lxxiv. 4); comp. Justin *Apol.* i. 21 (p. 67).

Of all birds the dove most readily suggested itself as the emblem of a Christian soul. The image of the Psalmist (lv. 6), 'O that I had wings like a dove, etc.', had led the way. The proverbial innocence of this bird likewise recommended it (Matt. x. 16; comp. Tertull. *Scorp.* 15 'simplices animae et solummodo columbae'). It was a common belief also that there was no gall in the dove

(*Horapollo* i. 57), though this view was not taken by more learned naturalists (Aristot. *Hist. An.* ii. 15, p. 506, Plin. *N. H.* xi. 37, 74); and this point was seized upon by Christian writers (Tertull. *de Baptism.* 8 'quod etiam corporaliter ipso felle careat columba'; comp. Cyprian *de Unit. Eccl.* 9). Hence in the catacombs we find pictures of doves with the legends 'Anima innocens', 'Anima simplex', etc., and the designation 'Palumbulus sine felle' is there given to the souls of little children. For these and similar representations in the catacombs, see Kraus *Roma Sotterranea* p. 237 sq. The caged bird represents the soul imprisoned in the body; while the bird set free suggests the soul soaring heavenward. For the symbolism of the dove generally see Pitra *Spicil. Solesm.* II. p. 484 sq, Martigny *Dict. Antiq. Chrét.* p. 162 sq (s. v. 'Colombe'). It is not confined to Christian writers. Rabbinical commentators on Cant. i. 15, iv. 1, v. 2, 12, vi. 9, so interpreted the dove; see Leyrer in Herzog *Real-Encycl.* s. v. 'Tauben in Palestina', Bochart *Hieroz.* II. pp. 11, 17. In the spurious *Life of Polycarp*, ascribed to Pionius, it is related (§ 21) that at the time of his consecration one of the brethren εἶδεν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Πολυκάρπου περιστερὰν λευκὴν περὶ ἣν κύκλος ἦν φωτός.

But did this mention of the dove form part of the original text or not? Eusebius says nothing of it, but writes ἐξῆλθε πλήθος αἵματος. The

αἵματος, ὥστε κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ καὶ θαυμάσαι πάντα τὸν ὄχλον, εἰ τοσαύτη τις διαφορά μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἀπίστων καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν· ὧν εἷς καὶ οὗτος γεγόνει ὁ θαυμασιώτατος [Πολύκαρπος], ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γενόμενος, 5 ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Ἐμύρῃ ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας· πᾶν γὰρ

1 πάντα] om. m alone. 2 εἰ κ.τ.λ....] For these words to the end of the chapter v substitutes, τῆς τοσαύτης διαφορᾶς τῶν τε πιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπίστων· καὶ οὕτως ἐτελειώθη ὁ ἅγιος ἱεράρχης καὶ ἐνδοξος μάρτυς τοῦ χριστοῦ πολύκαρπος τῇ ἐκὰδι τρίτῃ τοῦ φεβρουαρίου μηνός. εἰ] els s alone. τοσαύτη τις διαφορά] τὸ σαύτη τῆς διαφορά b. τις] om. s alone. τε] m[v]E; om. bps. 3 ἐκλεκτῶν] txt mbE; add. εἴη ps. ὧν] ὃν s. οὗτος] οὕτως (sic) b. γεγόνει] γεγόνι b; ἐγεγόνει p; γεγόνειν s; γέγονεν E; om. m. 4 θαυμασιώτατος] E; μακάριος καὶ θαυμασιώτατος m; θαυμασιώτατος μάρτυς b; θαυμάσιος μάρτυς ps. Πο-

words *περιστερὰ* καὶ are wanting not only in all the extant Greek MSS, in the Latin of Rufinus, and in the Syriac Version, but also in writers like Nicephorus who borrowed from Eusebius. On the other hand they were certainly found in the archetypal MS which was the progenitor of all other existing MSS (both Greek and Latin) of the Letter itself; for the absence of the words in two Latin MSS means nothing, since these merely translate from Rufinus in this part (see above, III. p. 360). Our choice therefore lies between the authority of Eusebius and the authority of the extant form of the Acts of Martyrdom. In favour of the omission it may be urged: (1) As a question of internal evidence; that the dove seems out of place. The blood does its work by extinguishing the fire; but nothing more is heard of the dove. Unlike the doves of Eulalia and Benignus, it does not fly up heavenward, as we should expect; (2) As a question of external evidence; that Eusebius is in all probability an older authority than the extant form of the *Acts* themselves;

that as he in this part generally gives the words of the document *verbatim*, he may be assumed to have done so here; that there is no reason to suppose the dove would have been an offence to him, since elsewhere (*H.E.* vi. 29) he relates a somewhat similar portent, when Fabianus was designated Bishop of Rome, *ἐκ μετεώρου περιστερὰν καταπτᾶσαν ἐπικαθεσθῆναι τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ...μίμημα ἐνδεικνυμένην τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήρα τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς καθόδου*; and lastly that the insertion may be explained by the superstition of a later age, as shown in the Acts of Eulalia and of Benignus. On the other hand, in favour of its retention it may be maintained that the text of the Acts is generally a safer guide than Eusebius, who does not profess to give the document word for word, who omits clauses and expressions here and there, and whose taste might have been offended by this bald materialism, just as he omits the image of the ἄρτος ὀπτώμενος in § 15. On the whole the arguments against its genuineness seem to predominate.

But if it be not genuine, the alter-

ῥῆμα, ὃ ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, ἐτελειώθη καὶ τελειωθήσεται.

XVII. Ὁ δὲ ἀντίζηλος καὶ βάσκανος καὶ πονηρός, ἰὸ ὁ ἀντικείμενος τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων, ἰδὼν τό τε μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀνεπίληπτον

λύκαρπος] G; om. E. 5 γενόμενος] γεννόμενος s. 6 ἐπίσκοπος] txt msE; add. τε bp. ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας] m[L]; καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας bsE; ἐκκλησίας τῆς καθολικῆς p. 7 ἀφῆκεν] mE; ἐξαφῆκεν bps. ἐκ τοῦ στόματος] διὰ στόματος s. ἐτελειώθη] mE; om. ps; καὶ ἐτελειώθη b with some MSS of E. 9 ἀντίζηλος] bvsE; ἀντίδικος p; ἀντικείμενος m. καὶ πονηρός] πονηρός (om. καὶ) b appy. 10 ὁ] bpsE; δαίμων ὁ πάντοτε v; ὁ καὶ m. ἀντικείμενος] add. καὶ βδελυττός v alone. τε] G; om. E. 11 ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν] sE; ἀνεπίληπτων (sic) πολιτείαν b; ἀνεπίληπτον αὐτοῦ πολιτείαν p; πολιτείαν ἀνεπίληπτον m; καθαράν καὶ ἀνεπίληπτον πολιτείαν v; *irreprehensibilem omnem vitam* L.

native remains, that the words *περιστέρα καὶ* were not a deliberate insertion but an unintentional corruption. On this hypothesis various conjectures have been offered; ἐξῆλθεν *περὶ στερνὰ πλῆθος* Ruchat, ἐξῆλθ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ πλῆθος Le Moyne, and such like. The only emendation however deserving consideration is Wordsworth's ἐξῆλθε *περὶ στύρακα πλῆθος* 'about the sword-haft' (*Hippolytus* p. 318, ed. 2), which is excellent of its kind and has been adopted by Lagarde (*Rel. Jur. Eccl. Gr.* p. 84), by Zahn, and by Funk. In this case the words *περὶ στύρακα* may have become blurred in a very early copy; and this illegibility would explain both the omission by Eusebius and the substitution of *περιστέρα καὶ* in the extant form of the Acts. This solution however is open to the serious objection that *στύραξ* elsewhere seems always to mean the spike of a spear and never the haft of a sword or dagger. Reasons are given in the chapter on this Letter in the general introduction (see above, I. pp. 606 sq, 643 sq) for suspecting that the words *περιστέρα καὶ* were de-

liberately added by the spurious Pionius whose name occurs below, § 22.

1. ὥστε κατασβέσαι] Cyprian *Ep.* x (p. 491 Hartel) 'Fluebat sanguis qui incendium persecutionis extingueret, qui flammās et ignes gehennae glorioso cruore sopiret,' quoted by Jacobson.

6. ἀγίας] If the reading *καθολικῆς* be adopted, we have here the earliest example of this technical sense of the 'Catholic' Church, as opposed to heretical and schismatical bodies; see the note on Ign. *Smyrn.* 8, and the remarks I. p. 414 sq. As a question of external authority, it would be difficult to decide between the two readings; but, as there would be a tendency to substitute *καθολικῆς*, I have without hesitation given the preference to *ἀγίας*; see above, I. p. 621 sq.

9. ἀντίζηλος] A LXX word (Lev. xviii. 18, Ecclus. xxvi. 7, xxxvii. 11), but there always applied to a woman, and so also *Test. Duod. Patr.* Jos. 7.

10. ὁ ἀντικείμενος κ.τ.λ.] For ὁ ἀντικείμενος see the note on Clem. Rom. 51; for τῷ γένει τῶν δικαίων see above, § 14.

πολιτείαν, ἐστεφανωμένον τε τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον καὶ βραβεῖον ἀναντίρρητον ἀπεινηγεμένον, ἐπετήδευσεν ὡς μηδὲ τὸ σωματίον αὐτοῦ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ληφθῆναι, καίπερ πολλῶν ἐπιθυμούντων τοῦτο ποιῆσαι καὶ κοινωνῆσαι τῷ ἀγίῳ αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ. ὑπέβαλεν γοῦν 5 Νικήτην τὸν τοῦ Ἡρώδου πατέρα, ἀδελφὸν δὲ Ἀλκης, ἐντυχεῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι ὥστε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα,

1 ἐστεφανωμένον τε] pvsE; ἐστεφανωμένον b; ἐστεφανωμένον δὲ m. τῆς ἀφθαρσίας] add. καὶ δικαιοσύνης v alone. 2 ἀναντίρρητον] ἀναντίρρητον b; ἀναντήρητον v; ἀναντήριτον (sic) s. 3 ὡς μηδὲ] bvsE; ὥστε μηδὲ m; ὡς καὶ p (inserting μὴ before ὑφ' ἡμῶν). σωματίον αὐτοῦ] mE; *corpus eius* L; λείψανον αὐτοῦ bps; τίμιον αὐτοῦ λείψανον v. ληφθῆναι] mbv; ληφθῆναι E; λειφθῆναι ps. 4 ἐπιθυμούντων] ἐνθυμούντων v alone. 5 αὐτοῦ σαρκίῳ] σαρκίῳ αὐτοῦ p alone. ὑπέβαλεν γοῦν] b; ὑπέβαλον γοῦν τινες E; ὑπέβαλεν γὰρ p; ὑπέβαλον γοῦν ὡς πονηρὸς s; *sumptisist namque* L; ὑπέλαβεν (so Gebhardt, but ? ὑπέβαλεν) m; ὅθεν ὑπέβαλεν ὡς δεινὸς καὶ μισάγιος ὁ πονηρὸς v. 6 Νικήτην] Νικήταν p alone. Ἀλκης] bvs; ἀλκῆς p; ἄλκης s; *alces* L; ἔλκεις m; δᾶλκης E (MSS, with some vv. ll.). 7 ἐντυχεῖν] εὐτυχεῖν b. ἄρχοντι] bpsv; *rectorem* L; ἡγεμόνι E; ἀνθυπάτῳ m. αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῖς p alone. σῶμα]

2. βραβεῖον] See the note on Clem. Rom. 5. For ἀποφέρεισθαι βραβεῖον, comp. such phrases as ἀποφέρεισθαι νίκην, ἄθλον, πρωτεία, etc.

3. ὡς μηδὲ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* § 62 ὅπως μηδὲ λείψανον αὐτῶν φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔτι. The reason however which is there given for the wish of the persecutors to obliterate the reliques is not, as here, to prevent the worship of the martyrs, but to crush out all hope of a resurrection. Again the motive of Ignatius in entertaining this wish for himself (*Rom.* 4 μὴ ἐν καταλίπωσι τῶν τοῦ σώματος μου) is quite different from either, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τινι γένωμαι.

σωματίον] With a tinge of commiseration, as in *Ep. Vienn. et Lugd.* (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1) § 23 τὸ δὲ σωματίον... ὄλον τραῦμα καὶ μῶλωψ: comp. §§ 24, 52 (v. 1.); and see especially the index to Epictetus, and Mayor's

note on *Ψιν.* x. 173.

5. κοινωνῆσαι] i.e. by gathering together about his grave for the purpose of common worship.

σαρκίῳ] The diminutive is used in pity or tenderness, like σωματίον just above. These diminutives were especially favourites of the Stoics, who employed them to express their philosophical contempt of the body, *M. Anton.* ii. 2 ὁ τίποτε τοῦτο εἰμι, σαρκία ἐστὶ καὶ πνευμάτιον... ἀλλ' ὡς ἤδη ἀποθνήσκων τῶν σαρκίων... καταφρόνησον. Thus also Epictetus uses the double diminutive, i. 3. 5 sq τί γὰρ εἰμί; ταλαίπωρον ἀνθρωπάριον' καὶ τὰ δύστηνά μου σαρκίδια κ.τ.λ., and elsewhere. So too the Latin 'caruncula,' e.g. in *Arnob. adv. Nat.* ii. 76 'nobis.... in carunculae hujus folliculo constitutis'.

6. Ἀλκης] A Christian of Smyrna; for she is doubtless to be identified with the Alce mentioned *Ign. Smyrn.*

μή, φησίν, ἀφέντες τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, τοῦτον ἄρξων-
 ται σέβεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα [εἶπον] ὑποβαλλόντων καὶ
 10 ἐνισχυόντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οἳ καὶ ἐτήρησαν, μελλόντων
 ἡμῶν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι
 οὔτε τὸν Χριστὸν ποτε καταλιπεῖν δυνησόμεθα, τὸν
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τῶν σωζομένων σωτηρίας
 παθόντα, ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν, οὔτε ἕτερόν τινα

add. ταφῇ b alone.

8 μή] μήποτε v alone.

ἄρξονται] ἄρξονται

bpvs.

9 καὶ pri.] om. m alone.

εἶπον] E; εἰπὼν pv; εἰπὼν bs; om. m

[L.] ὑποβαλλόντων] G; ὑποβαλόντων E.

10 ἐνισχυόντων] G; ἐνισχυσάντων

E. τῶν] pvs; om. mb. In E the MSS vary.

ἐτήρησαν] ἐτήρισαν s;

ἐτήρουν v.

μελλόντων ἡμῶν] here, mbvs (μελόντων ἡμῶν s) E; before λαμβά-

νειν, p. 11 αὐτὸν] pE; αὐτὸ ms; τοῦτο v; om. b.

λαμβάνειν] In v the

remainder of the chapter is omitted.

12 οὔτε] om. m.

ποτε καταλιπεῖν]

mE; ποτε καταλιπεῖν (sic) b; καταλιπεῖν πώποτε ps.

δυνησόμεθα] δυνησώ-

μαιθα (sic) s. 13 παντὸς] om. m alone.

τῶν σωζομένων] bpsE; om. m. 14

παθόντα] ἀποθανόντα m alone.

ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν] G; om. E. In L the

whole sentence runs *qui pro peccatis nostris pati tanta dignatus est.*

ἁμαρτωλῶν]

ἁμαρτωλῶν s.

13, *Polyc.* 8. See the note on the former passage, and also I. p. 366 sq.

8. ἄρξονται σέβεσθαι] See Lactant. *Inst. Div.* v. 11 'Nemo hujus tantae belluae immanitatem pro merito describere...non tantum artus hominum dissipat, sed et ossa ipsa comminuit et in cineres furit, ne quis extet sepulturae locus, quasi vero id affectent qui Deum confitentur, ut ad eorum sepulcra veniatur, ac non ut ipsi ad Deum perveniant.' See also Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 6, where he relates that the bones of the Nicomedian martyrs were dug up and thrown into the sea, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐν μνήμασιν ἀποκειμένους προσκυνοῖεν τινες, θεοὺς δὴ αὐτοὺς, ὡς γε ᾤοντο, λογιζόμενοι: *Act. Fruct. Augur.* etc. 2 (p. 265 Ruinart) 'Aemilianus praeses Eulogio diacono dixit, Numquid et ne Fructuosum colis? Eulogius dixit, Ego Fructuosum non colo; sed ipsum colo, quem et Fructuosus,' on which saying Augustine, *Serm.* cclxxiii. 2 (*Op.*

v. 1106), comments in the same spirit as our martyrologists here. See also August. *c. Faust.* xx. 21 (*Op.* viii. 347) 'Populus autem Christianus memorias martyrum religiosa sollemnitate concelebrat...ita tamen ut nulli martyrum, sed ipsi Deo martyrum, quamvis in memoriis martyrum, constituamus altaria'; comp. *de Civ. Dei* viii. 26, 27, xxii. 10 (*Op.* vii. 215 sq, 673 sq), where this father is especially careful to contrast the honour paid to the martyrs by the Christians with the worship offered to dead men by the pagans.

9. εἶπον] i.e. 'Nicetes and those who acted with him,' if the reading be correct; but a probable inference from the authorities is that εἶπον should be omitted, in which case καὶ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ. will mean 'this too at the instigation of the Jews', with a reference to the active part they had taken at a previous stage of the martyrdom, §§ 12, 13.

σέβεσθαι. τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Θεοῦ προσκυνουῦμεν, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας ὡς μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως ἕνεκεν εὐνοίας ἀνυπερβλήτου τῆς εἰς τὸν ἴδιον βασιλέα καὶ διδάσκαλον· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνοὺς τε καὶ συμμαθητὰς γενέσθαι. 5

XVIII. Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ κεντυρίων τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων γενομένην φιλονεικίαν, θείς αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, ἔκαυσεν. οὕτως τε ἡμεῖς ὕστερον ἀνελόμενοι τὰ τιμιώτερα λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ δοκιμώτερα ὑπὲρ χρυσίον ὅσα αὐτοῦ, ἀπεθέμεθα ὅπου καὶ ἀκόλουθον 10

1 σέβεσθαι] G; σέβειν E. 2 μαθητὰς καὶ μιμητὰς] μιμητὰς καὶ μαθητὰς s. τοῦ Κυρίου] bpsE; αὐτοῦ m (comp. L). 3 ἕνεκεν] m; ἕνεκα bps. The MSS of E vary. εὐνοίας] ἐννοίας s alone. 4 ὧν] bpsE; ἰρσorium L; ᾧ m. 5 συγκοινωνοὺς] pE; κοινωνοὺς mbs. συμμαθητὰς] GL; μαθητὰς E. 6 οὖν] om. v. κεντυρίων] mvs (κεντυρίων s); comp. Chron-Pasch. p. 481; ἐκαποντάρχης E; ἐκαπόνταρχος κεντυρίων bp. τὴν] mvsE (comp. Chron-Pasch.); om. b. Ἰουδαίων γενομένην] bps; *judaeorum* L; λεγομένων Ιουδαίων m v(?) (comp. Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9). 7 φιλονεικίαν] φιλονικίαν s. αὐτὸν] mbpsE (comp. Chron-Pasch.); *corpus* L; τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος v. ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς] msE; τοῦ πυρὸς bp v(?); om. [L] (comp. Chron-Pasch.). 8 ἔκαυσεν. οὕτως τε] mbs (οὕτω for οὕτως bs) pE; κατέκαυσεν αὐτὸ τότε v. ἀνελόμενοι] ἀνελώμενοι s. 9 δοκιμώτερα] δοκιμωτέρων p; δοκιμώτερα bv; δοκιμώτερον s. 10 χρυσίον] χρυσίων b. ἀπεθέμεθα] ἀποθέμεθα b. Add. eis ὃν εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς τόπον v alone. καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν]

9. τιμιώτερα...ὑπὲρ] For this construction see Winer *Gramm.* xxxv. p. 301.

10. ἀπεθέμεθα] The grave of Polycarp is mentioned as being at Smyrna by one who lived in a neighbouring city and had already grown up to manhood when the martyrdom took place, Polycrates of Ephesus writing soon after A.D. 190, Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Πολύκαρπος ἐν Σμύρνῃ [κεκοίμηται] καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς. For these *martyria* or *memoriae* of the martyrs, see Bingham *Christ. Ant.* viii. 1, 9, xx. 7. 3.

ἀκόλουθον ἦν] 'it was consequent,' and so 'conformable,' 'convenient.' The place is not mentioned, lest it should be divulged to their enemies.

13. γυνέθλιον] For the commemoration of these 'birth-days' of the saints and martyrs, on which they were born into a higher life, see Bingham *Christ. Antiq.* xiii. 9, 5, xx. 7. 2. Comp. Tertull. *de Coron.* 3 'Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis annua die facimus,' and see Ducange *Gloss.* s. v. 'Natalis.' For the idea comp. Ign. *Rom.* 6 ὁ τοκετός μοι ἐπικείται...μὴ ἐμποδισθῇ μοι ἡσῆα (with the note), Tertull. *Scorp.* 15 'Tunc Paulus civitatis Romanae consequitur nativitatem, cum illic martyrii renascitur generositate.'

17. σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφίας] For the connexion between Philadelphia and Smyrna see above II. p. 240 sq. This notice has given rise

ἦν. ἔνθα ὡς δυνατὸν ἡμῖν συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ χαρᾷ παρέξει ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου αὐτοῦ ἡμέραν γενέθλιον, εἰς τε τὴν τῶν προηθληκῶτων μνήμην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἄσκησιν τε
15 καὶ ἑτοιμασίαν.

XIX. Τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, ὃς σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ Φιλαδεφίας δωδέκατος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μαρτυρήσας μόνος ὑπὸ πάντων [μᾶλλον] μνημονεύεται, ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ λαλεῖσθαι, οὐ
20 μόνον διδάσκαλος γενόμενος ἐπίσημος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάρτυς ἑξοχος, οὗ τὸ μαρτύριον πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦσιν μιμεῖσθαι,

prvsE; καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν ἦν b; ἀκολουθῶς m. 11 ἔνθα] om. m alone. συναγομένοις ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ] συναγαλλόμενοις (sic) καὶ συναγομένοις ἐν s alone. 13 μαρτυρίου] μάρτυρος m alone. ἡμέραν γενέθλιον] mbsE; ἡμέραν γενέσθαι p; γενέθλιον ἡμέραν v. τὴν] bvs; om. mp. The mss of E vary. τῶν προηθληκῶτων] mpE; τῶν ἠθληκῶτων (sic) b; αὐτοῦ vs. 14 μνήμην] ἡμῶν p. ἄσκησιν] ἄσκησιν s. 17 ὃς] here, G; before μόνος, E. δωδέκατος...μαρτυρήσας] G; δώδεκα τοῦ...μαρτυρήσαντος E (the mss). 18 μᾶλλον] E (comp. L *culturae meruit principatum*); om. G. 19 ὥστε] G; ὡς E. λαλεῖσθαι] The quotation of E ends here. 20 μόνον] μόνος b alone. Add. γὰρ v alone. διδάσκαλος] mbvs; add. ἐθνῶν p (comp. L *magister adhuc vocatur a populo*). ἐπίσημος] ἐπίσημος s. 21 ἑξοχος] bpm; ἑξοχῶτατος s; τίμιος καὶ ἑξοχῶτατος v. μιμεῖσθαι] μιμήσασθαι m alone.

to the false reading ἐν Φιλαδεφία for ἐν Φιλομηλίῳ in the address of the letter (see above, p. 363); but, if the letter had been addressed to the Philadelphians the mention of their own martyrs would certainly not have been made in this casual way. For the idiomatic δωδέκατος, 'with eleven others,' see Kühner *Gramm.* § 468, II. p. 562. The most natural interpretation here is that all the eleven were Philadelphians (as taken above, II. p. 243); but σὺν τοῖς κ.τ.λ. may perhaps mean 'with eleven others including those from Philadelphia.' Of these eleven others one only, Germanicus, is mentioned in this letter by name (see above,

§ 3). It is not impossible however, that we have the names of others in the list in the ancient Syrian Martyrology (published by Wright) under Feb. 23, 'In Asia of the number of the ancient confessors Polycarp the bishop, Arutus (?), Cosconius, Melanippus, and Zeno'; comp. also *Martyrol. Hieron.* vii. Kal. Mart. (*Op.* XI. ii. p. 555), where the same names and others are given as martyred either 'Smyrnae' or 'in Asia,' with the usual confusion of this Latin Martyrology.

18. μόνος κ.τ.λ.] 'is singled out by all rather (than the others) to be remembered.'

κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον Χριστοῦ γενόμενον. διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καταγωνισάμενος τὸν ἄδικον ἄρχοντα καὶ οὕτως τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανον ἀπολαβών, σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ πᾶσιν δικαίοις ἀγαλλιώμενος δοξάζει τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα παντοκράτορα καὶ εὐλογεῖ [τὸν] ⁵ Κύριον [ἡμῶν] Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν σωτῆρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ κυβερνήτην τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν καὶ ποιμένα τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.

XX. Ὑμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἡξιώσατε διὰ πλειόνων δηλωθῆναι ὑμῖν τὰ γενόμενα· ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὡς ἐν ¹⁰

1 διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς] txt pv; add. γὰρ msb; καὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ ὑπομονῆς s.
2 καταγωνισάμενος] καταγωνισάμενος s. ἄδικον ἄρχοντα] ἄρχοντα ἄδικον s. 4 ἀποστόλοις] txt m^bpsL; add. καὶ μάρτυσι v. πᾶσιν] bv; πᾶσι m^bps. ἀγαλλιώμενος] ἀγαλλιώμενος b. 5 τὸν Θεὸν καὶ] θεὸν m alone. παντοκράτορα] mL; om. b^{pvs} by homœoteleuton. τὸν] m(?) b^{vs}; om. p. 6 ἡμῶν] b^{pvs}L; om. m. Ἰησοῦν...ψυχῶν ἡμῶν] om. b by homœoteleuton. σωτῆρα] præf. κηδέμονα καὶ v alone. 7 ἡμῶν pri.] p^{vs} (comp. L); om. m; def. b (but the omission by homœoteleuton shows that the scribe had it in his copy). κυβερνήτην] κυβερνήτην s. 8 τὴν] om. m alone. καθολικῆς] b^{pvs}L; ἁγίας m. ἐκκλησίας] m^bps; add. *et spiritum sanctum per quem cuncta cognoscimus* L; add. καὶ τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν πνεῦμα, ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες τὸν μὲν χριστὸν προσκυνοῦμεν ὡς υἱὸν ἀληθινὸν ὄντα τοῦ θεοῦ, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυρας, ὡς μιμητὰς καὶ μαθητὰς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγαπῶμεν ἀξίως· ὧν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς πάντας συνκοινωνοὺς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν σὺν χριστῷ ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν

3. ἀπολαβών] 'receiving as his due'; see the note on Gal. iv. 5, and comp. [Clem. Rom.] ii. 8.

II. διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ] For the possible meanings of the preposition see the note on Ign. Rom. 10. It cannot here denote the scribe, for his name Euarestus is given below; nor can it very well denote the bearer, for the word *μεμηνύκαμεν* seems to exclude this. It must therefore designate the composer of the letter, as in Dionys. Cor. quoted by Euseb. H. E. iv. 23 τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφείσαν.

Μαρκιανοῦ] This is probably the correct reading. The change into

Μαρκίανος in one MS is explained by the fact that Marcion's name appears in the context of that same MS. The alteration into the more familiar name Μάρκου in other authorities is natural enough. On the variations here, and on similar confusions elsewhere, see Gebhardt in the *Zeitsch. f. Hist. Theol.* 1875, p. 370 sq; who however adopts the reading Μαρκίανος. A Marcianus is mentioned by Eusebius H. E. v. 26 as a person to whom Irenæus dedicated one of his treatises; and this is not improbably the same man. The name however is not uncommon at this time. A contemporary of our

κεφαλαίῳ μεμηνύκαμεν διὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν Μαρκιανοῦ. μαθόντες οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ἐπέκεινα ἀδελφοῖς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν διαπέμψασθε, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δοξάσωσι τὸν Κύριον τὸν ἐκλογὰς ποιούμενον τῶν ἰδίων δούλων.

15 Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ πάντας ἡμᾶς εἰσαγαγεῖν [ἐν] τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι καὶ δωρεᾷ εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν, διὰ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δόξα, τιμή, κράτος, μεγαλωσύνη, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. προσ-
 αγορεύετε πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους. ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν
 20 προσαγορεύουσιν καὶ Εὐάρεστος ὁ γράψας πανοικεί.

αἰώνων. ἀμήν v (and so this MS ends).

9 πλειόνων] πλειῶνων s.

10 γενόμενα]

mbs; γινόμενα p.

ὡς ἐν] m;

ἐπὶ bps (ἐπικεφαλαίω s); al. L.

11 μεμηνύκαμεν]

μὲν ἠρόλαμεν s.

Μαρκιανοῦ] *marcianum* L; μαρκίωνος m; μάρκου

bps.

13 διαπέμψασθε] διαπέμψασθαι s; διὰ πέμψασθαι b.

δοξάσωσι] mps;

δοξάζωσιν b.

14 ποιούμενον] m; ποιούντα ἀπὸ bps.

L has *donorum electione*

servorum.

15 Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ] mbr (om. δὲ bp); τὸν δὲ δυνάμενον s.

ἐν]

bps; om. m.

16 ἐπουράνιον] m; αἰώνιον bps.

17 παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ

μονογενοῦς] b; τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς ps; τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ παιδὸς

m. 18 δόξα] m; præf. ᾧ ἡ bp; ᾧ ἡ s.

τοὺς] ms;

om. bp.

αἰῶνας]

m; add. ἀμήν bpsL.

προσαγορεύετε] προσαγορεύεται bs.

19 ὑμᾶς] bp;

om. s; καὶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς m; omnes L.

ἡμῖν] txt bVL; add. ἀδελφοὶ m.

20

Εὐάρεστος] αὐτὸς εὐάρεστος m alone.

γράφας] txt bpsL; add. τὴν ἐπιστολὴν m

(comp. Rom. xvi. 22).

πανοικε] here, bps (πανοικί s) L; after

εὐάρεστος, m.

Marcianus, a lawyer, is mentioned by Fronto *Epist.* p. 43 (ed. Naber).

12. τοῖς ἐπέκεινα] 'who are farther away'; comp. Ign. *Ephes.* 9 παροδύσαντάς τινες ἐκείθεν.

15. Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ κ.τ.λ.] Comp. Rom. xvi. 25, Eph. iii. 20, Jude 24. On account of the parallel passages in S. Paul, Zahn would connect διὰ παιδὸς κ.τ.λ. with what follows: but the order rather suggests their connexion with the preceding words.

20. Εὐάρεστος] The name occurs three times in Smyrnæan inscriptions (Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3148, 3152, 3162), and not elsewhere in the collection, except in two Pisi-

dian inscriptions (4380 m, n). See also *Mittheilungen d. Deutsch. Archäol. Instit. in Athen* VIII (1883), p. 325 sq. It is found also on coins of Miletus, Pergamum, and Tralles. It appears likewise in a notice of Aristides (*Op.* i. p. 508, ed. Dindorf), relating to these same regions and this same time, though the person in question is described as a Cretan. The early bishop of Rome bearing this name is said to have been a Palestinian Jew, but the tradition has no value.

ὁ γράψας] As in Rom. xvi. 22, where in like manner the scribe sends a greeting.

XXI. *Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μηνὸς
 Ξανθικοῦ δευτέρᾳ ἱσταμένου, πρὸ ἑπτὰ καλανδῶν Μαρ-
 τίων, σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ, ὥρᾳ ὀγδόῃ· συνελήφθη ὑπὸ
 Ἑρώδου ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου Τραλλιανοῦ, ἀνθυπα-
 τεύοντος Στατίου Κοδράτου, βασιλεύοντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς 5
 αἰῶνας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ ἡ δόξα, τιμή, μεγαλωσύνη,
 θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν. ἀμήν.*

XXII. 1. [*Ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα, ἀδελφοί, στοι-
 χούντας τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λόγῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·
 μεθ' οὗ δόξα τῷ Θεῷ ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκλεκ- 10
 τῶν· καθὼς ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, οὗ
 γένοιτο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἔχνη
 εὐρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς.*]

1 *Μαρτυρεῖ*] bps; *ἐμαρτύρησεν* m. δέ] mbp; add. *καὶ* s. μηνός]
μηνός m. Præf. *κατὰ μὲν Ἀσιανούς* m alone. 2 *Ξανθικοῦ*] *ἐξανθηκοῦ* b.
ἱσταμένου] bs; *εἰσταμένου* p; om. m. πρὸ] præf. *κατὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίους* m
 alone. *Μαρτίων*] m (and so also in the heading; see p. 363); *μαίων* bpL;
μαίων s; *ἀπριλίων* Chron-Pasch. 3 *ὀγδόῃ*] bpsL (comp. Chron-Pasch.);
ἐνάτῃ m. *συνελήφθη*] txt bsL; add. *δὲ* p; præf. *ἡ* (sic) *καὶ* m. 4 *ἐπὶ*
ἀρχιερέως] bps; *ρονιτίσε* L (but it translates *ἀνθυπατεύοντος* by *proconsule*);
ἀρχιεραρχούντος (sic) *μὲν* m. *Φιλίππου*] add. *τοῦ Ἀσεβοῦς* (sic) m alone.
Τραλλιανοῦ] bp; *στραλιανοῦ* s; *τραϊανοῦ* mL. *ἀνθυπατεύοντος*] m (add. *δὲ* m) bp;
ἀνθυπάτου ὄντος s; dub. L. 5 *Στατίου*] L; *στρατίου* bs; *τατίου* Chron-Pasch.;
 om. m. Both words *στατίου* *κοδράτου* are omitted in p, so that Philippus is made
 proconsul as well as chief priest. *Κοδράτου*] *κοράτου* s; *κοράτο*. . b; for p see

1. *Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ*] On these supplementary paragraphs generally, and more especially on the dates given in the first, see the chapters on the Letter of the Smyrnæans and on the Date of the Martyrdom in the general introduction.

3. *σαββάτῳ μεγάλῳ*] So also in the body of the document, § 8 ὄντος *σαββάτου μεγάλου*.

συνελήφθη] Connected by Zahn with the preceding words. But there would be no special reason for describing the exact hour of his apprehension, as distinct from his

martyrdom; and moreover it is clear from the narrative that he cannot have been apprehended at the eighth hour, whether 8 A.M. according to the Roman reckoning, or 2 P.M. according to the Eastern.

4. *ἀρχιερέως*] In the body of the letter (§ 12) he is styled 'Asiarch'. On the identity of the two offices see the excursus, On the Asiarchate (p. 404 sq).

ἀνθυπατεύοντος] The proconsul is mentioned several times in the body of the document (§§ 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12), but his name is not given there. The year of the proconsulship of

2. Ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάϊος ἐκ τῶν Εἰρη-
15 ναίου μαθητοῦ τοῦ Πολυκάρπου, ὃς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο
τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ.

3. Ἐγὼ δὲ Цωκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐκ τῶν Γαίῳ
ἀντιγράφων ἔγραψα. ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων.

4. Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος ἐκ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου
20 ἔγραψα ἀναζητήσας αὐτά, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν φανερώ-
σαντός μοι τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου, καθὼς δηλώσω
ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, συναγαγὼν αὐτὰ ἥδη σχεδὸν ἐκ τοῦ
χρόνου κεκμηκότα, ἵνα καμὲ συναγάγῃ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς
Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπουράνιον
25 βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα σὺν πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύ-
ματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

the last note. 6 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ] txt bps; praef. τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν m[L]. ᾧ...
ἀμήν] bsL; om. mp. ᾧ] ᾧ s. μεγαλωσύνη] με...λοσυνη b. 8 Ἐρρῶσθαι]
ἐρρωσθε p. The whole of this paragraph ἐρρῶσθαι...εὔρεθῆναι ἡμᾶς is omitted
in mL. εὐχόμεθα] εὐχόμεαι s alone. 9 τῷ] τὸ bps. Χριστοῦ] Ἰω b.
10 δόξα] bs; πᾶσα δόξα p. Θεῷ] txt p; add. καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι bs.
σωτηρίᾳ] bs; σωτηρίῳ p. 11 ἐμαρτύρησεν] ἐμαρτύριον s. μακάριος] bs;
ἅγιος p. οὗ] b; ὁν ps. 14—26 Ταῦτα...ἀμήν bpsL. For these
words m substitutes the more extended paragraphs which are given in brackets
Ταῦτα...ἀμήν. Εἰρηναίου] εἰρηνέου b. 15 τοῦ] add. ἀγίου p alone. 18
ἡ χάρις μετὰ πάντων] bps (but add. ἡμῶν p); om. L. 22 ἥδη] ἰδη s. 23
συναγάγῃ] συναγάγει bs. Κύριος] add. ἡμῶν p. 24 ἐπουράνιον] p (comp.
m); οὐράνιον bs. 25 βασιλείαν] βασιλίαν s. ᾧ] bp; ᾧ s. πατρὶ] bp;
praef. τῷ s. ἀγίῳ] bp; praef. τῷ s.

Status Quadratus is fully discussed in the general introduction. See also above, p. 368 sq.

5. βασιλείοντος δὲ κ.τ.λ.] On the objection that this mode of expression indicates a much later age see the chapter on this Letter in the general introduction (esp. I. p. 635 sq.).

6. ᾧ ἡ δόξα κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Clem. Rom. 65 δι' οὗ αὐτῷ δόξα, τιμὴ, κράτος καὶ μεγαλωσύνη, θρόνος αἰώνιος, ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων κ.τ.λ. See above, I.

p. 626.

9. τῷ...λόγῳ] For this dative of the rule or standard with στοιχεῖν see Rom. iv. 12, Phil. iii. 16, Gal. v. 25, vi. 16 (with the notes).

11. οὗ γένοιτο κ.τ.λ.] Taken from Ign. Ephes. 12 οὗ γένοιτό μοι ὑπὸ τὰ ἔχνη εὔρεθῆναι.

14. Ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.] For a discussion of the questions relating to the three paragraphs, which follow, see the general introduction (I. p. 626 sq.).

[The three preceding paragraphs as read in the Moscow MS.]

2. [Ταῦτα μετεγράψατο μὲν Γάϊος ἐκ τῶν Εἰρηναίου συγγραμμάτων ὃς καὶ συνεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Εἰρηναίῳ, μαθητῇ γεγονότι τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυκάρπου. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Πολυκάρπου γενόμενος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πολλοὺς ἐδίδαξεν· οὗ⁵ καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοῦ συγγράμματα κάλλιστα καὶ ὀρθότατα φέρεται· ἐν οἷς μέμνηται Πολυκάρπου, ὅτι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἔμαθεν· ἱκανῶς τε πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἤλεγξεν, καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα καὶ καθολικόν, ὡς παρέλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ παρέδωκεν. λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι¹⁰ συναντήσαντός ποτε τῷ ἁγίῳ Πολυκάρπῳ Μαρκίωνος, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ λεγόμενοι Μαρκιωνισταί, καὶ εἰπόντος, Ἐπιγίνωσκε ἡμᾶς, Πολύκαρπε, εἶπεν αὐτὸς τῷ Μαρκίῳνι, Ἐπιγινώσκω, ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν πρωτότοκον τοῦ Κατανᾶ. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ φέρεται ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Εἰρηναίου συγγράμ-¹⁵μασιν, ὅτι ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ὥρα ἐν Κυύρῃ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ Πολύκαρπος, ἡκουσεν φωνὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων πόλει

6 ὀρθότατα] ὀρθώτατα m.

11 Μαρκίωνος] μαρκίων m.

13 εἶπεν] εἰπεῖν m.

1. Ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.] Though the Moscow MS generally preserves the older and better readings, the form which these three paragraphs assume in it is evidently due to a later hand. This is clear (besides other indications) from the omission of the words καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, which seemed out of place when this Letter of the Smyrnæans was detached from the Pionian Life of Polycarp in which it had been incorporated; see the general introduction.

5. οὗ] If both οὗ and αὐτοῦ be retained, the former should perhaps be translated 'where' (i.e. in Rome).

A redundant αὐτοῦ however, following upon οὗ, would not be without many parallels; see Winer *Gramm.* § xxii. p. 184 sq.

7. ἐν οἷς κ.τ.λ.] In three writings of Irenæus, extant whole or in part, we have mention of Polycarp; (1) *Haer.* iii. 3. 4; (2) *Epistle to Florinus* quoted in Eus. *H. E.* v. 20; (3) *Epistle to Victor* quoted in Eus. *H. E.* v. 24. In the two former passages he speaks of his own connexion with Polycarp. The story of his encounter with Marcion is in the first passage.

υπάρχων ὁ Εἰρηναῖος, ὡς σάλπιγγος λεγούσης, Πολύ-
καρπος ἐμαρτύρησεν.

20 3. Ἐκ τούτων οὖν, ὡς προλέλεκται, τῶν τοῦ Εἰρη-
ναίου συγγραμμάτων Γάϊος μετεγράψατο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν
Γαΐου ἀντιγράφων Ἰσοκράτης ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

4. Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος ἐκ τῶν Ἰσοκράτους ἀντι-
γράφων ἔγραψα, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυ-
25 κάρπου ζητήσας αὐτά, συναγαγὼν αὐτὰ ἥδη σχεδὸν ἐκ
τοῦ χρόνου κεκμηκότα ἵνα καμὲ συναγάγῃ ὁ Κύριος
Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπου-
ράνιον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν· ᾧ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ
υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.
30 ἀμήν.]

17 πόλει] πόλι m.

19 ἐμαρτύρησεν] ἐμαρτύριῶσεν m.

20 τούτων] τούτου m.

Εἰρηναίου] εἰρηναῖος m.

On the Asiarchate.

As regards the literature of this subject, it will be sufficient to mention here Eckhel *Doctr. Num. Vet.* iv. p. 207 sq; Gothofred *Cod. Theod.* vi. 3, xii. 1. 103, 112, xv. 5. 1, xv. 9. 2, xvi. 10 paratitl.; Krause *Neocoros* p. 71 sq (Lips. 1844); Waddington in Lebas *Voyage Archéologique* Inscr. III. no. 885; Babington *On an unpublished coin of Laodicea bearing the name of an Asiarch* (*Numismatic Society of London*, 1866); Marquardt *De Provinciarum Romanarum Conciliis et Sacerdotibus* in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* I. p. 200 sq (1872), and again *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I. p. 374 sq (1873). Further particulars relating to the literature will be found in Eckhel, Babington, and Marquardt.

Under the Roman Government the principal cities of the several provinces were united together in confederations for certain religious and civil purposes, called *Commune Bithyniae, Ciliciae, Galatiae, Pamphyliæ*, etc. The presiding officers of these unions bore the titles, Bithyniarch, Cilicarch, Galatarch, Pamphyliarch, etc., respectively. In some instances, as for example in Lycia¹, these organizations appear to have existed before the establishment of the Roman supremacy, in which case they were merely adapted by the Romans. Of these confederations the most famous was the *Commune Asiae*, τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, as belonging to the earliest and prerogative province; and accordingly we hear much more of the Asiarchs than of the others. The earliest Asiarch recorded is Pythodorus, the friend of Pompeius (Strabo xiv. 1. 42, p. 649); the latest mention of the office as still existing is in a rescript of Honorius and Theodosius A.D. 409 (*Cod. Theod.* xv. 9. 2, v. p. 438, ed. Gothofred). When we find Justinian speaking of the Phoenicarchs and Syriarchs as obsolete offices (*Novell.* lxxxix. 15), it is a tolerably safe inference that the Asiarchate likewise had been abolished or fallen

¹ This follows from the language of Strabo when describing the *Commune Lyciæ* with the Lyciarch at its head; xiv. 3. 3 (p. 665) καὶ περὶ πολέμου δὲ καὶ εἰρή-

νης καὶ συμμαχίας ἐβουλευόντο πρότερον, νῦν δ' οὐκ εἰκόσ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ταῦτ' ἀνάγκη κεῖσθαι.

into disuse. In the tenth century the character of the office was so little remembered that Constantine Porphyrogenitus identifies the Asiarch with the proconsul (*de Themat.* i. 3 ὁ ταύτης [i.e. Ἀσίας μικρᾶς] κρατῶν ἀνθύπατος Ἀσιάρχης ἐλέγετο, *Patrol. Graec.* cxiii. p. 80, ed. Migne)¹.

It was the object of these confederations, while a certain amount of local self-government was thus given to the provinces, to connect them more closely with the empire. To secure this end more effectually a religious bond was necessary. Hence the establishment of the worship of the emperor, often connected with that of Rome and sometimes with that of the senate. The assumption of the title Augustus was a preliminary step (*Veget.* ii. 5 'imperator cum Augusti nomen accepit, tamquam praesenti et corporali deo fidelis est praestanda devotio'); and the idea was further strengthened by the Greek rendering Σεβαστός (*Dion Cass.* liii. 16 Αὔγουστος, ὡς καὶ πλείον τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὢν, ἐπεκλήθη...ἐξ οὐπερ καὶ Σεβαστόν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντές πως, ὥσπερ τινα σεπτόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ σεβάζεσθαι προσεῖπον). The next stage was the erection of temples (σεβαστεῖα) and the establishment of priesthoods for the maintenance of this worship. A city which established such worship bore the title νεωκόρος or 'temple warden'. Proconsular Asia was one of the earliest provinces to adopt these rites (B.C. 19); and here they flourished with exceptional vigour. In six at least of the cities comprised in the *Commune Asiae* (Smyrna, Ephesus, Pergamum, Sardes, Philadelphia, and Cyzicus) periodic festivals and games were held under the auspices of the confederation, κοινὸν (or κοινὰ) Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἐν Περγάμῳ, κ.τ.λ.; see Marquardt *Ephemeris Epigraphica* i. p. 209, Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* Index p. 43. Each of these had likewise its temple or temples dedicated to the worship of the emperors. The local chief-priest of each city was designated accordingly, ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν [or ναοῦ τοῦ] ἐν Σμύρνῃ, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἐν Κυζίκῳ, etc. (see below, p. 409), or more fully ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας (*C. I. G.* 3858 e). The provincial chief-priest, who had the control of the whole, was styled ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας or ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας. He is also to be identified with the Ἀσιάρχης, as will be shown presently. His chief functions were the general direction of the cultus of the emperor throughout the province and the superintendence and presidency of the festivals and games. Hence Rufinus in the account of Polycarp's

¹ The passage indeed is a tissue of blunders. Constantine speaks of S. Luke as μεμνημένος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ τότε πρωτεύ-

οντος τῶν Ἐφεσίων, Ἀσιάρχην αὐτὸν ἀποκαλῶν. Alexander (*Acts* xix. 33) is quite distinct from the Asiarchs.

martyrdom (*H. E.* iv. 15) translates Ἀσιάρχης by *munerarius*. Hence also the language in *Cod. Theod.* xv. 9. 2 'Asiarchis et ceteris, quorum nomen festivitatis solennitas dedicavit' (A.D. 409). The expenses of these exhibitions fell to a considerable extent upon him, so that only men of substance could properly fulfil the requirements of the office (*Cod. Theod.* vi. 2. 3, xii. 1. 103, xii. 1. 148, xv. 5. 1, xv. 9. 2, with Gothofred's notes). Hence the statement of Strabo (see above p. 383 sq), that the Asiarchs were frequently chosen from the citizens of Tralles on account of their wealth. But besides these more directly religious and ceremonial duties, the confederation superintended the erection of monuments and other public works, the imposition and collection of taxes for the maintenance of the temples, and the like. It was also the medium of communication with the emperor and the senate. As involving the presidency of this confederation, the Asiarchate was an office of great dignity and influence. After the proconsul, the Asiarch was probably the most important person in the province; and his name, like that of the proconsul, was frequently used for marking the epoch on coins and in documents. An account of the steps taken for the purpose of electing an Asiarch by the confederation is given by Aristides (*Or.* i. p. 531 sq)¹. There are grounds for thinking, as I have shown in the first volume (on the Date of the Martyrdom), that this was the very occasion on which Philip the Trallian, who presided at Polycarp's martyrdom, was elected (see especially i. pp. 628 sq, 665 sq).

Without entering more fully into the duties of the Asiarch, I purpose discussing three points, relating to this office, which present some difficulty, while at the same time they affect the notices in early Christian writings.

¹ In the first public assembly at Smyrna in the beginning of the year (ισταμένου τοῦ ξτους καὶ γιγνομένης ἐκκλησίας τῆς πρώτης) the name of Aristides was put forward for the chief-priesthood of Asia (τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὴν κοινὴν τῆς Ἀσίας), though he himself deprecated it. He continues, καὶ συμβαίνει μετὰ τοῦτο συνέδρους μὲν ἐξείναι Σμυρναίων εἰς Φρυγίαν ἄνω καὶ μέλλειν φέρειν τοῦμόν ὄνομα ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῷ κοινῷ.....καὶ γίγνομαι τρίτος ἢ τέταρτος τῇ χειροτονίᾳ. It is inferred by Marquardt (*R. S.* p. 370 sq) and others from these last words, that three or four names were submitted by the confederation to the proconsul, who selected the

Asiarch from among them. But it seems more natural to take them as meaning that his desire had been fulfilled and he had not been elected.

Of the corresponding election of the Lyciarch Strabo (xiv. 3. 3, p. 664 sq) tells us that the representatives of the cities which have votes meet together in general session (εἰς κοινὸν συνέδριον) at a city which they have selected and approved (τὴν ἂν δοκιμάσωσι πόλιν ἐλόμενοι); that some cities have three votes, some two, some one; and that in the session (ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ) the Lyciarch is first chosen, then the other officers (ἄρχαι) of the union (τοῦ συστήματος).

1. *Identity of the Asiarch and High-priest.*

The identity of the two has been disputed by Waddington (*Lebas Voyage Archéologique*, Inscr. III. 885), by Babington (*On an unpublished coin of Laodicea* p. 12 sq), and by Perrot (*De Galatia Provincia* p. 150 sq)¹: but Eckhel (*Doctr. Num. Vet.* iv. p. 208 sq) can hardly be claimed on this side, since he says explicitly (p. 209) 'Verisimile est, cum quis generatim dicitur ἀρχιεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας...tum intelligendum Asiarcham' (see also p. 205), thus conceding everything for which the advocates of the identity contend. Notwithstanding the authority of such names, the facts and arguments recently adduced, more especially by Marquardt (*Ephem. Epigr.* i. p. 210 sq, *Röm. Staatsv.* i. p. 374 sq, 1873), not to mention the valuable investigations of an older critic Gothofred (*Cod. Theod.* vi. 3. 1, xii. 1. 112, xv. 9. 2, xvi. 10 paratitlon), seem to place the identity beyond a doubt. It is not possible to add much to Marquardt's arguments, but his position has been strengthened by one or two lately discovered inscriptions, and some other considerations which he has overlooked seem to favour his view.

(i) The Asiarchate, Bithyniarchate, etc., are spoken of as the priesthoods or chief-priesthoods of the several provinces; e.g. by Modestinus [c. A.D. 230] in the *Digest.* xxvii. 1. 6, § 14 (p. 354, ed. Mommsen) ἔθνους ἱεραρχία [v. 1. ἱερωσύνη], οἷον Ἀσιαρχία, Βιθυνιαρχία, Καππαδοκαρχία, παρέχει ἀλειτουρησίαν ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὥς ἂν ἄρχῃ. This same language is used respecting the ἀρχιερεὺς. Thus we read of Chrysanthius that he received τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους (Eunap. *Vit. Soph.* p. 111, quoted by Marquardt *R. S.* p. 374), while we have been told before of this same Chrysanthius that Julian ἀρχιερέα [ἀπέδειξε] τὸν τε ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς Λυδίας. Again, in a law of Constantine (*Cod. Just.* v. 27. 1) we find the words 'quos in civitatibus duumviralitas vel sacerdotii, id est Phoenicarchiae vel Syriarchiae, ornamenta condecorant'. Nor can there be any doubt that the Asiarchate is intended in the following passage from Papi-nianus in *Digest.* l. 5. 8 'sed in Asia sacerdotium provinciae suscipere non coguntur numero liberorum quinque subniti; quod optimus maximus-que princeps noster Severus Augustus decrevit ac postea in ceteris provinciis servandum esse constituit'. So in like manner there can

¹ I am pleased to find that the identity of the two offices is held by Mommsen in his new volume (1885), *Röm. Gesch.* v. p. 319 sq, note 1. He considers how-

ever that in the case of the smaller provinces, like Galatia and Lycia, the High-priest was distinct from the Galatarch, Lyciarch, etc.

be little question that the office which Aristides (*Or.* i. p. 531) calls *τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὴν κοινὴν τῆς Ἀσίας* was the Asiarchate. This is the more evident when we compare the election which he describes with the account of the election of the Lyciarch given by Strabo xiv. 3. 3, p. 664 sq. Even in strictly Christian times we meet with a sacerdotium or *ἀρχιερωσύνη*; and the character of the office may be inferred from the language of Innocent I, *Epist.* 23 'Neque de curialibus aliquem ad ecclesiasticum ordinem venire posse, qui post baptismum coronati fuerint vel *sacerdotium* (quod dicitur) *sustinuerint et editiones publicas celebraverint*' (Labbe. *Conc.* iii. p. 37, ed. Coleti), where the celebration of the games, which was the main function of the Asiarchate, etc., is especially singled out as the chief duty of the 'so-called priesthood'. The religious character of the office disappeared with the downfall of heathendom and the establishment of Christianity; but the title 'high-priest' was still continued, though the bearer of it was now little more than president of the games. See the references already given to Gothofred, especially *Cod. Theod.* vi. 3. 1, xvi. 10 paratitl., where the relation of the 'priesthood' to the games is exemplified from the law books. This connexion may be amply illustrated likewise from the inscriptions; e.g. *C. I. G.* 3422 ἀρχιερασάμενον ἐνδόξως μετὰ μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων καὶ δόντα κοντροκυνηγέσιον κ.τ.λ., 2719 ἀρχιερατεύσαντος μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐν ᾗ ἀρχιερωσύνη καὶ μονομαχίας καὶ κυνηγεσίας ἐπετέλεσεν κ.τ.λ., 2766 ἀρχιερατεύσαντα τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἀγνοθηθέντα καὶ δις ἐστίασαντα τὸν δῆμον καὶ πάντα ποιήσαντα μεγαλοπρεπῶς λαμπρότατα καὶ πολυτελέστατα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων: comp. 2934, 3489, etc. Perhaps however the two following inscriptions, placed side by side, will exhibit the parallelism more effectively:

C. I. G. 2759 b

φамиλία Ζήνων[ος] τοῦ Ὑψικλέους
τοῦ Ὑψικλέους τοῦ φύσει Ζήνωνος
Ὑψικλέους ἀρχιερέως μονομάχων καὶ
καταδίκων καὶ ταυροκαθαπτῶν (comp.
2194 b).

C. I. G. 2511

φамиλία μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα
κυνηγεσίων Νεμερίου Καστρικίου
Λευκίου Πακωνιανοῦ Ἀσιάρχου καὶ
Αἰρηλίας Σαφφοῦς Πλάτωνος Δικιν-
νιανῆς ἀρχιερείας γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ (see
also no. 3213, 3677).

The passages quoted show that the two names appear in the same connexions; that their functions are identical; that the exemptions and immunities are the same in both cases; and that generally they are convertible. There is indeed nothing left for the high-priest to do which is not already exhausted in the office of the Asiarch, and conversely. The one is in all respects the double of the other.

(ii) Another fact also indicates the identity of the two offices. The wives of the chief priests (ἀρχιερεῖς) were styled 'chief-priestesses' (e. g. Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* 3092, 3489, 3495, etc.), just as we have seen (p. 407) in the case of Chrysanthius that his wife shared the high-priestly office. In like manner the Asiarch's wife takes the title of her husband, *C. I. G.* 3324 M. Αὐρ. Ζήνων. καὶ M. Κλ. Ἰουλιανῇ Ἀσιάρχαι δῖς. Accordingly a law of Constantine (*Cod. Justin.* v. 27. 1; see above, p. 407) forbids a 'sacerdos provinciae', i. e. a Phoenicarch, Syriarch, etc., to marry a slave. In the light of these facts we must interpret another inscription which gives the one title to the husband and the other to the wife, *C. I. G.* 3677 Πλω[τ]. Αὐρ. Γράτον Ἀσιάρχου καὶ Ἰουλίας Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιοδώρας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερείας, as showing that the titles are interchangeable. So again *C. I. G.* 2511 quoted above (p. 408); and also Lebas and Waddington 244 Ἀντωνίου Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀσιάρχου καὶ Κ[λ]. Β[η]ρεῖνη[ς] Ἡ[ρ][α]κλεαίνης (?) ἀρχιερείας.

(iii) But again; just as there was a high-priest and high-priestess of the province of Asia, so there were high-priests and high-priestesses of the temples in each several city belonging to the confederation; *C. I. G.* 2965 φιλοσεβάστου καὶ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (under Hadrian), *C. I. G.* 2987 b ἀρχιερέα Ἀσ[ί]ας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (under Antoninus Pius), *C. I. G.* 3858 e ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας, σεβαστοφάντην καὶ ἀγνωσθέντην διὰ βίου, *C. I. G.* 3831 a¹³ ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ, *C. I. G.* 3508 ἀρχιέρειαν τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ (comp. 3211), *C. I. G.* 3415 ἀρχιέρειαν Ἀσίας τοῦ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, etc. In the same way, while there is an 'Asiarch' *par excellence*, we meet likewise with 'Asiarchs' of the temples in particular cities, or at least in Ephesus; *C. I. L.* III. 296, 297 'Asiarch[a] templ[orum] splendid[issimae] civit[atis] Ephes[iorum]', *C. I. G.* 2464 φιλοσεβάστον Ἀσιάρχην ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, Lebas and Waddington 158 a Ἀσιάρχης τῇ[ς] πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσί[ας] καὶ β' νεωκόρων τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλε[ως]. In *C. I. G.* 2741 we have the record of a person who is elected at the same time to the high-priesthood of the province and to that of a particular city (the latter for the second time), ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ἀποδεδειγμένο[ς] ναῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Σμύρνῃ τὸ β'. A similar combination appears in a Macedonian inscription, *C. I. G.* 2007 ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀγνωσθέντην τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων, ἀρχιερέα δὲ καὶ ἀγνωσθέντην καὶ τῆς Ἀμφιπολειτῶν πόλεως.

And not only so, but the same person is designated by each title separately in two inscriptions found in the Great Theatre at Ephesus; Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Inscr. vi. pp. 62, 68:

p. 62.

ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι' αἰῶνος
 Τιβ. Ἰουλ. Πηγείνου
 ἀρχιερέως β' ναῶν τῶν
 ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

p. 68.

ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι' αἰῶνος
 Τιβ. Ἰουλ. Πηγείνου
 Ἀσιάρχου β' ναῶν τῶν
 ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

Now it is inconceivable that the high-priest of a particular city in Asia should be called the Asiarch of that city, unless the high-priest of the province of Asia already bore the name of Asiarch. The narrower application of the title is only explicable, as an analogy derived from the wider.

(iv) I have left to the last the very conclusive evidence of the identity of the two offices derived from the document before us, the Letter of the Smyrnæans itself. In the body of this document (§ 12) Philip of Tralles is called Asiarch, and as such he presides over the games; but in the appended chronological notice (§ 21) he is styled High-priest (ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Φιλίππου). By some critics, who deny the identity of the office implied in the two titles, this fact has been taken to discredit the genuineness either of the body of the document or of the chronological postscript, as if the two statements were inconsistent, or at least divergent. This position can hardly be justified in any case; for on any showing both parts of the document were written while the Asiarchate was still an existing office, and therefore the forger of either or both would be acquainted with the facts relating to the office. Indeed, reasons have been given in the first volume for believing that the postscript proceeded from the same hand as the body of the document (i. p. 626 sq.). Moreover, an inscription recently discovered at Olympia, and quoted above (p. 384; comp. i. p. 629), shows that Phillip of Tralles was Asiarch about this time; and in consequence Lipsius (*Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol.* 1881, p. 575) has retracted the objection previously urged against the genuineness of the Letter on this ground, and he now admits the identity of the two functions so called respectively. In four Trallian inscriptions again (see above, i. p. 629 sq.), belonging to the age of Antoninus Pius, this same Philippus is designated ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας. Thus in the inscriptions, as in the Acts of Martyrdom, the two titles are brought into connexion. But the exact year of the Trallian inscriptions is not ascertained beyond a doubt. The point is discussed in the chapter on the Date of the Martyrdom in the general introduction.

Against this identification only one argument has been adduced which deserves consideration. In *C. I. G.* 4016, 4017, there is mention

of one T. Fl. Gaïanus as ἀρχιερέα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν, Γαλατάρχη, σεβαστοφάντην καὶ κτίστην τῆς μητροπόλεως Ἀγκύρας, and in *C. I. G.* 4031 of one Aelius Macedon as ἀρχιερασάμενον τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν, Γαλατάρχη, σεβαστοφάντην διὰ βίου τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν. It is argued that as both titles, Galatarch and Chief-priest of the Galatian confederacy, are mentioned, they cannot designate the same office. Marquardt (p. 375) in answer to this objection explains ἀρχιερέα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Γαλατῶν as referring to the municipal priesthood of the confederation in Ancyra, not to the provincial high-priesthood. But this explanation will hardly stand; for we should then expect some limiting words, such as τῶν ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀγκύρᾳ. But is there any force at all in the objection? It is the commonest thing in the world to accumulate titles referring to the same office, especially in honorific inscriptions such as these. Thus we say, 'Her Majesty the Queen', 'His Holiness the Pope', though the one title is practically a mere repetition of the other; and the Romans themselves spoke of 'Imperator...Augustus' (Αὐτοκράτωρ...Σεβαστός), though the two terms are coextensive, and neither adds anything to the other.

In the West the *flamines provinciarum* seem to have borne no designation corresponding to Asiarch, Galatarch, etc.; and the assumption of such titles in Asia Minor and the East illustrates the reproach of Dion Chrysostom (*Orat.* 38, II. p. 148), who speaking to the Nicomedians says that, in their childish fondness for empty decorations, the Greeks would condone any insult or injury for the sake of titles (ὀνόματα) and, he adds, 'If they only call you or write you down *chiefs* (εἰ εἶπον ὑμᾶς πρώτους ἢ ἔγραψαν), from that day forward they can with impunity treat you with the greatest indignity'. These things, he continues, are despised by all sensible men, and excite ridicule in the Romans more especially¹.

¹ In another passage this same rhetorician (*Orat.* 35, II. p. 66), addressing the people of Celaenae in Phrygia, has language which (if we could be sure of the interpretation) points definitely to the identification of the two offices; καθάπερ τοὺς ἱερέας τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν τοὺς μακαρίους λέγω, τοὺς ἀπάντων ἄρχοντας τῶν ἱερέων, τοὺς ἐπωνύμους τῶν δύο ἡπείρων τῆς ἐσπέ-

ρας ὅλης. Perhaps the simplest explanation of the last words is 'who bear the names of (territories in) the two continents throughout the West,' e.g. Helladarchs, Asiarchs, etc. But whatever sense be given to ἐπωνύμους τῶν δύο ἡπείρων, the Asiarchs would seem to be included.

2. *Duration of tenure.*

It is generally, though not universally, assumed that the Asiarchate was an annual office; and this view is adopted by Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* i. p. 368 sq. The reasons however given for this opinion seem inadequate to sustain it.

Marquardt starts from the assumption that, as the office was not for life, therefore it must have been annual. We are not however limited to this alternative. In some cases these provincial chief priests were certainly elected for a period of years, as will be seen presently. Again he alleges the example of the Tuscan and Umbrian priests who were elected annually (Henzen-Orelli, no. 5580). But this is not a sufficiently close analogy, and far truer parallels can be produced on the other side. Still less to the point is the case of the priest of the Ubii mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 57), where moreover it is doubtful whether an annual office is intended. Nor is it correct to say that the Asiarch is the eponym for the *year*. Coins indeed are very frequently inscribed as struck during a particular person's Asiarchate, e.g. ἐπι·τερτιογ·ασιαρχογ (Mionnet iii. p. 250); but such language is equally consistent with a tenure for a long period or even for life, as with an annual office; e.g. Wood's *Ephesus* Inscr. viii. 3 (p. 22), Boeckh *C. I. G.* 3211. Indeed such expressions as Mark ii. 26 ἐπὶ Ἀβιάθαρ ἀρχιερέως, Luke iii. 2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα, Acts xi. 28 ἐπὶ Κλανδίου, are a caution against any rigorous inferences from the particular expression. In the case before us the Asiarchs are probably mentioned not for the sake of precision in dating, but as the chief magistrates of the confederation to which the cities striking the coins belonged. Again Marquardt urges that in order to transact its business the confederation must have met every year, and that therefore the president's office must have been annual (*Eph. Epigr.* p. 213 sq). Here we may accept his premiss, while we reject his conclusion.

On the other hand there are very good reasons for supposing that the term of office was longer than a year. The chief and characteristic function of the Asiarch was the presidency of the general festival of the confederation, called κοινὰ Ἀσίας *par excellence*. This must be distinguished from the minor festivals celebrated in the several cities of the confederation, κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ, κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Περγάμῳ, etc. Now it stands to reason that such a general festival must have been celebrated once at least during each Asiarchate. If therefore it should appear that this general festival recurred at longer intervals than a year,

the Asiarchate cannot have been an annual office. But there are good grounds for believing that it was a πενταετηρίς, like the Olympia and Pythia (Pind. *Ol.* iii. 38, x. 70, *Nem.* xi. 33), or in other words that there was an interval of four years between each recurrence. These grounds are as follows :

(i) Evidence seems to show that these festivals were generally though not universally quinquennial. Suetonius (*Octav.* 59) speaking of the beginning of this cult of the emperor says, 'Provinciarum pleraeque super templa et aras ludos quoque quinquennales paene oppidatim constituerunt'. Accordingly we find this to have been the case in several places of which notices are preserved. The festival of the *Commune Cretae* is one of these ; Boeckh *C. I. G.* 2583 ἱεροῦ ἀγῶνος πενταετηρικοῦ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Κρητῶν. Again, the *Ludi Augustales* at Neapolis (Naples), which were strictly analogous, were quinquennial, as appears from *C. I. G.* 5805 νικήσαντι Ἰταλικά Ῥωμαῖα Σεβαστὰ ἰσολύμπια τῆς μγ' Ἰταλίδος κ.τ.λ. (see Boeckh's comments, III. p. 732).

An inscription copied by Sir C. Wilson in Attalia, and published by Prof. W. M. Ramsay in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1883, VII. p. 263, is important enough in its bearing on this subject to deserve a place here. The words are as follows ;

Καλπούριον Κοδράτου υἱὸν Διόδωρον, υἱὸν βουλῇ[ς] δήμου γερουσίας, φιλοκαίσα[ρα] καὶ φιλοπατριν, ἱερέα διὰ βίον Ἀπόλλωνος ἀρχηγέτον καὶ θεοῦ μεγάλου Διονύσου καὶ θεοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ θεᾶς Ἀρτ[ε]μίδος Ἐλαφη[β]όλου πρῶτον καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίον θεᾶς Λητο[ύς] τῆς Περγαίων πόλεως ἀρχι[ε]ρασάμενον τετραετίαν καὶ ἐπιτελέσαντα κυνηγεσίᾳ[ς] καὶ μονομαχίας μεγαλοπρ[ε]πῶς καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τοὺς μεγάλους πενταετηρικοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τοὺς λο[ύ]πους πάντας ἐν τῇ τετραετίᾳ.

The high-priesthood here mentioned is, as Prof. Ramsay says, that of the cultus of the emperors ; but I cannot agree with him that 'the pentaeteric games were probably those named on a coin struck under Saloninus, ἱερὸς Ὀλύμπιος οἰκουμενικὸς [ἀγών]'. They would naturally be the κοινὰ Παμφυλίας, the festival of the *Commune Pamphyliae*, of which he held the high-priesthood ; unless indeed the 'Olympian sacred oecumenical festival' may be identified with this. This Calpurnius then would be the Pamphyliarch—an officer who is mentioned likewise in *C. I. G.* 4340 b, Add.

If I am right in assuming (and this is Prof. Ramsay's view also) that this person was the chief-priest of the whole province of Pamphylia, and not of the particular city of Attalia, the inscription shows that the Pamphyliarch held office for four years, thus celebrating the great pentaeteric games of his *Commune* once during his term of office. It is

reasonable to suppose (in the absence of any evidence to the contrary) that the same would be the case with the Asiarchs.

(ii) The local festivals of the κοινὸν Ἀσίας in the several cities of the confederation were quinquennial. So *C. I. G.* 3674 νεικήσας κοινὸν Ἀσίας ἐν Κυζίκῳ παίδων παγκράτιον πενταετηρίδι ξ̄.

(iii) Lastly, the festival in question is itself directly co-ordinated with quinquennial festivals in such a way as to leave no escape from the conclusion that it was one. The passages seem to have escaped notice, or otherwise perhaps the common opinion would have been different. They are found in Boeckh *C. I. G.* 1420 νεικήσαντα τραγωδούς Οὐράνια μεγάλα γ' καὶ Πύθια καὶ Ἀκτια καὶ κοινὰ Ἀσίας...καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀγῶνας πενταετηρικοὺς τε καὶ τριετηρικοὺς (where there is a lacuna for the number of victories), *ib.* 1421 [τὴν ἐξ Ἀργους ἀσ]πίδα, Ἰσθμια, κοινούς Ἀσίας, καὶ ἄλλους πενταετηρικοὺς πλείστους ἀγῶνας.

Connected with the length of tenure is the fact that we read of persons holding the office more than once. Thus there are records of those who have been Asiarchs twice (*C. I. G.* 3190, 3324 Lebas and Waddington 158 a, Mionnet *Suppl.* vii. pp. 359, 619)¹, and in one case at least thrice (Babington *l. c.* pp. 1, 27, 35, Mionnet iv. p. 328). This last case is L. Æl. Pigres on Laodicean coins, and it seems to stand alone; for the other instance is a retouched piece (Mionnet vii. p. 358, see Babington p. 30), and appears to be incorrect. The legend ἀσιαρχ. Δ on another coin (Mionnet iv. p. 128) is probably read incorrectly.

3. *Plurality of Asiarchs.*

In Acts xix. 31 it is stated that 'certain of the Asiarchs' (τινὲς δὲ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν), being friendly to S. Paul, tried to dissuade him from entering the theatre. Similarly we read in Aristides (*Or.* i. p. 518) 'an Asiarch, methinks, was present likewise (καὶ Ἀσιάρχης, οἶμαι, προσῆν).' Such language implies that more than a single person held the title at the same time. The same inference likewise has been drawn from Strabo xiv. p. 649, καὶ αἰεὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰσιν οἱ πρωτεύοντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, οὓς Ἀσιάρχας καλοῦσιν. Here however the inference is not certain, for αἰεὶ would signify 'from time to time'; but still the plural τινες would

¹ Another instance is furnished in a Trallian inscription discovered and published by Sterrett (*Mittheil. d. Deutsch. Archäol. Inst. in Athen* viii. p. 330 sq, 1883) ἐπὶ ἱερῆως διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ

Λαρχ[α]σίου Φλαουλίου Κλειτοισθένους τοῦ κρατίστου, δις Ἀσιάρχου, πρώτο[ν] Ἀσίας, πατρὸς ὑπατικοῦ κα[ὶ] πάππου συνκλητικῶν, τῆς ἐννάτης αὐτοῦ πενταετηρίδος.

not naturally be used, if only one person bore the title at any given time. This is explicable in two ways.

(1) The Asiarchs, after laying down their office, still retained their title and formed a sort of order. There are some grounds for this belief. In the West this was certainly the case. The Spanish inscriptions speak of certain persons as *flamines* (*C. I. L.* II. 983 'viro flaminiali provinciae Baeticae', *ib.* 4248 'statuam inter flamines viros positam'), where the 'flamen provinciae' corresponds to the ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας, and therefore to the Asiarch. In like manner in Africa we read of the *sacerdotes* of the province (*C. I. L.* VIII. 1827, 2343, 4252, 5338); and the *sacerdotes* are frequently mentioned in the law books in reference to this district (*Cod. Theod.* xii. 1. 145, 176; xii. 5. 2; xvi. 10. 20, etc.), though it is not always clear that these had been *flamines*. In Asia Minor itself too an extant inscription describes a person as Λυκιαρχικός (Lebas and Waddington 1224). It is not unlikely therefore that, after their term of office was ended, they continued to be called 'Asiarchs' by courtesy; and this would account for the fact that we find the holders of other offices in so many cases designated Asiarchs; e.g. Wood's *Ephesus* Inscr. ii. 13 (p. 14) Ἀριστοβούλου Ἀσιά[ρχου] γραμματέως τοῦ [δήμου], *ib.* vi. 3 (p. 46) γραμματεῦντος Ποπλίου Οὐγιδίου Ἀντονείνου Ἀσιάρχου, *C. I. G.* 6541 Δ. Ἀντωνίῳ Ὑακίνθῳ, Λαοδικεὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, στρατηγῷ, Ἀσιάρχῃ. Accordingly we find persons commemorating their descent from holders of this office in a way which seems to indicate a permanent title; e.g. Lebas and Waddington 158 a...Διονύσιον τὸν ἱεροκῆρυκα καὶ β' Ἀσιάρχου ἐ[κγ]ο[νον], i.e. his father and grandfather before him were Asiarchs (comp. *C. I. G.* 2463 c, 3420, 3495, 3665 Lebas and Waddington 158 a, 244). These facts however are not absolutely conclusive.

(2) It has been shown already that the chief-priest of the imperial worship at Ephesus was likewise called 'Asiarch' of the Ephesian temples (see above, p. 409). Though no direct evidence is forthcoming that the chief-priests of this worship in the other cities belonging to the confederation were similarly styled, yet as their titles in other respects corresponded, there is at least a presumption that they would be correspondingly designated here also.

The fact that more persons than one are called Asiarchs at the same time may be explained from either or both of these causes.

APPENDIX
POLYCARPIANA.

1. *POLYCARPIAN FRAGMENTS.*
2. *LIFE OF POLYCARP.*

POLYCARPIAN FRAGMENTS.

FEUARDENTIUS in his notes on a passage of Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 3. 4), where this father mentions several other letters of Polycarp besides the extant Epistle to the Philippians, published as fragments of these lost writings certain extracts which he had discovered, introducing them with the following words;

‘Harum [epistolarum] porro quinque non aspernanda fragmenta a me superioris quadragesimæ tempore Virduni in quadam vetustissimis characteribus manu descripta super quatuor evangelistas Catena inventa, ut a Victore episcopo Capuano ante mille et centum annos ibidem laudantur, hoc loco inserere operæ pretium visum est. Haec itaque ibidem leguntur; *Victor episcopus Capuæ ex responsione capitulorum sancti Polycarpi Smyrnensis episcopi, discipuli Joannis evangelistæ.*’

The fragments are then given as I have printed them below, but with the heading, ‘Divi Polycarpi Smyrnensis episcopi et martyris b. Joannis evangelistæ quondam discipuli responsionum fragmenta. *Matthæus* Dominum dixisse testatur etc.’ (see below, p. 421).

After the close Feuardentius adds;

‘Haec Victor Capuanus vir Graece et Latine doctus circa annum Dom. 480 ex Graeco Responsionum capitulorum b. Polycarpi, quem nactus erat, codice a se Latina facta recensuit; et in supra nominata Catena manuscripta, quam penes me habeo et, quum per typographos licebit, studiosis communicabo, citantur.’

The Catena however was never printed, and the manuscript is lost.

The fragments were reprinted from Feuardentius by Halloix (*Illustr. Eccl. Orient. Script.* i. p. 532 sq, Duaci 1633) and by Ussher (*Ign. et Polyc. Mart.* p. 31 sq), and have frequently been reproduced by later writers. Ussher (*ib.* pp. 31, 72 sq; comp. *Polyc. et Ign. Epist.* p. iv) speaks as if the Catena itself were the work of Victor of Capua, and this has been the language of later writers generally before

Zahn. This inference however is not justified by the statement of Feuardentius himself.

Pitra (*Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 266 sq, Paris 1852) added two other fragments also as 'ex libro *Responsorum* inscripto' by Polycarp. He found them in an *Expositio in Heptateuchum* by Joannes Diaconus, contained in the Paris MS 838 (*Sangerm.* 60). This John the Deacon is the same who wrote a biography of Gregory the Great and lived in the 9th century (see i. p. 4). On investigation however we do not find any authority for ascribing these two fragments to Polycarp. The first, a comment on Gen. ii. 7, is introduced with the words 'Victor episcopus Capuae in libro suo Responsorum capitulo [MS capitula] vigesimo primo' etc. Here Pitra boldly omits 'suo' and on the strength of the fragments given by Feuardentius assigns them to this supposed work of Polycarp, the *Responsions*¹. But, if 'suo' be retained, the *Responsions* are distinctly attributed to Victor of Capua; and a correction must be made accordingly, as Zahn (*Prol.* p. xlvii sq) has pointed out, in the heading of the Feuardentian fragments, which should be read 'Victor episcopus Capuae ex Responsorum capitulo []', where the -rum of 'capitulum,' whether contracted or not, is a corruption of some numeral; and the words which follow, 'Sancti Polycarpi Smyrnenensis episcopi, discipuli Joannis evangelistae', are the heading of Victor's extract from his supposed Polycarp. It would indeed have been strange, that nothing should have been heard elsewhere of an elaborate work by Polycarp consisting of more than twenty-one chapters.

The *Responsions* therefore were the work of Victor, and the Catena was compiled by some still later writer. Pitra himself (pp. liii, lviii) suspects that the compiler was Joannes Diaconus, and this seems probable. In this Catena the *Responsions* of Victor were quoted; and these quotations contained extracts ascribed by Victor to Polycarp.

Victor's work is roughly assigned, as we have seen, by Feuardentius to A.D. 480; and various other dates have been ascribed to this writer by different critics. But it appears from his epitaph, which is preserved (Ughelli *Italia Sacra* vi. p. 306, Venet. 1720; comp. *Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 1, De Rossi *Bull. di Archeol. Crist.* (1881) p. 150), that he died A.D. 554, having held the see thirteen years.

For the reasons given, Pitra's fragments must be rejected at once, as having nothing to do with Polycarp. Nor are those published by Feuardentius certified on authority which is beyond question. A Catena is a highly precarious voucher for the authorship of an extract, the dis-

¹ He adheres to this view also in his *Solesm.* ii. pp. xxiv sq, 201, though Zahn recently published volume (1884), *Anal.* had meanwhile pointed out the error.

placement of names being frequent in such cases. Moreover in this instance Polycarp's name is only given in a quotation of a quotation. It is much to be regretted likewise that owing to the loss of the MS we cannot verify the form in which the Polycarpian extracts were quoted. Altogether it is extremely improbable that writings of Polycarp, which were unknown to Irenæus and Eusebius, should have been accessible to Victor. Though Irenæus, in his *Letter to Florinus*, speaks of letters which Polycarp wrote to individuals and churches (Euseb. *H.E.* v. 20), yet we may infer from his language elsewhere (*Haer.* iii. 3. 4), that the Epistle to the Philippians alone was in his hands.

And when we turn to internal evidence, our suspicions are confirmed. The words 'Legitur et in dolio etc.' at the end of *Fragm.* 2 obviously cannot have been written by Polycarp, and were condemned even by Halloix (p. 597) as an addition by a strange hand. Again the contents of *Fragm.* 3 seem to point to a later date, though remembering the language of Irenæus on this same subject, the characteristics of the four evangelists (*Haer.* iii. 11. 8), we ought not to speak with too great confidence on this point.

FRAGMENTA POLYCARPIANA.

I.

Matthæus Dominum dixisse testatur, quod Moyses scribit Adam locutum fuisse hoc modo: *Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro ex carne mea, propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem etc.* [Matt. xix. 5]. Sed non concordant Domini verba cum Moysis sermonibus. Quia enim Adam præbens officium inspiratione divina prophetavit, ipse a Moyse hoc dixisse refertur; Deus vero, qui per inspirationem divinam in corde Adam ista verba formavit, ipse pater a Domino recte locutus fuisse refertur. Nam et Adam hanc prophetiam protulit et pater, qui eam inspiravit, recte dicitur protulisse.

2.

Idem ad hæc verba Christi: *Calicem meum bibetis etc.* [Matt. xx. 23].

Per huiusmodi potum significat passionem, et Jacobum quidem novissimum martyrio consummandum, fratrem vero eius Joannem transiturum absque martyrio, quamvis et afflictiones plurimas et exilia tolerarit, sed præparatam martyrio mentem Christus martyrem iudicavit. Nam apostolus Paulus *Quotidie*, inquit, *mori*; cum impossibile sit quotidie mori hominem ea morte qua semel vita hæc finitur. Sed quoniam pro evangelio ad mortem iugiter erat præparatus, se mori quotidie sub ea

significatione testatus est. Legitur et in dolio ferventis olei pro nomine Christi beatus Joannes fuisse demersus.

3.

Idem de initio evangelii secundum Marcum.

Rationabiliter evangelistae principiis diversis utuntur, quamvis una eademque evangelizandi probetur intentio. Matthaeus, ut Hebraeis scribens, genealogiae Christi ordinem texuit, ut ostenderet ab ea Christum descendisse progenie, de qua eum nasciturum universi prophetae cecinerant; Joannes autem ad Ephesum constitutus, qui legem tamquam ex gentibus ignorabant, a causa nostrae redemptionis evangelii sumpsit exordium; quae causa ex eo apparet, quod filium suum Deus pro nostra salute voluit incarnari. Lucas vero a Zachariae sacerdotio incipit, ut eius filii miraculo nativitatis et tanti praedicatoris officio divinitatem Christi gentibus declararet. Unde et Marcus antiqua prophetici mysterii competentia adventui Christi declarat, ut non nova sed antiquitus prolata eius praedicatio probaretur vel per hoc. Evangelistis curae fuit eo uti prooemio, quod unusquisque iudicabat auditoribus expedire. Nihil ergo contrarium reperitur, ubi licet diversis scriptis ad eandem tamen patriam pervenitur.

4.

Idem in illud: *Noli vocare amicos tuos sed pauperes et debiles* etc. [Luke xiv. 12 sq].

Praecepit non amicos, sed infirmos quosque vocandos ad prandium. Quodsi claudus aut quilibet eorum sit amicus, sine dubio talis pro amicitia minime est rogandus, unde ipsa quasi videntur se impugnare mandata. Nam si non amici, sed claudi et caeci sunt invitandi, ipsosque quoque amicos esse contingat, nequaquam rogare debemus. Sed amicos arbitror intelligi hoc loco debere illos, quos mundi huius terrena consideratione diligimus, non pro divinae contemplationis intuitu. Hi sunt igitur amici relinquendi. Denique ideo debilium exempla proposuit, quos pro nullius possumus appetere necessitate, nisi tantum pro fructu retributionis aeternae.

5.

Idem in illud: *Opus consummavi, quod dedisti mihi, ut faciam* [John xvii. 4].

Quomodo opus salutis humanae adimplesse commemorat, cum necdum crucis vexillum conscenderat? Sed definitione voluntatis, de qua cuncta venerandae passionis insignia adire decreverat, iure se opus perfecisse significat etc.

LIFE OF POLYCARP.

THIS document was first published by the Abbé L. Duchesne under the title *Vita Sancti Polycarpi Smyrnaeorum Episcopi, Auctore Pionio* (Paris. 1881). The ms used was *Paris. Bibl. Nation.* 1452, of the 10th century. I have already had occasion to mention this ms (see p. 356 sq). It contains lives, martyrdoms, and eulogies of various saints for the month of February. The Life of Polycarp, which is assigned to Feb. 23, occupies fol. 182 a—192 b. On this last-mentioned page it ceases, and is followed immediately by the *Letter of the Smyrnaeans* containing the account of the martyrdom, 'Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα κ.τ.λ. Some of the leaves are displaced so that they run in this order, 182, 185, 183, 184, 187, 188, 186, 189—192. In the Catalogue (*Catal. Codd. MSS Bibl. Reg.* II. p. 322, Paris 1740), it is wrongly entered 'Martyrium S. Polycarpi', followed by a correct entry 'Eccles. Smyrn. de S. Polycarpi Martyrio Epistola' (see above, p. 356). Doubtless owing to this false entry it has so long eluded observation. Besides the editio princeps, it has been printed likewise in Funk's *Patres Apostolici* II. p. 315 sq (1881). Funk made use of the yet unpublished sheets of Duchesne's edition, before they had received the editor's last revision (see p. lvii sq); and he was thus enabled to bring it out shortly after that edition had appeared.

But, though the first publication of the Greek text is so recent, use had been made of the work at a much earlier date. As early as 1633, Halloix (*Ill. Eccl. Orient. Script. Vit.* I. p. 471 sq, Duaci) in his Latin life of Polycarp gave at length the substance of this document, quoting from time to time in his notes short passages from the original. Of his authorities he says ;

'Latine nemo adhuc integre edidit; sed aliqui martyrium duntaxat, alii paucula quaedam ex Eusebio desumpta adjunxerunt; sed primam ejus [Polycarpi] aetatem, progressum ad ordines, virtutes miraculorum nequaquam attigerunt. Quae Pionius homo Graecus admonitu divino perquisivit et perscripsit. Haec autem hactenus non

edita; sed tantum in manuscriptis codicibus conservata sunt. Quorum exemplar unum atque alterum nactus cum Menaeo Graecorum contuli, et quidquid utrobique ad praesentem vitam facere comperi, Latine reddidi atque concinnavi'.

In his notes he speaks of 'Graecum manuscriptum', 'Manuscriptum Pionii', etc., in the singular. He also treats the account of the martyrdom (the Letter of the Smyrnæans) as part of the same document, quoting from this as 'the manuscript of Pionius', the 'manuscript Life' and so forth (pp. 584, 588, 591, 592, 593). Thus the notice of the date, *μαρτυρεῖ δὲ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος μηνὸς Ξανθικοῦ κ.τ.λ.* (§ 21), is quoted by him as occurring 'in extrema vita Graeca ms' (p. 593). Speaking of this Letter of the Smyrnæans, he designates it 'epistola manuscripta codicis Medicaei quae extat in bibliotheca Regis Franciae' (p. 582); and again he writes 'in exemplari Medicaeo'. The manuscript therefore which Halloix used was the same with ours. The extracts indeed which he gives present many variations from the readings of the ms, but he is obviously very loose and careless in his quotations.

Again, a few years later (A.D. 1643) in the *Acta Sanctorum* Jan. 26 II. p. 695 sq, Bolland gave a Latin translation of the document, 'Vita Auctore Pionio, e veteri Graeco ms primum edita'. The text used is thus described;

'Eandem epistolam [Smyrnaeorum] Graecam et pleniorē e ms Bibliothecae Regis Christianissimi nactus erat idem Rosweyds, simulque vitae ejusdem Polycarpi historiam hactenus Latinis penitus ignotam. Primus ex hoc ms nostro alioque Latinis litteris integram tradidit Petrus Halloix noster etc.

The Greek copy therefore, from which Bolland translated, was a transcript made by Rosweyd from this same Medicean ms. It is true that Bolland adds, 'In Graeco codice priore loco caedis Polycarpi narratio, tum vita reliqua erat descripta', whereas in *Paris*. 1452 the Life comes first and the Martyrdom afterwards. But probably Rosweyd had transcribed them separately, so that the order in the ms was not indicated, and may even have been reversed; and Bolland's language is a false inference from the opening words of the Life, Ἐπελθὼν ἀνωτέρω, which he supposed to refer to a foregoing document. On this point I shall have to speak presently.

The Life, as given in the extant manuscript, is evidently imperfect. In § 3 the author promises a list of the earliest bishops of Smyrna. This never appears. Again in § 12 he states his intention of inserting the Epistle to the Philippians; but we hear nothing more of it. Again in § 20 he defers his account of Polycarp's scriptural expositions till a later point, but we find nothing more about them or at least nothing which satisfies this pledge. These omissions are explained by the fact that

the document is obviously mutilated at the end. Likewise in the middle of the extant portion there is a wide lacuna (between §§ 28, 29). Elsewhere also one or more words have dropped out, e.g. § 5. l. 16, 26, § 6. l. 47, § 10. l. 15, § 13. l. 22, § 15. l. 4, § 20. l. 27, § 21. l. 11, § 25. l. 23, 29; while in other cases parts of words (e.g. § 9. l. 51, § 17. l. 11, § 27. l. 37, § 30. l. 16, 23) have disappeared. Perhaps also this mutilation may furnish the true key to the emendation of the text in other passages also (e.g. § 2. l. 7, § 10. l. 42, § 11. l. 19, § 31. l. 4), where it has been corrected in some other way or left uncorrected.

From these notices, relating to the intended insertion of documents, we may infer that the writer's design was to comprise in his work all the information which he could obtain or invent respecting Polycarp, and thus to form a complete *Corpus Polycarpianum*. The principal documents thus incorporated would be the Letter of Polycarp to the Philippians and the Letter of the Smyrnæans giving the account of the martyrdom. Each of these documents would stand in its proper chronological place. The Epistle of Polycarp would naturally be prefaced by some notice of Ignatius. Not improbably the Epistle of Ignatius himself to Polycarp would be quoted. At all events the writer of the Life appears to have been acquainted with this epistle, as the coincidences of language show. Compare for instance § 23 συναθλησαί μοι...εἰς τὸν προκείμενόν μοι ἀγῶνα εἰδότας ὅτι δεῖ πάντας συντρέχειν κ.τ.λ. with Ign. *Polyc.* ὁ συναθλείτε, συντρέχετε; and § 24 νῦν παρακαλῶ πάντας... ἐν διακονίᾳ τῇ πρεσβυτέρων ὧν τοσαύτην...εἰσενεγκάμην ἐπιμέλειαν, νῦν μᾶλλον...συμβέβηκεν ἐνίοις τῶν καθισταμένων εἰς τόπους ὅτε δεῖ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐπιτείνειν τὸν δρόμον, τότε ὑπεκλύεσθαι...ὅσῳ τις πλείω τιμηθῆσθαι δοκεῖ, πλείονα καὶ...ὀφείλει εἰσφέρεισθαι ἔννοιαν... γρηγορεῖτε, with Ign. *Polyc.* 1 παρακαλῶ σε...προσθεῖναι τῷ δρόμῳ σου καὶ πάντας παρακαλεῖν...ἐκδίδει σου τὸν τόπον ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ...γρηγόρει...ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺ κέρδος. The letter of the Smyrnæans would follow in due course. There is little doubt that the form of the Letter which we possess is the same which was inserted in the Life. In the chapter on this document it is shown that the concluding paragraphs, both in style and in contents, betray the same hand which wrote the Life (see above, i. p. 643 sq). It is sufficient here to observe that in the concluding paragraph (§ 22) the transcriber, who calls himself Pionius, promises to relate 'in the sequel' (ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς) how Polycarp himself appeared to him and revealed the whereabouts of the time-worn manuscript from which he copied this Letter. Obviously therefore something must have followed upon the Letter itself. This subsequent matter would naturally deal with any miraculous incidents occurring

after Polycarp's death but connected with him. It would also probably refer to the testimony of Irenæus respecting Polycarp, with which he may have been acquainted through Eusebius. The writer of the Life at all events shows himself elsewhere acquainted with this testimony; for his language relating to Polycarp's Epistle (§ 12 ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἱκανωτάτῃ ᾗν) is copied from Irenæus (*Haer.* iii. 3. 4 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστολὴ Πολυκάρπου πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἱκανωτάτῃ). The scribe of the Moscow MS (see above, p. 403) has struck out the words καθὼς δηλώσω ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς, so as to make the document complete in itself. At the same time he adds a few sentences of his own relating to Polycarp, which as we may infer from the similarity in the modes of expression were taken from the lost end of the Life. Zahn in his valuable article on the Life (*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 8 März 1882, p. 298) calls attention to the probable identity of authorship, comparing ἱκανῶς τε πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἤλεγξεν καὶ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα καὶ καθολικόν, ὡς παρέλαβεν παρὰ τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ παρέδωκεν, in § 22 of the Moscow MS, with καὶ τοὺς αἵρετικοὺς ἤλεγχε... ἐδόθη οὖν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διδασκαλίας ὀρθῆς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς καθολικὸς κανὼν in § 12 of the Life. Moreover the main incident in these supplementary sentences of the Moscow MS is a preternatural intimation of Polycarp's death to Irenæus in Rome at the moment of its occurrence—an incident which, whether true or false, accords well with the love of the marvellous which the author of the Life constantly displays. Among the subjects which would appear in the last part of the Life (after the Letter of the Smyrnæans was disposed of) would be the deposition of the reliques, the observance of the festival, and the like. The author would also here redeem his promise of giving further information respecting the occupants of the see of Smyrna.

Who then was the writer? The manuscript itself gives no name. Yet Halloix unhesitatingly speaks of it as the work of Pionius. He is followed likewise by Bolland (p. 692), who interprets the opening words Ἐπανελθὼν ἀνωτέρω 'altius rediens, priora repetens', and accordingly explains them as referring to the narrative of the Martyrdom, which (as we have seen) he assumes to *precede* the Life in the MS; 'I will return to an earlier point in Polycarp's history.' If these premisses were admitted, the conclusion could hardly be questioned. But on the one hand the interpretation seems to be incorrect and the words are more naturally explained as referring to the account which immediately follows, where the writer traces the history of Christianity in Smyrna *farther back* than Polycarp's time¹; and on the other hand the assump-

¹ Zahn (*G. G. A. l. c.* p. 291) insists that the word ἐπανέρχεσθαι requires that the writer himself shall be *retracing his own steps*. But these compounds (ἐπὶ-ἀν-

tion that the Martyrdom preceded the Life in the MS is altogether mistaken. Zahn (*Patr. Apost.* II. pp. I, lii, 166 sq, 169) is misled by Bolland and accepts both his false positions. To these views he still adheres (*G. G. A.* p. 290), notwithstanding the publication of the Greek text and the now ascertained fact that in the only known MS the Life precedes the Martyrdom. On the other hand Duchesne (p. 37) gives the right explanation, and he is followed by Funk (*Patr. Apost.* II. p. lvi sq). The last-mentioned writer however doubts whether the work ought to be attributed to Pionius, but says, somewhat inconsistently with this hesitation, 'statuendum est auctorem alium locum Vitae dedisse quam quem in codice obtinet.' The only solid ground for supposing that the Life ever came after the Martyrdom was the interpretation of Ἐπαελθὼν ἀνωτέρω which he has abandoned.

But though the particular reason which led Bolland and others to ascribe the Life to Pionius thus disappears, I believe nevertheless that it was rightly so ascribed. We have lost indeed one link of connexion by restoring the correct interpretation of Ἐπαελθὼν ἀνωτέρω at the beginning of the Life, but we have found another by apprehending the true significance of ἐν τῷ καθεξῆς at the end of the Martyrdom. If my account of the structure of the work, when un mutilated, be substantially correct, the Acts of Martyrdom did not stand originally either before or after the Life, but were embedded in it; and 'the sequel' (τὸ καθεξῆς) refers to the part which followed upon the Acts. If so, the occurrence of the name of Pionius in the first person (Ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν Πιόνιος) in this same sentence points distinctly to the authorship of the Life. Moreover it is shown in the discussion headed 'The true and the false Pionius,' in the chapter on the Smyrnaean Letter in the general introduction in my first volume (see I. p. 638 sq), that strong points of resemblance exist between the Life and this Pionian postscript to the Martyrdom, indicating the handiwork of the same person.

But who is this Pionius? Certainly not the martyr in the Decian persecution. The phenomena seem altogether inconsistent with so early a date for the work as A.D. 250. Our alternative therefore is

εἰμι, ἐπανέρχομαι) are not unfrequently used, where the writer has not himself already travelled downward on the same road; e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* i. 2. 15 Ἴνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῇ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν πολιτεία, μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι, Plato *Sympr.* 211 c ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν καλῶν ἐκείνου

ἐνεκα τοῦ καλοῦ αἰεὶ ἐπανίεναι, ὥσπερ ἐπαναβαθοῖς χρώμενον. Thus it may signify simply 'to mount up,' not only metaphorically, but literally; e.g. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 35 ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὰ ὄρη, Plato *Timaeus* 22 c τὸ δ' ἐναντίον κάτωθεν ἐπανιέναι [τὸ ὕδωρ] πέφυκεν.

either a genuine writer bearing the same name but living at least a century later, or a fictitious person wearing the mask of the martyr Pionius and thus recommending his fiction under cover of a famous name. The martyr was known to have been a man of some literary tastes and had taken a very lively interest in matters relating to Polycarp. Reasons are given in the discussion on 'The true and the false Pionius' for adopting the latter view, as more consonant with the character of the work, and thus regarding Pionius as a pseudonym. Duchesne also (p. 9) is disposed to regard the name as a mask.

Against this supposition however it is alleged that the writer uses language which he would have avoided if he had intended to assume this character. He says (§ 22) that he had found the Letter of the Smyrnæans in a copy 'nearly worn out' (σχεδὸν κεκμηκότα) by time; that the copy had been made by one Socrates or Isocrates from a transcript by Gaius; and that this transcript of Gaius was copied from the papers of Irenæus. It is urged that the period which elapsed between the death of Polycarp and the death of Pionius, having been five years less than a century, was not sufficient for this genealogy of documents (Zahn, *G. G. A.* p. 293 sq). This argument does not seem to me to have much force. The copy of Irenæus might have been nearly coeval with the martyrdom; the copies of Gaius and Socrates might have been made at short intervals; and thus ample time—half a century at least—would be left for the ravages of time on the last-mentioned copy. Moreover, forgers are apt to be blunderers. Hence it is quite credible that our false Pionius overlooked the date of his genuine namesake, when he invented this genealogy. In the same way the false Ignatius (*Philipp.* 8), in a moment of forgetfulness, writes as from Syria or Palestine (see above, p. 195 sq), though the martyr whose mask he wears is represented at the time of writing to be in Italy. This genealogy of manuscripts therefore is no solid objection where there are two strong arguments on the other side; *first*, the suspicious fact that the writer bears the name of one known to have taken an exceptional interest in Polycarp's martyrdom, and *secondly* the circumstance that he shows himself wholly unscrupulous in inventing imaginary documents, as well as fictitious history, whenever it suits his purpose. Zahn indeed (p. 294) lays stress on the fact that the author nowhere represents himself as a distinguished person. But the ms breaks off abruptly just where he was beginning to speak of himself. When he came to describe how he discovered the old copy of the Smyrnæan Letter by a revelation from Polycarp himself, and to speak of the commemoration

of the martyr in later ages, then he would find his proper opportunity. History recorded that the true Pionius was engaged in celebrating the 'genuinum natale' of Polycarp when he was apprehended, carried off to prison, and finally put to death. Would not his false impersonator connect this incident with the recovery of the Acts of Martyrdom, which would be represented as leading to the revival of the commemoration?

But when did this false Pionius live? He interests himself in the Quartodeciman controversy, and he represents S. Paul (§ 2) as teaching two things respecting the celebrating of Easter: (1) that it must be kept during the feast of unleavened bread and not outside this season, as is done by 'the heretics, especially the Phrygians'; and (2) that it need not of necessity be held on the fourteenth day. The second point is a protest against the Quartodecimans. As Polycarp himself was well known to have been a Quartodeciman, this statement could hardly have been made till the earlier history of the Quartodeciman controversy had passed out of memory. The first injunction has reference to certain Montanists and others in the 4th and 5th centuries, who like the former disregarded the day of the week, but unlike them put aside the Jewish lunar reckoning and adopted the Roman Calendar instead, celebrating the Passion on a fixed day in March or April, which they supposed to have been the actual day of the crucifixion, though differing among themselves in their calculations (Epiph. *Haer.* l. 1, Sozom. *H. E.* vii. 18, Anon. *Serm. in Pasch.* 7 in Chrysost. *Op.* viii. 2. p. 276: see Duchesne p. 10)¹. This points to a time not earlier than the middle of the fourth century: and no notice in the work suggests a prior date.

¹ Epiphanius ascribes this practice to 'certain others' of the Quartodecimans, and names viii Kal. April. (i.e. March 25) as the day, saying that they derive it from the Acts of Pilate, but adding that he himself has found copies of these Acts in which it is read xv Kal. April. (i.e. March 18), and mentioning other points of difference among themselves. Our extant copies of the Acts of Pilate give viii Kal. April. (see Tischendorf *Act. Apocr.* p. 205). According to Sozomen 'the Montanists who are called Pepuzites and Phrygians' adopted this principle of regulating their Paschal festival by the sun rather than the moon; but he represents them as beginning the year with ix Kal. April.

(March 24) and thus arriving at viii Id. April. (April 6) as their Paschal Festival, and he states the astronomical principles on which they made their calculations.

Hilgenfeld (*Paschastreit* p. 348 sq, *Nov. Test. extra Can. Rec.* p. 80, ed. 2) considers that the Trecentius, against whom the strictures of Peter bishop of Alexandria (A.D. 300-311), as quoted in the introduction to the *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 4 sq (ed. Bonn.), are directed, held this same principle of a fixed day in the Solar Calendar; and this is the view adopted likewise by Schürer *die Passastreitigkeiten etc.* p. 250 sq in *Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.* 1870. But the reasons alleged are not satisfactory.

It may seem strange perhaps that an author, writing after the great Christological disputes of the fourth and succeeding centuries had begun, should not indicate his views on the points of dispute. But they had no reference to the subject before him, and apparently he took no special interest in them. The author's wide departure from authentic history, wherever we are able to test his account of Polycarp by this standard, forbids us to place the work any earlier, and indeed would suggest a much later date, if it were possible. From this however we are precluded by the fact that about the year 400 the *Life* was known and accepted; for Macarius Magnes (*Apocr.* iii. 24) cites as authentic history two of the most stupendous miracles which it records, the parching drought relieved suddenly by a downpour of copious rain (§§ 29—31), and the instantaneous replenishment of the widow's empty store-houses (§ 4).

Of the locality of the writer we cannot speak with so much confidence. Yet there are notices in the narrative which suggest that he lived in the neighbourhood where Polycarp's memory was especially revered. At all events he shows some local knowledge. Thus he speaks (§ 3) of the 'Ephesian' gate of the city, omitting however the word *πύλη* and thus indicating an acquaintance with the familiar language of the Smyrnæans. Again (§ 20) he mentions this same gate in another passage, where also he calls it 'Royal' (*βασιλείας*); and he is acquainted with the myrtle tree growing over the grave of the martyr Thraseas hard by. He possesses information likewise (whether correct or not, we are unable to say) respecting the succession of the early bishops of Smyrna both before and after Polycarp (§§ 3, 27). He is likewise aware of the warm baths at the neighbouring city of Teos (§ 25); but the name Lebadian (*Λεβάδια*) which he gives to them is not easily explained and may perhaps betray some confusion. On the whole I should infer that he was not himself a native of or resident in Smyrna, though probably he had a casual knowledge of the place and may have belonged to Proconsular Asia. The *Acts of Pionius*, evidently emanating from Smyrna itself, show a knowledge of topographical details which is much more striking.

Another feature in this *Life*, difficult to understand under any circumstances, is less inexplicable in a stranger than in a Smyrnæan. The earliest authentic tradition relating to Polycarp is altogether ignored by our biographer. Irenæus, the scholar of Polycarp, connects his master directly with the Apostle S. John, and relates more than one incident connected with their intercourse. He moreover states that Polycarp was appointed bishop by Apostles. The general tenour of early tradition

accords with the statements of Irenæus. But of this connexion with the Apostles, and especially with S. John, our biographer in the extant portion of the story says not a word. On the contrary he gives an account which is irreconcilable with it. He represents Polycarp as ordained deacon and priest by Bucolus his predecessor in the see, and consecrated bishop by the bishops of the neighbouring towns. As he shows some knowledge (direct or indirect) of the language of Irenæus elsewhere (see above, p. 426), it is quite possible that he introduced the testimonies from Irenæus, as cited by Eusebius, in the lost end of the work. But, if so, it is difficult to conceive how he can have reconciled them with his previous narrative.

Thus the biography is altogether valueless as a contribution to our knowledge of Polycarp. It does not, so far as we know, rest on any tradition early or late, and may probably be regarded as a fiction of the author's own brain. It has no other value than as representing the opinions and practices of the latter half of the fourth century. From this point of view, the detailed account of Polycarp's election and consecration to the bishopric has the highest interest.

In the critical notes the ms is designated by p, while the letters D, F, H, stand for Duchesne, Funk, and Halloix respectively. Where I have hazarded a conjectural emendation of my own, it is marked conj.

ΒΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ.

I. Ἐπανελθὼν ἀνωτέρω καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου παρουσίας εἰς Σμύρναν, καθὼς εὔρον ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἀντιγράφοις, ποιήσομαι καθεξῆς τὸν λόγον, οὕτως κατανήσας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου διήγησιν.

II. Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀζύμων ὁ Παῦλος ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας κατιὼν κατήνησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, τοῦ πολλοῦ κόπου ἀνάπανσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐν πιστοῖς ἡγούμενος μεγάλην ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἐν Σμύρνη, μέλλων λοιπὸν ἀπιέναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἦλθεν οὖν ἐν τῇ Σμύρνη πρὸς Στραταίαν, ὅστις ἀκουστής αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ, υἱὸν ὄντα Εὐνείκης θυγατρὸς Λωΐδος· αὐταὶ δέ εἰσι περὶ ὧν γράφων Τιμοθέῳ μέμνηται λέγων· τῆς ἐν σοὶ ἀνυποκρίτου πίστεως, ἥτις ἐνώκησε πρῶτον ἐν τῇ μάμμῃ σοῦ Λωΐδι καὶ

ΒΙΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΠΟΥ] βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ μακαρίου μάρτυρος πολυκάρπου ἐπισκόπου γενομένου σμύρνης τῆς ἀσίας p. 3 οὕτως] οὗτος p. 8 ἐν Σμύρνη] D; εἰς σμύρνη p; εἰς σμύρνην F, but it should be σμύρναν.

I. Ἐπανελθὼν ἀνωτέρω] *‘Tracing my steps back to an earlier point.’* On the mistaken interpretation of these words and on the erroneous inferences drawn therefrom see above, p. 426 sq.

5. Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις κ.τ.λ.] Apparently intended for the same journey which is recorded in Acts xviii. 23, 24, xix. 1; see above, I. p. 463.

7. τὴν ἐν πιστοῖς] sc. ἀνάπανσιν, to be understood from the preceding ἀνάπανσιν of the predicate.

8. τὴν ἐν Σμύρνη] No visit of S. Paul to Smyrna is recorded in the Acts. On the evangelization of Smyrna, see above, I. p. 462, and III. p. 343.

10. Στραταίαν] He is mentioned *Apost. Const.* vii. 46 Σμύρνης δὲ Ἀρίστων πρῶτος [ἐπίσκοπος], μεθ' ὃν Στραταίας ὁ Λωΐδος καὶ τρίτος Ἀρίστων, from which passage our author may possibly have derived his information. The name Στράτειος (Στράτιος) occurs occasionally, but not Στραταίας (Στρατέας) so far as I have observed. See above, I. p. 463.

ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ] The abode of Timothy is placed by S. Luke not in Pamphylia, but in Lycaonia; Acts xvi. 1. For the Apostle's visits to Pamphylia, see Acts xiii. 13 sq, xiv. 24 sq.

12. γράφων Τιμοθέῳ] See 2 Tim. i. 5.

τῇ μητρὶ σου Εὐνείκῃ· ὥς ἐκ τούτου εὐρίσκεισθαι τὸν Στραταίαν ἀδελφὸν Τιμοθέου. παρ' ᾧ εἰσελθὼν ὁ Παῦλος καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς ὄντας πιστοὺς λελάληκεν αὐτοῖς περὶ τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς, ὑπομνήσας αὐτοὺς περὶ καινῆς διαθήκης ἄρτου καὶ ποτηρίου προσφορᾶς· ὅτι δεῖ πάντως ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀζύμων ἐπιτελεῖν, κρατεῖν δὲ τὸ καινὸν μυστήριον πάθους καὶ ἀναστάσεως· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ φαίνεται ὁ ἀπόστολος διδάσκων ὅτι οὔτε παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ἀζύμων δεῖ ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ αἰρετικοὶ ποιοῦσι, μάλιστα οἱ Φρύγες, οὔτε μὴν πάλιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ· οὐδὲν γὰρ περὶ τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ὠνόμασεν, ἀλλὰ ἀζύμων, πάσχα, πεντηκοστῆς, κυρῶν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

III. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἄφιξιν διεδέξατο ὁ Στραταίας τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ τινες τῶν μετ' αὐτόν, ὧν τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα, πρὸς ὃ δυνατὸν εὐρίσκειν, οἵτινες καὶ ὅποιοι ἐγένοντο, ἀναγράφομαι· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον σπεύσωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πολύκαρπον.

Ὁντος τινὸς ἐν Σμύρνῃ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνου ἐπισκόπου ᾧ ὄνομα Βουκόλος, γυνή τις ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἦν εὐλαβὴς καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν Θεόν, ἐν ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀναστρεφόμενη, ἣ ὄνομα Καλλιστώ· ταύτῃ ἀποσταλεῖς ἄγγελος παρὰ Κυρίου παραστὰς ἐν ὁράματι νυκτός φησι· Καλλιστώ, ἀναστᾶσα πορεύθητι ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ἐφεσιακὴν, καὶ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν προελθούσῃ σοι ὑπαντή-

10 τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ] τεσσαρισκαιδεκάτῃ p, and so below τεσσαρισκαιδεκάτης.

24 προελθούσῃ] προελθούσης p.

26 αὐτοῖς] αὐτοῖς p.

28 τοῦτο τῷ

8. διδάσκων ὅτι κ.τ.λ.] On this passage see above, p. 429.

12. ἀζύμων, πάσχα, κ.τ.λ.] This punctuation will, I think, commend itself. It had struck me independently, before I saw it suggested by Zahn.

14. τῶν μετ' αὐτόν] *'his successors.'* The words are translated by Bolland (p. 696) *'alii quidam cum ipso'*, as if τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, and Zahn (*Patr. Apost.* II. p. 169) has founded some

speculations on the expression so rendered. On the succession of the early bishops of Smyrna, see above, I. p. 463 sq.

23. Ἐφεσιακὴν] sc. πύλιν, the word being understood as e.g. in John v. 2. This Ephesian gate is mentioned again below (§ 20), where it is also called 'Royal.' See also Aristid. *Or.* I. p. 450 τοῦ βαλανείου τοῦ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ταῖς εἰς Ἐφεσον φερούσαις. Is

25 σουσιν ἄνδρες δύο, ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν παιδάριον ᾧ ὄνομα
 Πολύκαρπος. ἐπερώτησον αὐτοὺς εἰ πράσιμόν ἐστιν· τῶν
 δὲ εἰπόντων ὅτι Ναί, δὸς ἦν ἀξιώσουσι τιμὴν, καὶ παραλα-
 βούσα ἔχε μετὰ σεαυτῇ· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τῷ γένει ἀπὸ
 ἀνατολῆς. ἡ δέ, ἔτι τῆς φωνῆς αὐτῇ ἐνηχούσης καὶ τῆς
 30 καρδίας αὐτῆς φόβῳ καὶ χαρᾷ πηδώσης, ἀνεκάθισέν τε καὶ
 μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ μὴ μελλήσασα τὸ προσταχθὲν
 ἐποίει· ροίζῳ δὲ καὶ δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὴν προειρημένην πύλην
 ἦλθεν· καὶ εὗρεν καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ ἄγγελος, παραλαβούσά
 τε ἡγάγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον, καὶ ἡγαλλιάσατο ἀνατρέφουσα
 35 κοσμίως καὶ παιδεύουσα τὴν ἐν Κυρίῳ παιδείαν, ὁρῶσά τε
 τὸ νουνεχὲς αὐτοῦ καὶ κόσμιον καὶ τὸ πρὸς θεοσέβειαν
 ἐπιτηδεῖον ἐξεπλήσσετο. ἦν δὲ αὐτῇ τῇ μὲν στοργῇ υἱός,
 τῇ δὲ ὑπεροχῇ τῶν οἰκετῶν, ὅσῳ περ δὴ προέκοπτεν τῇ
 ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ διοικητῆς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐγένετο. καὶ δὴ καὶ
 40 τὰς κλείς τῶν ἀποθηκῶν ἐδεδώκει ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε ἐγένετο αὐτὴν χρόνον τινὰ ἀποδη-
 μῆσαι, κατέλιπεν τῆς οἰκίας φύλακα τὸν Πολύκαρπον.
 εἰσιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ μετρεῖν τοῖς οἰκείοις τροφὰς ἡκολούθουν
 χῆραί τε καὶ ὀρφανοὶ καὶ πλείστοι ἐκ γειτόνων, ὅσοι τῶν
 45 πιστῶν ἦσαν πτωχοί, καὶ ἡξίουσαν λαμβάνειν, ὁ μὲν σῖτον,
 οἱ δὲ οἶνον, ἄλλοι ἔλαιον, καὶ εἴ τι ἔχρηζεν ἕκαστος. ὁ δὲ
 ἐκ παιδὸς ἔχων τὸ τῆς εὐποιίας μάθημα, καὶ τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ
 ἐντολὰς ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς πίνακι καὶ τῇ τῆς καρδίας πλακὶ
 δακτύλῳ Θεοῦ πνεύματι ἀγίῳ ἀναγεγραμμένους ἔχων, τὸ τῷ

γένει] τούτῳ τὸ γένος H.
 DF; κατέλειπεν p.

30 ἀνεκάθισέν] ἀνεκάθησέν p.
 44 χῆραι] χῆρες p.

42 κατέλειπεν]

this the same place which is men-
 tioned in the Smyrnæan inscription
C. I. G. 3148 (II. p. 712 sq) στρώσειν
 τὴν βασιλικὴν...τὴν βασιλικὴν στρώσειν
 τὴν πρὸς τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ χαλκᾶς
 τὰς θύρας ποιήσειν? If the 'pavement'
 suggests a road, the 'doors' imply a
 gate. Perhaps there was both a
 βασιλικὴ ὁδός and a βασιλικὴ πύλη at

this place.

35. παιδεύουσα κ.τ.λ.] See the note
 on Polyc. *Phil.* 4.

44. ἐκ γειτόνων] 'from the neighbour-
 hood', used like ἐν γειτόνων, ἐς γειτό-
 νων; see G. Dindorf in Steph. *Thes.*
 s. v. γείτων.

49. τῷ αἰτοῦντι κ.τ.λ.] From Matth.
 v. 42, Luke vi. 30.

αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, ἐποίει δὴ, καὶ οὕτως πάσας ἀποθήκας ἐκέκωσεν, ἀφθόνως τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπιδιδούς.

V. Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε ἦκεν ἡ Καλλιστὼ διὰ χρόνου, εἰς τις τῶν οἰκετῶν προσδραμὼν αὐτῇ ἔφη· Σὺ μὲν, ὦ κυρία, πάντας τοὺς οἰκογενεῖς σου οὐδὲν ἡγησαμένη, τῷ παιδαρίῳ τούτῳ ἐξ 5 ἀνατολῆς ἤκοντι πάντα ἐνεχείρισας· ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν σὴν ἀποδημίαν, ἐκφορήσας πάντα ὅσα ἦν, οὐδὲν ὑπελείπετο. ἡ δὲ τῇ χαλεπῇ τοῦ κατηγόρου φωνῇ διαταραχθεῖσα (ικανὴ γὰρ διαβολὴ καὶ ἡρεμοῦσαν ψυχὴν ἀνακινεῖν, μάλισθ' ὅταν φαντασίαν τῆς ἀπὸ χρημάτων βλάβης ἐμφαίνει) διώδυσεν 10 τε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ θυμοῦ ἐνεπίπλατο, καὶ μάλιστα μεγίστην ἡγουμένη συμφορὰν εἰς ὃ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ αὐτῇ δοθεὶς ἀσώτως κατηνάλωσε πάντα· οὐπω γὰρ ἡρίστατο εἰς τί αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο· διὸ καὶ πολυσχιδεῖς αὐτῇ ἀνεφύοντο λογισμοί. εὐθὺς οὖν ὀνόματι ἐκάλει Πολύκαρπον λέ- 15 γουσα· [Πολύκαρπε·] τῷ δὲ ὑπακούσαντί φησιν· Κόμιζε τὰς κλεῖς τῶν ἀποθηκῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ κομίσας ἤνοιξεν, εἰσελθοῦσα ἐπεσκόπει, καὶ τι θαυμαστὸν τῆς μεγαλουργίας τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐγένετο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιὼν ἐστέναξεν τε καὶ προσηύξατο εἰπών· Θεέ Κύριε ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου 20 παιδός, ὁ ἐν παρουσίᾳ τοῦ προφήτου σου Ἡλιοῦ πληρώσας τὰ ἀγγεῖα τῆς Σαραφθινῆς χήρας, ἐπάκουσόν μου, ἵνα ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐρεθῇ πάντα πεπληρωμένα. καὶ οὕτως εὐρέθη πάντα πεπληρωμένα, ὡς νομίσασαν αὐτὴν καταψεύ-

1 οὕτως] οὗτος p.

διοίδυσεν p.

σχεδεῖς pDF.

ἀραφθινῆς p.

4 προσδραμὼν] προδραμὼν p.

14 ἐκεῖνος] F; ἐκείνους pD.

16 Πολύκαρπε] DF; om. p.

26 δέρειν] conj.; om. pDF. The sense requires this or

10 διώδυσεν]

πολυσχιδεῖς] πολυ-

22 Σαραφθινῆς]

26. ἡπλωσεν ἑαυτὸν] 'he acted frankly, with simplicity,' comp. M. Antoin. iv. 26 ἡπλωσον σεαυτὸν. But the expression is sometimes used in a literal sense, 'to stretch oneself out,' e. g. Joann. Malal. *Chron.* xviii. p. 472 (ed. Bonn.).

30. ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ κ.τ.λ.] An imitation of Polycarp's own language

in *Mart. Polyc.* 14.

38. Καλλιστοῦς] Previous editors have acquiesced in Καλλιστῶ, but I know no authority for this form of the genitive.

40. τῆς ἀνατολικῆς κ.τ.λ.] The construction is doubtful, but the sense suggests that *ρίξης* is a loose genitive after *ἄνθος*, while *καρποῦ* seems to be

25 σασθαι τὸν δοῦλον χαλεπαίνειν καὶ τισι τῶν οἰκετῶν παρα-
 κελεύεσθαι [δέρειν]. φθάσας δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἤπλωσεν
 ἑαυτὸν λέγων· Μὴ δῆτα δι' ἐμὲ ὑβρίσης ἕτερον, ἐμοὶ δὲ
 μᾶλλον ἐμφόρει τὰς τούτου πληγὰς· οὐ γὰρ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ
 30 μὴ κακῶς ἔδαπάνησα ἀλλ' εἰς πτωχοὺς, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ
 τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοὺς πεινῶντας ἐνέπλησεν
 καὶ πέμψας τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ σοὶ τὰ σὰ ἀπεκατέστησεν,
 ἵνα καὶ σὺ σχοίης κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ὃ ποιεῖς ἐπιδιδόναί πτωχοῖς.
 ταῦτα ἀκούσασα καὶ ἰδοῦσα ἔμβοβος ἡ Καλλιστῶ ἐγένετο,
 35 ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον προσθεμένη τῇ πίστει καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
 ἔργοις, ὥστε γενέσθαι αὐτῇ Πολύκαρπον εἰς υἱόν, καὶ ἀνα-
 λύσασαν ἐν πίστει καταλιπεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς.

VI. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν κοίμησίν τῆς Καλλιστοῦς ἐν πολλῇ
 προκοπῇ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ πίστεως καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀγαθὴν
 40 πολιτείας ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἐγίνετο. καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ρίζης,
 κατὰ τὸ ἄοκνον τῆς φιλοπονίας, δείγμα ἔφερεν ἄνθος, ὡς ἂν
 εἴποι τις, μέλλοντος ἀγαθοῦ καρποῦ. φιλομαθεῖς γάρ, εἰ
 καὶ τινες ἄλλοι, καὶ προσφνεῖς ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς οἱ τὴν
 ἀνατολὴν οἰκοῦντες ἄνθρωποι. εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀχθεῖς καὶ
 45 ἐν τῇ Σμύρνῃ κατὰ Θεοῦ θέλημα ἐλθὼν, καταμαθὼν τε τοὺς
 τῶν ἐγχωρίων τρόπους καὶ τούτων πολὺ διαστήσας ἑαυτόν,
 ἔγνω ὡς ἄρα παντὶ δούλῳ Θεοῦ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος [πόλις], πατρίς
 δὲ ἡ ἐπουράνιος Ἱερουσαλήμ· ἐνταῦθα δὲ παροικεῖν, ἀλλ'

some similar word.

29 ἀξίος] p; ἀξίος ἐστιν DF.

36 αὐτῇ]

αὐτὴν p.

38 Καλλιστοῦς] conj.; Καλλιστῶ pDF.

39 καὶ] txt D;

add. τῇ p; add. ἐκ F.

43 προσφνεῖς] προφνεῖς p.

47 πόλις]

conj. (see § 29); om. p. D suggests φυγὴ or οἰκῆσιμος, which latter F adopts.

governed by δείγμα.

42. φιλομαθεῖς γάρ κ.τ.λ.] Duchesne suggests that our biographer may have had in his mind the biblical studies of the Antiochene school, Lucian, Dorotheus, and others.

47. πόλις] This insertion is justified by § 30 ἐπακούσατέ μου τοῦ παροίκου καὶ παρεπιδήμου, ᾧ πᾶσα πόλις ξένη διὰ

τὴν ἐπουράνιον πολιτείαν καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος πόλις διὰ τὴν τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ πάντα Θεοῦ δωρεάν. See *Epist. ad Diongn.* 5 πατρίδας οἰκοῦσιν ἰδίας ἀλλ' ὡς πάροικοι μετέχουσι πάντων ὡς πολῖται, καὶ ἀνθ' ὑπομένουσιν ὡς ξένοι· πᾶσα ξένη πατρίς ἐστιν αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσα πα-
 τρίς ξένη.

48. παροικεῖν κ.τ.λ.] For the distinc-

οὐ κατοικεῖν, ὡς ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι τετάγμεθα. καὶ δὴ ταῦτα διασκοπούμενος ἐπ' εὐφροσύνη θείᾳ νύκτωρ τε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἑαυτὸν ὅλον δι' ὅλου, ὥσπερ καθωσιωμένον ὀλοκαύτωμα, προσενήνοχε Θεῷ, τοῖς μὲν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς γυμναζόμενος λογίοις, ταῖς δὲ διὰ προσευχῶν ἐνδελε- 5 χέσι λειτουργίαις καὶ τῇ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς χρήζοντας ἡ σπουδῇς ἡ ἐπιδόσεως κηδεμονίᾳ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν δίκαιαν αὐταρκείᾳ. σιτίοις τε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν παροῦσι λιτοῖς τε καὶ ἀπεριέργοις ἐχρήτο, ἐσθῆτι δέ, ὡς αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ χρειώδες ἀπῆγει, θάλπους ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα σώφρονος 10 εὐκοσμίας ἀμφιέννυσθαι.

VII. Τὰ δὲ πλείστα ἦν ὑπαναχωρῶν, οὐκ ἐν δημοσίοις οὔτε ἐπιφανέσι τόποις, οὐδ' ὅθεν ἦν τὸν ἐκ τῶν ὁρώντων ἔπαινον καρποῦσθαι. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ διατριβαί, οἴκοι μὲν αἱ πλείσται, αἱ δὲ ἐν προαστείοις ἐν οἷς ἂν ἦν μάλιστα 15 ἀμελοῦντα τὸν πολυδημῶδη τάραχον ἐκφεύγειν, ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἄρα χρήζει ἡ ψυχὴ σταθερᾶς καὶ ἀνεπιμίκτου κακῶν ὀψεώς τε καὶ ἀκοῆς. κακ τούτων ἦν ἐσταλμένος τῷ τε κατὰ τὸν νοῦν φρονήματι καὶ τῷ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα σχήματι· βάδισμα γὰρ πρεσβυτικὸν ἦν ἐν νεαζούσῃ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ τὸ βλέμμα 20 ἀνδρείον, ἀπηλλαγμένον τῆς πρὸς τὰ ὁρώμενα κατὰ τὸν βίον προσπαθείας. εἰ δέ τινες τῶν συναντώντων αὐτῷ κατενόουν τὸ πρόσωπον, ἐρυθρήματος ἐνεπίμπλατο καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ αἰδοῦς αἰδέσιμον ἑαυτὸν κατεσκεύαζεν. τῷ γὰρ ἐρυθρῷ χρώματι διὰ τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ δι' ἐσόπτρου, αἱ τῶν σοφῶν 25 διορῶνται ψυχαί. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ τῶν προσφοιτώντων καὶ

16 ἀμελοῦντα] DF; ἀτελοῦντα p. Perhaps we should read ἀτημελοῦντα. 23
ἐν αὐτῷ] psD; ἐν αὐτῷ F. 26 τῶν] om. H. καὶ καθομιλεῖν] D; καὶ
ὀμιλεῖν F; καὶ θ' ὀμιλεῖν p. 38 ἦν] DF; om. p. 43 ἀπρακτὰ] pDF; ἀπρατα
conj. Mayor; see below, p. 466. 48 ἐπεπόθει] conj.; ἐπεποιθεί psDF. Evidently

tion of παροικεῖν, κατοικεῖν, and for the conception of the Christian's position as a παροικία, see the note on Clem. Rom. i. The combination ξένοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι is taken from Heb. xi. 13. On the other hand in the paral-

lel passage § 30, παροίκου καὶ παρεπίδημου, our author has followed 1 Pet. ii. 11, which is founded on the LXX of Gen. xxiii. 4, Ps. xxxviii (xxxix). 13.

4. ὀλοκαύτωμα] The application to

καθομιλεῖν ἐσπουδακότων τοὺς μὲν ἀδολέσχας καὶ ληρώδεις,
 εἰ οἶόν τε αὐτῷ, ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ φεύγειν προφάσει τοῦ
 τετᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τι σπουδαῖον καὶ μὴ προσεσχηκέναι τῷ συναν-
 30 τήσαντι· εἰ δὲ συνέβη περιπεσεῖν, μόνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ δόξαι
 ὑπεροπτικὸν εἶναι ὀλίγα τινὰ ἀποκρινόμενος ἐπαύετο. τοιοῦ-
 τος ἦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἦν ὠφελθῆναι. τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς
 καθάπερ κύνας λυσσῶντας ἢ θήρας ἀγρίους ἢ ἔρπετὰ ἰοβόλα
 περιΐστατο· ἐμέμνητο γὰρ τῆς λεγούσης γραφῆς· μετὰ ἀν-
 35 δρὸς ἀθώου ἀθῶος ἔσῃ καὶ μετὰ ἐκλεκτοῦ ἐκλεκτός καὶ
 μετὰ στρεβλοῦ διαστρέψεις. τοῖς δὲ ὠφελεῖν δυναμένοις ἐπὶ
 πλείστον συνῆν, καὶ μάλιστα ὧν μὴ μόνον ἐκ τῶν λόγων
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἦν ὠφέλειαν καρποῦσθαι.

VIII. Ἐπανιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν προαστείων εἰς τὴν
 40 πόλιν, εἴ ποτε συνετύγχανον ξυλοφόροι καὶ μάλιστα πρεσ-
 βῦται, συνέπασχεν τε τῆς ἀχθοφορίας ἔνεκα, καὶ συμπορευό-
 μενος ἀνηρώτα εἰ ἅμα τῷ εἰσελθεῖν πιπράσκει τὸ φορτίον·
 τοῦ δὲ ἀποκρινομένου ὅτι ἐνίστε ἤδη ἐσπέρας ἄπρακτα εἶη,
 ἐπιδούς αὐτῷ τὴν τιμὴν ἦγεν παρὰ τὰς ἄγχι τῇ πύλῃ
 45 οἰκούσας χήρας· καὶ ταύταις μὲν τὴν χρήσιν τῶν ξύλων, τῷ
 δὲ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῆς τροφῆς τῆς ὥρας ἐχαρίζετο.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥραν, ἔτι καὶ
 μᾶλλον ἐπεπόθει τὴν θεοσέβειαν· διέγνω δὲ ὡς ἄρα οἰκείον
 ἀσκήσει ἐλευθερία, ἣτις περιγίνεται ὀλίγοις μὲν, μάλιστα
 50 τοῖς ἀδούλωτον καὶ ἀπαρεμπόδιστον τῆς ψυχῆς εἰληφόσι
 παρὰ Θεοῦ κεκτηῖσθαι πτερόν· ὃς τὴν ὑπέργειον μᾶλλον καὶ
 εὐπετηὴ ἡξιώται πολιτείαν, μὴ κατασπώμενος ἐπὶ γῆς τῷ τοῦ

this cannot stand, and I have restored what seems to be the right reading. 49

ἀσκήσει] part of the κ and the whole of the η are obliterated in p. 50 ἀπαρεμ-

πόδιστον] ἀπαραμπόδιστον psD. 51 κεκτηῖσθαι] σθαι in a later hand in p.

52 ἡξιώται] A word like λαβεῖν seems to have fallen out.

Polycarp is from *Mart. Polyc.* 14.

9. ἐσθῆτι δέ] sc. ἐχρήτο (ὥστε) ἀμ-
 φιένυσθαι. This seems the most
 probable construction, if indeed the
 text is not mutilated.

22. προσπαθείας] 'propensity'; for

προσπάθεια is the opposite to ἀντιπά-
 θεια, e.g. Isid. Pelus. *Epist.* i. 310
 προσπάθεια μὲν οὐκ ὀξυδορκεῖ, ἀντιπά-
 θεια δὲ ὅλως οὐχ ὀρᾷ.

34. μετὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀθῶου κ.τ.λ.] From
 Ps. xvii (xviii). 26, 27.

γάμου δεσμῶ. ἀπροσδεῆς γὰρ ἡμῶν τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον
ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲ εἷς, προσδεέστεροι δὲ μᾶλλον οἷς ἢ πολυ-
δάπανος καὶ φιλόκοσμος οἴκαδε ἐγκαθώρμηται γυνή· τὰς
τε ἐκ ταύτης περιστάσεις καὶ ἀηδίας ἐλογίζετο, ὡς οὐκ
ἔνεστιν ἐπίπαν εἰρηναῖον καὶ εὐδιον ἐκτελέσαι βίον. εἰ 5
μὲν γὰρ ἄσωτος εἶη, ὥς φησι Σολομών, μεστός κήλου θυμὸς
ἀνδρός· εἰ δὲ σωφρονεῖ, κεκομπῆσθαι τε καὶ τὸ φρόνημα
διεγγεῖραι· ὡς κρεῖττον μᾶλλον ἐν ἐρημίᾳ οἰκεῖν, ἢ μετα-
γυναικὸς μαχίμου καὶ γλωσσώδους. ὅλως δὲ οὐδεὶς βίου
ῥαῖσμός ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπουρανίων κατῴκειλεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν· 10
εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν ὡς ἄρα εἶη αὐτῷ ῥαῖα τὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ῥήματα καὶ προφητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων· ῥαῖος κάλλει παρὰ
τοὺς γίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χεῖλεσί σου·
καί· ὡς ῥαῖοι οἱ πόδες τῶν ἐγγελλιζομένων ἀγαθὰ παι-
δοτροφίας τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἔγγονα ἐπιμελείας καὶ 15
τῆς ἀκολουθούσης οἴκαδε θεραπείας διελάμβανεν, ὅσων μὲν
δεήσει χρήζειν τὸν τούτοις συμπλεκόμενον, ὅσας δὲ περι-
στάσεις καὶ ἀσχολίας ἔχειν, φροντίδας τε τῆς τούτων ἀνα-
στροφῆς, καὶ οἷα νοσηλευομένων παίδων τοῖς γεννήτορσιν
ἄχθη καὶ ἀποβιωσάντων πένθη γίνεται, οἱ τε ἄλλοι περὶ τὴν 20
ἀγωγὴν παντὸς αὐτῶν τοῦ βίου κίνδυνοι. κατὰ πᾶσαν γὰρ

1 τῶν] τὸν p.

7 σωφρονεῖ] σώφρων εἰ p.

κεκομπῆσθαι] DF;

ἐκεκομπῆσθαι p. Perhaps we should read ἐκεκομπῆσθαι; see the lower note.

10 ἐπουρανίων] pF; ὑπουρανίων D.

11 αὐτῷ] F; αὐτῷ psD.

18 ἀνα-

6. μεστός κήλου κ.τ.λ.] From Prov. vi. 34.

7. κεκομπῆσθαι] Perhaps (considering the reading of the MS) we should substitute ἐκεκομπῆσθαι. But I have not found another instance of the perfect passive used in this sense in the case of either verb.

10. κατῴκειλεν κ.τ.λ.] 'run his soul aground.' This compound does not seem yet to have found a place in the lexicons.

12. ῥαῖος κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. xlv (xlv).

3. The passage which follows is taken

from Rom. x. 15, which again is a quotation from Is. lii. 7, though not following the LXX.

24. ἀνακίρναμένον] I have substituted this for ἀνακρινόμενον, the reading of previous editors, both as making better sense and as being nearer to the traces of the MS.

25. ἀφηνιᾶν καὶ ἀπαυχενίζειν] Words used of restive horses which decline the reins and the yoke; comp. Philo de Abrah. 37 (Op. II. p. 31 M.) τότε δὲ ἀφηνιάων καὶ ἀπαυχενίζων. Probably the metaphorical use of these

μετάβασιν ἡλικίας μετακίνησις τοῖς νέοις καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος
 γίνεται, ἀναζέοντος ὥσπερ οἴνου νέου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὥραν
 ἐμφύτου θερμοῦ, ἀνακιρναμένου τε καὶ ἔλκοντος ἐπὶ τὸ καθα-
 25 ρώτερον τὴν ὕλην, καθάπερ ὑποζυγίου ἀφηνιᾶν καὶ ἀπαι-
 χενίζειν ἐπιχειροῦντος, μέχρις ἂν ὁ ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἐπίσκοπος
 νοῦς, καθάπερ χαλινῷ, λόγῳ καὶ λογισμῷ ἀναχαιτίσει τε καὶ
 ἀνακόψει καὶ παύσει τὸν χρεμετισμόν, εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγὼν τὴν
 ἄτακτον καὶ ἄλογον ὁρμήν. τότε δὲ ὁ νοῦς ἐργάζεται ταῦτα
 30 καὶ κατισχύει, ὅταν αὐτὸν θεία τις ἐπιφροσύνη καὶ παρουσία
 πνεύματος ἁγίου †περισπαρῇ†. διὸ δὴ καὶ ὁ θεσπέσιος Δαυεὶδ
 ᾗτήσατο λέγων· Πνεῦμα εὐθὲς ἐγκαίνισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις
 μοῦ· πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ στήριζόν με, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σοῦ
 τὸ ἄγιον μὴ ἀντανέλῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἀπόστολός φησιν·
 35 Πνεύματι περιπατεῖτε, καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν σαρκὸς οὐ μὴ τελέ-
 σhte.

X. Ἀκόλουθον οὖν ἐστὶν ἡμῖν λοιπὸν καὶ τὸν τῆς
 ἐπισκοπῆς αὐτοῦ καταλέξαι δρόμον, καὶ ὡς ἐπολιτεύσατο,
 καὶ ὡς εἰς τοῦτον ἦλθεν· ἵνα καὶ διὰ τούτων μάθωμεν μιμηταὶ
 40 τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκλεγομένων λειτουργῶν γίνεσθαι. ὁ μὲν
 οὖν Βουκόλος, ὁ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐπίσκοπος, ἡγάπα τε αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ
 πολλοῦ ἐκ παιδὸς ἐποιεῖτο· καὶ εὐθυμος ὢν εὐέλπιστος ἐπ'

στροφῆς] We should probably read ἀνατροφῆς.

24 ἀνακιρναμένου] conj.;

ἀνακιρναμένου p; ἀνακρινόμενον DE. See the lower note.

31 περισπαρῇ]

This word is unsatisfactory, but I have nothing to suggest.

42 εὐέλπιστος]

conj.; εὐελπίς τε pDF.

and similar words, such as ἀναχαιτί-
 ζειν just below, though very common
 in these later times, should be traced
 back to the myth in Plato's Phædrus,
 as the original. The previous meta-
 phor of the wing (πτερόν) of the soul
 in this chapter is derived from the
 same source.

32. Πνεῦμα κ.τ.λ.] Ps. I (li). 12, 14,
 13. The next quotation is from Gal.
 v. 16.

40. ὁ μὲν οὖν Βουκόλος κ.τ.λ.] Bucolus
 is commemorated in the Menæa on

Feb. 6 Σμύρνης ὁ ποιμὴν Βουκόλος θυη-
 πόλος κ.τ.λ., where also his relation to
 Ignatius is recorded, the source of
 information doubtless being this Life
 by Pionius. Bucolus himself is stated
 in the Menæa to have been ordain-
 ed bishop by S. John and to have re-
 futed and 'ostracised' (ἐξωστράκιω-
 ται) Marcion. This last statement is
 hardly consistent with chronology.
 See also the note on § 20.

42. εὐέλπιστος] I have thus emended
 the text, being unable to make any-

αὐτῷ ἦν· ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν χρηστῶν υἱῶν πατέρες ἀγάλλονται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔχειν διαδόχους σώφρονas. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἡμιβε τὸν Βουκόλον, ὡς ἂν γεννήτορα ἀγαπῶν, οὐκ ἐπιπλάστῳ μέντοι λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῇ μὲν καὶ μὴ παράπαν διόλου αὐτῷ γινόμενος· ὑπεξαναχωρῶν δὲ τοὺς αἰεὶ ὄντας ἦδει καιρούς, ὡς μηδὲ 5 προσκορῇ μήτε ἀτημελῇ δοκεῖν εἶναι. δῶρον μὲν γὰρ ἡ δόμα οὐτ' αὐτῷ δυναμένῳ ἐπαρκεῖν ἐσπούδαζεν διδόναι οὔτε μὴν ὁ Βουκόλος λαβεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἴδιον κέρδος ἡγείτο τοῦ νέου τὴν εἰς τοὺς δεομένους προθυμίαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἐντολὴν προσηκόντως ἐπλήρου, διδούς τοῖς οὐ δυνα- 10 μένοις ἀνταποδοῦναι, ἐνίων θηρωμένων διὰ τῆς τέχνης τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἐφιεμένων ἐτέρας μείζονος τιμῆς. ὡς οὖν ὁ μὲν Πολύκαρπος, καθάπερ ὁ Ἰακώβ, ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἄπλaστος ὢν, πάντα ἀτύφως καὶ ἀπεριβλέπτως εἰργάζετο, σωματικῆς τε ὑπηρεσίας αὐτουργῶν τροφῆς τε καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς [διαίτης] 15 εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἐπαρκῶν, αὐτοῖς ἔργοις λαμπρὸς ἦν· ὁ δὲ Βουκόλος ταῦτα οὐ παρὰ τοῦ ποιούντος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν πασχόντων ἐμάνθανεν. ὡς γὰρ τοῖς σπουδαίοις τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν ἀννυπέρθετον, οὕτως δὴ καὶ τοῖς εὐλογίστοις ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς παθεῖν τὸ εὐχαριστεῖν ἀπaráλειπτον. ἔτι τε καὶ πολλῶν 20 διὰ τῆς δοθείσης αὐτῷ παρὰ Θεοῦ χάριτος ἀσθενούντων τε καὶ δαιμονώντων εἰς ὀλοκληρίαν ἀποκαθισταμένων, καὶ τοῦ

2 τῷ] conj.; τὸ pDF.
 nous ἦδη F. μηδὲ] pF; μήτε D.
 15 διαίτης] conj.; om. pDF.

5 αἰεὶ ὄντας ἦδει] D; λέγοντας ἦδη p; λεγομέ-
 6 ἀτημελῇ] conj.; αἰεὶ μέλλειν pDF.
 19 εὐλογίστοις] DF; εὐλογίστως p.

thing of εὐελπίς τε which has satisfied the previous editors.

6. ἀτημελῇ] So I would restore the text. The reading of the MS cannot stand.

δῶρον μὲν γὰρ ἡ δόμα] The distinction of δῶρον, δόμα, is explained by Philo *Leg. Alleg.* iii. 70 (I. p. 126 M.) δῶρα δομάτων διαφέρουσιν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔμφασιν μεγέθους τελείων ἀγαθῶν δηλοῦσιν, ἃ τοῖς τελείοις χαρίζεται ὁ Θεός, τὰ δὲ εἰς βραχύτατον ἔσταλται, ὧν

μετέχουσιν οἱ εὐφρεῖς ἀσκηταὶ οἱ προκόπτοντες, *De Cherub.* 25 (I. p. 154 M.) τῶν ὄντων τὰ μὲν χάριτος μέσης ἡξίωται, ἡ καλεῖται δόσις, τὰ δὲ ἀμείνονος, ἥς ὄνομα οἰκεῖον δωρεά. Hence the distinction of δόσις ἀγαθή, δῶρημα τέλειον, in James i. 17.

9. τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου κ.τ.λ.] The reference is more especially to Luke xiv. 14.

13. ἄπλaστος] This is the epithet used of Jacob in the LXX Gen. xxv. 27.

Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξαζομένου, ἔχαιρεν. πολλά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' ὁραμάτων ἔβλεπεν.

- 25 XI. Ἐγὼ οὖν ὡς ἄξιός εἰμι· καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν διὰ τὸ νέον τῆς ἡλικίας τῷ τῶν διακόνων βαθμῷ συνηρίθμησεν, πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμαρτυρούσης. μακάριος κακεῖνος ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀξιώθεις χειρὶ σκεπάσαι τοιαύτην κεφαλὴν καὶ διὰ φωνῆς εὐλογῆσαι τηλικαύτην ψυχὴν· ἡ γὰρ τῶν καθισ-
30 ταμένων εἰς τόπον λειτουργίας διὰ πίστεως τῆς εἰς τὸν Θεὸν προκοπῇ δόκιμος καὶ κεκριμένη τῶν ἐκλεξαμένων καλῶς, ἀνεπίληπτος μὲν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀνυπαίτιος δὲ συνειδήσει, παρρησία καὶ χαρὰ γίνεται.

- XII. Διάκονος οὖν ἐν τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν δόκιμος, ὁποῖος
35 ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους Στέφανος· καὶ γὰρ λόγῳ κεχορηγημένος καὶ ἔργοις ἀγαθοῖς κεκοσμημένος μετὰ παρρησίας Ἑλληνὰς τε καὶ Ἰουδαίους καὶ τοὺς αἵρετικούς ἤλεγχε. πολλάκις δ' αὐτὸν προτρέψας καὶ παρακαλέσας ὁ Βουκόλος μόλις ἔπεισε πρὸς τὸ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Κυρίου παιδευθῆναι καὶ
40 ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν τῆς κατηχήσεως ποιήσασθαι λόγον. ἐδόθη οὖν ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διδασκαλίας ὀρθῆς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς καθολικὸς κανὼν· ἐρμηνεύσαι τε ἱκανὸς μυστήρια, ἃ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἦν ἀπόκρυφα, οὕτω φανερώς αὐτὰ ἐξετίθετο, ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἀκούουσιν
45 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρῶσιν αὐτά. πολλά δὲ καὶ συγγράμματα καὶ

20 ἔτι] ἔστι H.

πολλὰς p.

conj.; ἱκανῶς psDF.

22 ἀποκαθισταμένων] ἀποκαθιστάμενον H.

25 καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν] κατὰ τὸ παρὸν καὶ H.

23 πολλά]

42 ἱκανὸς]

14. ἀπεριβλέπτως] i.e. without looking round to see what others think of it.

σωματικῆς τε κ.τ.λ.] In this sentence ὑπηρεσίας seems to be governed by ἐπαρκῶν, as ἐπαρκεῖν sometimes takes a genitive of the thing supplied; e.g. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ix. 2 τροφῆς μὲν γονεῦσι δεῖν μάλιστα ἐπαρκεῖν. I have inserted διαίτης (see above, p. 425), as the sentence seemed to require some such word; but, if it be omitted, λοι-

πῆς will agree with ὑπηρεσίας, while τροφῆς will be the genitive governed by ὑπηρεσίας.

19. τοῖς εὐλογίστοις] Or perhaps we should read τοῖς εὐλογίστως ἔχουσιν.

41. ἐκκλησιαστικὸς κ.τ.λ.] See above, pp. 402, 426.

42. ἱκανὸς] The grammar of the sentence seems to require the substitution of ἱκανὸς for ἱκανῶς, which the previous editors have retained.

45. πολλά δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.] This state-

ὁμιλίας καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ, ἅτινα ἐν διωγμῷ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένῳ, ὅτε καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν, διήρπασάν τινες τῶν ἀνόμων· φανερά δὲ ὅποια ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἐφευρισκομένων, ἐν οἷς καὶ πρὸς Φιλιππησίους ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἱκανωτάτη ἦν· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐντάξομεν ἐν τῷ δέοντι τόπῳ. 5

XIII. Ἐν δὲ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ πρὸ πάντων ἦν τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰδέναι περὶ Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος, ἀοράτου, ἀναλλοιώτου, ἀμετρήτου, καὶ ὅτι οὗτος εὐδόκησεν τὸν ἴδιον λόγον υἱὸν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καταπέμψαι, ἵνα φορέσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀληθῶς ὁ λόγος σαρκωθείς σώσῃ τὸ ἴδιον πλάσμα· ὃς κατὰ τὴν λεχθεῖσαν προφητείαν ἐξ ἀχράντου καὶ ἀμώμου παρθένου καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου τὸ τῆς γεννήσεως τοῖς πολλοῖς δυσκατάληπτον μυστήριον ἐπλήρωσε· καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας ὑπέστη, καθὼς διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν αὐτὸς ὁ Χριστὸς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὁ 15 πατὴρ ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ προεκήρυξεν· ὃν καὶ ἀνέστησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ εἶδον οἱ μαθηταὶ τοιοῦτον ἐν σώματι, οἷος ἦν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ παθεῖν· καὶ ἀναλαμβάνόμενον ἐν νεφέλῃ φωτὸς εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς ἐθεάσαντο ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι οἷον πρὸ παραβάσεως ἔπλασε τὸν Ἀδάμ. περὶ δὲ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ 20 δωρεᾶς παρακλήτου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν χαρισμάτων ἀπεδείκνυνεν ὅτι μὴ ἐνδέχεται [ἔχειν] ἔξω τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ μέλος ἀποκοπὲν σώματος ἔχει τινὰ δύναμιν, συμβιβάζων

1 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ] conj. (so too Zahn); ὑπ' αὐτοῦ pDF. Perhaps read ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
4 ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἱκανωτάτη ἦν] pDF. Should we not read ἦν ἐπιστολὴ ἱκανωτάτη?
6 πρὸ] πρὸς p. 8 οὗτος] DF; οὕτως p. 10 ὁ λόγος] p; ὡν λόγος DF.

ment is apparently founded on the language of Irenæus *Epist. ad Florin.* (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 20); see I. p. 445, where this father speaks of letters written by Polycarp to churches and to individuals. The description of the extant letter to the Philippians as ἱκανωτάτη, which follows, is taken from Iren. *Haer.* iii. 3. 4, likewise quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 14). See above, I. p. 473, III. p. 424.

1. ὁμιλίας] Ign. *Polyc.* 5 μᾶλλον δὲ

περὶ τούτων ὁμιλίαν ποιοῦ. This passage may possibly have suggested the insertion of the word, as our biographer elsewhere shows a knowledge of Ignatius' epistle; see above, p. 425.

2. τῶν ἀνόμων] An imitation of the language in *Mart. Polyc.* 9, 16; comp. § 3.

24. καὶ ἡ βασιλεία κ.τ.λ.] Dan. ii. 44, from the version of Theodotion. The following quotation, ἡ Μαρία

ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν γραφῶν· ὡς τὸ διὰ τοῦ Δανιήλ, καὶ ἡ Βασιλεία
25 αὐτοῦ λαῶ ἐτέρῳ οὐχ ὑπολειφθήσεται· καὶ ἐν εὐαγγελίῳ,
ἡ Μαρία τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα ἐξελέξατο, ἥτις οὐκ ἀφαιρεθή-
σεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα παραπλήσια τούτοις.

XIV. Εὐνουχίας τε καὶ παρθενίας ἕνεκα μέλον ἦν αὐτῷ
ποιεῖσθαι λόγον προτρεπτικόν, καὶ ἦν ἀξιῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης
30 ἡ ἐπιταγῆς ἐτέρων, καὶ γονεῖς ἡ δεσπόται ὦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς
ἐκάστου προαιρέσεως καὶ προθυμίας τὸ ἐκούσιον αἶθλον ἐπι-
τελεῖσθαι. ἔλεγεν δὲ τὴν ἀγνείαν πρόδρομον εἶναι τῆς μελ-
λούσης ἀφθάρτου βασιλείας, καὶ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῆς εὐνουχίας
ἐνθεν εἰληφέναι ἐκ τοῦ εὐνοϊαν ἔχειν πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν
35 δεσπότην· παρθενίαν δέ, ὅτι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ τὸ νοούμενον
τῆς τοιαύτης σωφροσύνης ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πῦρ τὸ τῆς
σαρκὸς θανατοῦσιν οἱ τοιαύτην πολιτείαν ἀσκοῦντες. καὶ
τὴν μονογαμίαν δὲ ἐκ τῆς πλάσεως ἐδείκνυν, ὡς μία ἐνὶ
ἐπλάσθη· διὸ καὶ ἡ ἀγομένη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα παρθένος
40 ἐμφερὲς τὸ ὄνομα φέρει· τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ὅτι παρὰ Θεοῦ· τὸ
δὲ τέλος τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐνός φησι, τουτέστιν ἄνδρός· καὶ
ὅτι πρῶτος Δάμεχ, ὦν ἐκ τοῦ Κάϊν, ἔλαβεν ἑαυτῷ ἀγό-
γυναϊκας· τὸ δὲ ἑαυτῷ λαβεῖν ἐστι τὸ μὴ κατὰ θέλημα
Θεοῦ. τὴν πολυγαμίαν οὖν ἔλεγεν γάμου μὲν ἔχειν ὄνομα,
45 εἶναι δὲ φιλευπρόσωπον πορνείαν.

19 πρὸ] πρὸς p.

same letters explains the omission.

22 ἔχειν] conj.; εἶναι D; om. pF. The repetition of the

28 μέλον] μέλλων p.

29 καὶ]

pF; ὡς D.

ἀξιῶν] conj.; ἀξιον pDF.

34 ἔχειν] after δεσπότην H.

35 τὸ] om. H.

36 ἐστί] add. τὸ νοούμενον p, thus repeating the word.

37 θανατοῦσιν] F; θανατοῦν pD.

38 δὲ] om. H.

κ.τ.λ., is from Luke x. 42.

28. Εὐνουχίας] 'celibacy,' as frequently in patristic writers; e.g. Polycrates in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24, Athenag. *Synchl.* 33, 34, Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 4, p. 269, *Strom.* iii. 1, p. 509 sq.

29. ἦν ἀξιῶν] 'he demanded.' I have substituted this for the reading of the MS, ἦν ἀξιον, which does not give a good sense.

35. παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ] A similar derivation is attributed to Methodius in Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 237 (p. 311 A) ὅτι παρθεῖα ἢ παρθενία κατὰ μίαν ἀπαλλαγὴν καλεῖται στοιχείου, ὡς δὴ μόνη τὸν ἔχοντα αὐτῆς τὰς ἀφθόρους τελετὰς Θεῷ ἀπεικάζουσα, οὐ μείζον ἀγαθὸν ἀδύνατον εὐρεῖν.

42. ἔλαβεν κ.τ.λ.] From Gen. iv. 19.

45. φιλευπρόσωπον πορνείαν] Athenag. *Synchl.* 33 ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος [γάμος]

XV. Τινῶν δὲ λεγόντων Ἑλλήνων αὐτῷ ὡς ἄρα δυσ-
 χερὲς εἶη καὶ φορτικὸν παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς τὸ δύνασθαι τῶν
 ὀρέξεων περικρατεῖν, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι Εὐηθὲς ἐστὶν ὑπολαμ-
 βάνειν ὅσαπερ ἀνθρώποις ἀδύνατα [φαίνεται, ὄντως εἶναι
 ἀδύνατα], ἀλλ' ὅτι πάντα τε κατεργάζεται Κύριος καὶ 5
 ὑπάγει ταῖς μεγάλαις αὐτοῦ ἡνίαις ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης,
 μάθετε. τρεῖς γὰρ τρόπους εἰσηγησάμενος ἀγνείας πιστοῖς,
 ἐφυγάδεν μὲν καὶ ἐξώρισεν πορνείαν, ἄρχουσιν δὲ καὶ
 βασιλεύουσιν ἀπέδειξεν ἀγνείαν· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
 ἀστάτους καὶ ἀορίστους καὶ ἀκρίτους ὁρμὰς ἐχόντων καί, 10
 καθάπερ ἵπποι, θηλυμανούντων καὶ χρεμετιζόντων ἐπὶ
 τὰς τῶν πλησίων γαμετάς, μόνοι οἱ τὸν ἐπουράνιον νό-
 μον καὶ λόγον Θεοῦ ἔκδικον καὶ προασπιστὴν πάντων
 φόβῳ προσδεχόμενοι κριτὴν ἐνὶ τῷ διὰ τεκνογονίας ἀρ-
 κοῦνται γάμῳ· γυναῖκες ὡσαύτως πρὸς μόνον ἀποβλέπειν 15
 διδάσκονται τὸν παρθένιον ἄνδρα. [XVI.] Ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος
 τρόπος τῆς ἀγνείας ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς χηρείας ἐπαναβεβηκὼς
 τὸν προειρημένον· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει δυσχερὲς εἶναι τὸ
 πρῶτον, μέχρις παρῆλθεν ὁ κατὰ τὸ συγκεχωρημένον ποτὲ
 παύσασθαι δυνάμενος. ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῆς πανάθλου ἀγνείας 20
 ἀσκητικὸς τρόπος τίνας οὐκ ἔχει ὑπερβολάς; ποῖαν δὲ ἀξι-
 έραστον καὶ ἀξίεπαινον ὁ τῆς εὐνουχίας καὶ παρθενίας οὐ
 κέκτηται τιμὴν, ἀπαγκωνισάμενος μὲν καί, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις,
 ἀπορρήψας πάντας τοὺς βιωτικὸς δεσμούς, ἄλματι δὲ κούφῳ

1 Τινῶν] DF; τινὲς p.
 D to fill the lacuna in p.
 of it as 'locus corruptus'.

4 φαίνεται...ἀδύνατα] The suggestion of
 18 οὗτος] conj.; οὕτω pDF, though D speaks
 δυσχερὲς] conj.; δυσχερὲς pDF. 25 εὐπετεῖ]

εὐπερὲς ἐστὶ μοιχεία, where the con-
 text has other points of resemblance
 with the language of our biographer;
 Tertull. *de Pudic.* 1 'nec secundas
 quidem post fidem nuptias permittitur
 nosse, nuptialibus et dotalibus,
 si forte, tabulis a moechiae et forni-
 cationis opere diversas'; *Auctor Op.*
Imperf. in Matth. Hom. 32 (Chry-
 sost. *Op.* VI. p. cxxxiv) 'dum per-

mittente Deo publice et licenter
 committitur, fit honesta fornicatio,'
Apost. Const. iii. 2 τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τὴν
 τριγαμίαν προφανὴς πορνεία καὶ ἀσελ-
 γεία ἀναμφίβολος: see also Cotelier's
 note on *Hermas Mand.* iv. 4.

11. καθάπερ ἵπποι κ.τ.λ.] Jer. v. 8
 ἵπποι θηλυμανεῖς ἐγενήθησαν, ἕκαστος
 ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίου αὐτοῦ ἐχρε-
 μέτιζον.

25 καὶ εὐπετεῖ διαβήματι τοὺς προειρημένους ὑπερδραμὼν καὶ
 ὑπερπηδήσας ἄθλους; τοῦ γὰρ ἢ ἐνὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι ἢ τοῦ γενο-
 μένου πεπαῦσθαι μείζονα μὲν τοῦ ἐλομένου τὴν προαίρεσιν
 ἀπέδειξεν, ὑπερβάλλουσιν δὲ τοῦ δωρησαμένου Θεοῦ τὴν
 δύναμιν ὁμολόγησεν. ὅτι γὰρ ἐκούσιον τοῦ προθεμένου καὶ
 30 Θεοῦ δῶρον τοῦ δυναμένου, εἶπεν ὁ Σωτὴρ εὐνογίχαι ἐάγ-
 τοῖς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ μὴ πάντας χω-
 ρεῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ λοιπὸν ὁσημέραι καὶ ἡλικία προέ-
 κοπτεν, ἣ τε πρόδρομος τοῦ γήρους ἐπήνθει πολὺ καὶ λευκὴ
 35 τις ὑπὲρ κροτάφων θριξὶ ἤρχετο μειδιᾷν, τῆς ἀνθρώπων
 φύσεως οὐκ ἀργῶς ἀλλὰ θεία προνοία μεγαλαυχούσης καὶ
 τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ ἕκαστα προβαλλομένης εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τῷ
 γένει, καὶ πολλῇ χάριτι τῆς σοφίας ἔργοις τε καὶ λόγοις τὸν
 ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ τέλειον καλούσης· ὥσπερ ὅταν λέγῃ· ἕως
 40 τίνος, ὦ ὀκνηρέ, κατὰκεισαι; πότε δὲ ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθήσῃ;
 ἢ πάλιν· ἐτοίμαζε εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον τὰ ἔργα σου· οὕτω δὴ
 καὶ διὰ τούτων ὑπομιμνήσκειν ἡμῶν ἕκαστον οἶμαι τοῦ
 τέλους πρὸ τοῦ παρεῖναι, ἵνα ὅσῳ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λευκαί-
 νεται τὴν κεφαλὴν, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου λαμπρύ-
 45 νηται τὴν ψυχὴν. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ Βουκόλος ὡς ἱκανὴ μὲν τῷ
 Πολυκάρπῳ ἡ ἡλικία, ἱκανωτέρα δὲ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἐτῶν ἡ
 κατὰ πάντα τὸν βίον εὐταξία, ἔγνω ὡς ἄρα γένοιτο αὐτῷ
 σύμβουλός τε ἀριστος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν λόγων καὶ

εὐπετεῖ p.

ἐγερθείσῃ p.

44 λαμπρύνηται] λαμπρύνεται p.

34 πρόδρομος] πρόδρομον p.

42 ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν p.

40 ἐγερθήσῃ]

43 παρεῖναι] παρῆναι p.

18. οὗτος] i.e. ὁ προειρημένος, ὁ τῆς μονογαμίας. The reading of the MS οὐπω yields no sense, and I have therefore substituted οὗτος.

23. ἀπαγκωνισάμενος] 'divesting himself.' The word is very rare, but occurs Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* i. 11 (p. 242) ἀπηγκωνισμένη τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ γυμνῇ διετείνεται λέγων, *Vit. Apoll.* vi. 11 (p. 111) θρασεία δ' ἦν καὶ φιλο-

λοίδωρος καὶ ἀπηγκωνισμένη πάντα (of Cynic philosophy). Is not the idea of the word rather 'baring the elbows,' than 'thrusting away with the elbows,' as generally taken?

30. εἶπεν ὁ Σωτὴρ κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xix. 12 and Matt. xix. 11.

39. ὅταν λέγῃ] The first quotation is from Prov. vi. 9, the second from Prov. xxiv. 27.

συλλειτουργγὸς κατὰ τὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἐπεσφράγισε δὲ καὶ ἐκύρωσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν βουλήν ὃ Κύριος δι' ὁράματος αὐτῷ κελεύσας· καὶ οὕτως κατέστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, πάσης ὁμοθυμαδὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν χαρᾷ μεγάλῃ ὑποδεξαμένης, καίπερ ἐκείνου τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπεγχείρημα δειλιῶντος. 5 ἔλεγεν γὰρ αὐταρκες εἶναι ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς τόπου καὶ μιᾶς λειτουργίας διδόναι λόγον, καὶ μὴ πλειόνων. προσετίθει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι Ἐὰν μὲν τις ἀνάξιος ὦν τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς τολμήσῃ κρατῆσαι, κρίμα ἔχει, ἐὰν δὲ ἄξιος ᾖ, ἀπέχει τῶν πρώτων ἔργων τὸν μισθόν, ἀπολαβὼν ὥσπερ μισθόν τινα 10 τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως τάξιν. ἐπεὶ οὖν οὐχ οἷόν τε ᾗν ἀντειπεῖν πρὸς τε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλήν καὶ παράκλησιν, δέχεται τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου τάξιν, ὥστε καὶ ὄραμα ἰδεῖν καὶ πολλὴν παράκλησιν δέξασθαι.

XVIII. Ἐκ τότε οὖν πολλῆς προσθήκης δι' αὐτοῦ ἐν 15 τῷ λόγῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας γενομένης, πάντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. πολυμερῶς γὰρ ἐπὶ πλείστον ὅσον ἐποιεῖτο τὸν λόγον, ἐξ αὐτῆς τε τῆς ἀναγινωσκομένης γραφῆς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν ἐποιεῖτο μετὰ πάσης ἀποδείξεως καὶ πληροφορίας, ὥστε τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὀφθαλμοφα- 20 νῶς περιύστασθαι τὰ λεγόμενα. ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ τὸν λέγοντα πρῶτον πεπιστευκέναι οἷς λέγει· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ γίνεται τὸ μὴ ὡς ἀλλότρια διηγήματα, ἀλλὰ ἴδια κατορθώματα· ᾗν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ φωνὴ μετὰ τε τοῦ †αὐτοῦ† βλέμματος καὶ τοῦ σχήματος ἐμβριθῆς καὶ ἀνδρεία, ἔχουσα τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ 25 ἐμμελὲς καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ πλήρες. καὶ ποτὲ τις αὐτῷ...ἐπεί-

8 τοῦτο] τοῦτον p.

ἀντειπεῖν] Zahn: εἰπεῖν pDF, but D says 'videtur deesse aliquid'.

αὐτῆς τε] conj.; ἐξ αὐτῆς pF; καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς D.

probably be omitted.

11 ᾗν] add. δυνατόν p (a gloss on οἷόν τε) DF.

18 ἐξ

24 αὐτοῦ] pDF. It should

26 πλήρες] πλήρες (sic) D. Is the reading of

25. ἐμβριθῆς] The idea and the word are apparently suggested by *Mart. Polyc.* 9 ὃ δὲ Πολύκαρπος ἐμβριθεῖ τῷ προσώπῳ κ.τ.λ.

28. τῶν κάτω] sc. τινάς; see Winer

Gramm. lxiv, p. 737.

31. ὅτι γέγραπται] The first evangelical quotation is from Mark iii. 5, the second from Matt. xvii. 17 (Luke ix. 41).

περ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἑλλήνας καὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις τὸν λόγον
 ποιούμενος μετὰ βοήσεως ἐλάλει, ὥστε τῶν κάτω ἐστηκότων
 ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ· προσετίθει δὲ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν περὶ τῶν ὀφει-
 30 λόντων μετ' εὐνοίας, οὐκ ἐκκαύσεως, λέγεσθαι· Τοιαῦτα πῶς
 οἴεσθε εἰρηκέναι τὸν Κύριον τῷ ἔχοντι τὴν χεῖρα ξηράν; ὅτι
 γέγραπται· Καὶ περιβλεψάμενος αὐτοῦς ἐν ὀργῇ ἔφη·
 Ἐκτεῖνον τὴν χεῖρά σου· ἢ ἐκείνο; Ὡς γενεὰ ἀπίστος καὶ
 διεστραμμένη, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα· ἢ τὸν ἀπόστολον Πέτρον;
 35 Ἴνα τί συνεφωνήθη ὑμῖν πειράσαι τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου;
 ἢ Παῦλον; Ὅφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται οἱ ἀναστατοῦντες
 ὑμᾶς. παρακαλῶν δὲ λέξει μὲν ὁ Κύριος ἡπία καὶ φιλαν-
 θρώπῳ φωνῇ· Δεῖτε πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισ-
 μένοι· συμπαθήσει δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ λέγων·
 40 Ποσάκις ἠθέλησα συναγαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα σου, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
 τοιαῦτα· Πέτρος δὲ σὺν Ἰωάννῃ ἐπὶ τῇ ὥραίᾳ πύλῃ παρα-
 λυτικὸν ἐλεήσει, καὶ Παῦλος Γαλάταις τέκνα δὲ πάλιν ὠδίνῳ
 ἐρεῖ, ὅταν ὁ καιρὸς τῆς παρακλήσεως ἀπαιτῇ.

XIX. Οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν γραφῶν ἐν
 45 ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτὸς ἀναγινώσκων ἐκ παιδὸς ἕως γήρους ἐποιεῖτο,
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπετίθετο, λέγων τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν νόμου τε καὶ
 προφητῶν πρόδρομον τῆς χάριτος, προκαταρτίζουσιν εὐθείας
 τὰς ὁδοὺς Κυρίου, τουτέστιν τὰς τῶν ἀκούοντων καρδίας
 εὐοκνίας πινακίσιν, ἐν αἷς αὖ πρὸ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως ἦν γεγραμ-
 50 μένα δόγματα καὶ φρονήματα χαλεπά τινα διὰ τῆς ἐπιμονῆς
 τῆς τε παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καὶ τῆς ἐκ ταύτης γενομένης
 ὀρθῆς ἐρμηνείας λειοῦται τὸ πρότερον καὶ ἐξομαλίζεται, ὡς

the MS πλήρης?

12); om. p.

D suggests δίκην for νόμον.

pF; οὐκ ὀρθῆς D.

37 ἡπία] ἡπεία p.

46 νόμου τε καὶ] conj. (so too Zahn); νόμον εἶναι pDF, but

49 αὖ] Zahn; τὰ pDF.

42 αὖ] DF (comp. Gal. v.

52 ὀρθῆς]

34. Πέτρον κ.τ.λ.] The five quotations which follow are from Acts v. 9, Gal. v. 12, Matt. xi. 28, Matt. xxiii. 37 (Luke xiii. 34), Gal. iv. 19.

47. προκαταρτίζουσιν κ.τ.λ.] A refer-

ence to Is. xl. 3, but the exact words do not accord either with the LXX of the prophet or with the Gospel quotations.

ἐλθόντος, ὥσπερ γραφείου, τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἡ χάρις καὶ
 χαρὰ τῆς εὐαγγελίου φωνῆς ἀθανάτου τε καὶ ἐπουρανίου
 Χριστοῦ διδαχῆς ἐγγραφῆναι δυνηθῇ· καὶ τὴν διὰ λουτροῦ
 σφραγίδα μὴ ἂν ἄλλως δύνασθαι ἐναπομάξασθαι καὶ ἐνχα-
 ράξαι καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ μόρφωσιν ἐπιδείξαι, μὴ πρότερον τοῦ 5
 κηροῦ ὑπέικοντος καὶ πρὸς τὰς βαθυτήτας προσπίπτοντος·
 οὕτω δὴ καὶ τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκουόντων ἡξίου ὑπέικειν καὶ
 ἐνδιδόναι πρὸς τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ λόγου. διωθῆσθαι γὰρ
 καὶ διανοίγειν ἔφασκεν, ὥσπερ θύρας κεκλεισμένας, τὰς τῶν
 προσφάτως εἰσιόντων διανοίας· οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸν προφήτην 10
 κελεύεσθαι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ· Ἀναβόησον ἐν ἰσχύϊ καὶ μὴ φείσῃ,
 ὡς ἀλπιγγα ἴψωσον τὴν φωνήν σου. τί δεῖ λέγειν ὅταν
 καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πρᾶος παρὰ πάντας παρακαλῶν οὕτω καλεῖ ἐν
 τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς σκηνοπηγίας; γέγραπται γάρ· Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ
 ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς εἰστήκει ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἔκραζε 15
 λέγων· Ἐάν τις διψᾷ, ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. Ναί·
 διδάσκων μὲν γὰρ βοήσεται, ἐμπτυόμενος δὲ καὶ ἀνακρινό-
 μενος καὶ πειραζόμενος πάσχων τε σιωπήσεται, ὅταν ὡς
 πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἄγεται καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ
 κείραντος ἄφωνος· ἐγὼ γάρ, φησιν, ὡσεὶ κωφὸς οὐκ 20
 ἤκοον, καὶ ἐγενόμην ὡσεὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀκούων καὶ
 οὐκ ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἑλεγκμοίς.

XX. Τὸ πλούσιον τῆς δοθείσης ὑπὸ Χριστοῦ χάριτος
 Πολυκάρπῳ προήγαγεν ἡμᾶς, ποιουμένους ὑπόμνησιν τῆς
 πολιτείας αὐτοῦ, ἐν μέρει καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς διδασκαλίας διη- 25
 γήσασθαι. πῶς μὲν ἐρμήνευεν τὰς γραφὰς εἰσαυθις ἀναθέ-

6 ὑπέικοντος] ὑπήκοντος p.

τὸν προφήτην] DF; τῶν προφητῶν p.

which cannot stand.

προσπίπτοντος] προσπίπτοντας p.

13 παρακαλῶν] conj.; καὶ καλῶν pDF,

37 ἀπερείσαι] ἐπαφέσθαι (sic) H.

39 συνιούσῃ]

11. Ἀναβόησον κ.τ.λ.] From Is. lviii.

1. The next quotations are from John vii. 37 (ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ κ.τ.λ.), Is. liii. 7 (ὡς πρόβατον κ.τ.λ., quoted like-
 wise Acts viii. 32), Ps. xxxvii (xxxviii).

14, 15 (ἐγὼ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.).

27. καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς] Some words
 seem to have fallen out from the con-
 text, such as ἐπιδείξαντες πῶς δεῖ.

49. τῆς Ἐφεσιακῆς βασιλείας] sc.
 πύλης: see the note on § 3, above.

μενοι διηγησόμεθα, 'κάκεῖνα τάξαντες καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς
 διακονήσασθαι τὴν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν
 ὀρθὴν διδασκαλίαν· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον ἐπὶ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ
 30 ἐπισκοπὴν ἐλευσόμεθα, ὅσα τε καὶ ἐν τούτῳ γενόμενος
 ἔπραξε, διαρκῶς τὸν τῆς θεοσεβείας δρόμον δραμῶν. ὁ μὲν
 οὖν Βουκόλος, ἅτε δὴ προγνωρίσαντος αὐτῷ πολλάκις δι'
 ὁράματος τοῦ Κυρίου ὅτι σχοίῃ τοιοῦτον διάδοχον, χαίρων
 καὶ γεγηθὼς ὡς ἐπὶ σῶφρονι κληρονόμῳ, ἀναπανόμενος ἐκοι-
 35 μήθη οὕτως ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὥραν τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπιλα-
 βέσθαι τῆς Πολυκάρπου χειρός, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ
 ἑαυτοῦ στήθος ἀπερείσαι, ἔπειτα τῷ προσώπῳ, ἐνδεικνύμενον
 ὅτι ὅσα χαρίσματα ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς αἰσθητηρίοις διακονεῖται
 (καρδιά μὲν συνιούσῃ ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ ὁρῶσι καὶ ὡσὶν ἀκού-
 40 οῦσι καὶ ῥινὴ Χριστὸν ἀναπνεοῦσῃ καὶ στόματι διὰ λόγου
 Θεὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κηρύσσοντι)
 πάντα ἔσται ἐγχειρισθέντα ἐν αὐτῷ. ὁ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ποιή-
 σας καὶ εἰπὼν, Δόξα σοι, Κύριε, ἐκοιμήθη· ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν
 τούτων πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐλογίζετο· αἰεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν μελλόν-
 45 των ἑλπίς καὶ ἐπιθυμία ἦν· οἱ δὲ παρόντες καὶ περιεστῶτες
 πιστοί, ταῦτα ὁρῶντες, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατ' ἰδίαν ἀντέ-
 βαλλον, εὐέλπιδες ὄντες τοιοῦτου ποιμένος ἐπιτυχεῖν. ἀγα-
 γόντες δὲ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ μακαρίου Βουκόλου εἰς Σμύρναν εἰς
 τὸ πρὸ τῆς Ἐφεσιακῆς βασιλείας κοιμητήριον, καὶ καταθέ-
 50 μενοι ἔνθα νῦν μυρσίνη ἀνεβλάστησεν μετὰ τὴν ἀπόθεσιν
 τοῦ σώματος Θρασέου τοῦ μάρτυρος, πληρώσαντες πάντα,

H; συνιούσι pDF. ὁρῶσι] ὡρῶσι H.

πνεοῦσῃ p; ἀναπνεοῦσι HDF.

κηρύσσουσι DF. 42 ἔσται] ἐστὶν H.

40 ῥινὴ] ῥινὴ H.

λόγου] λόγον H.

48 τοῦ] om. H.

ἀναπνεοῦσῃ] ἀνα-

41 κηρύσσοντι] pH;

49 πρὸ] πρὸς p.

50. μυρσίνη ἀνεβλάστησεν] See *Με-
 νσα* Feb. 6 (the festival of Bucolus)
 καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν τοῦ τιμίου σώματος τεθέντος
 φυτὸν ἀνατεῖλαι ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε, παρέ-
 χον ἰάσεις μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. This is
 probably taken from our biography,
 though here the miracle would seem
 to be wrought in honour of Thrases

rather than of Bucolus.

51. Θρασέου] He is mentioned by
 Polycrates who wrote in the last
 decade of the second century (Eu-
 seb. *H. E.* v. 24 Θρασέας ἐπίσκοπος
 καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ Εὐμενείας ὃς ἐν Σμύρνῃ
 κεκοίμῃται). If we may judge by the
 sequence of names he would seem to

προσέφερον ἄρτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βουκόλου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. μία δὲ γνώμη ἐγένετο ὥστε Πολύκαρπον προσενεγκεῖν· τοῦ δὲ αἰεὶ τε εὐλαβῶς ἔχοντος καὶ τοῖς πρὸ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν ἀπονέμειν βουλομένον, ἔφθασαν μὴ ἂν ἄλλως γενέσθαι· καὶ οὕτως πεισθεῖς ἐπλήρωσε τὴν λειτουργίαν. 5

XXI. Καὶ μηδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενοι, οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συγκαλεσάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πέριξ πόλεων ἐπισκόπους, ἐτοιμασάμενοί τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τῶν παραγνομένων, εἰς τὸ καταστήσαι διάδοχον τὸν προστησόμενον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπρονοήσαντο. οἷς παραγενομένοις ὄχλοι 10. πλείστοι τῶν πόλεων καὶ κωμῶν καὶ ἀγρῶν [συνήχθησαν], οἱ μὲν εἰδότες, οἱ δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀκούειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν Πολύκαρπον θεάσασθαι. συνελθόντων οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ πληρωθέντος τοῦ κυριακοῦ, δόξα φωτὸς οὐρανίου περιήστραψε πάντας, καὶ τινες ἀδελφοὶ ὀπτασίας θαύματα ἔβλεπον. ὁ 15 μὲν γὰρ εἶδεν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Πολυκάρπου περιστερὰν λευκὴν, περὶ ἣν κύκλος ἦν φωτός· ὁ δὲ πρὶν καθίσει αὐτὸν ἐθεώρει ὡς ἤδη καθεζόμενον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ· ὁ δὲ στρατιώτου σχῆμα ἔχοντα καὶ ἱμάτια πυρρὸν ἐζωσμένον· ἄλλος δὲ πορφύραν αὐτῷ περικειμένην καὶ τι φῶς τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ 20 περιλάμπον· ἄλλη δὲ πιστὴ παρθένος καὶ σεμνὴ εἶδεν τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ διπλοῦν ὑπὲρ ὃ ἦν, καὶ ἱμάτια κοκκινοβαφῆ

3 πρὸ] πρὸς p.

τιμὴν] τιμὴ p.

ἀπονέμειν] ἀπονεμῆν psDF.

11 συνήχθησαν] conj.; om. pDF, but D points out the omission of a word.

18 τόπῳ] θρόνῳ H.

19 πυρρὸν] H; πυρὸν p; πυρὸς DF.

21 περι-

have been martyred soon after Polycarp; see I. p. 510. There would therefore seem to be an anachronism in the *νῦν* 'in our own day,' since the word *ἀπόθεσις* merely signifies 'deposition,' and does not in itself imply 'translation.'

1. προσέφερον ἄρτον] 'they were about offering (the eucharistic) bread.' For the early practice of oblations for the dead see Bingham *Christ. Antiq.* v. p. 261 sq, vii. p. 340 sq. It is found as early as Tertullian *de*

Cor. Mil. 3 'Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus.'

14. τοῦ κυριακοῦ] For the term *κυριακὸν* see Bingham *Christ. Ant.* II. p. 77. It appears in a Greek translation of a letter of the emperor Maximin, Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 10.

16. περιστεράν] On the significance of this notice see above, p. 390 sq, and the discussion on the Letter of the Smyrnæans in the first volume (I. p. 644).

43. *χρίσιν*] It seems probable that

κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ τράχηλον αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ὡς χιόνα καὶ σφραγίδα ἐπάνω.

- 25 XXII. Δεήσεως δὲ τῷ σαββάτῳ καὶ γονυκλισίας ἐπὶ πολὺ γινομένης, ὡς ἔθος ἦν αὐτῷ, ἀνέστη ἀναγνῶναι· καὶ πάντες ἐνητένιζον αὐτῷ. ἡ δὲ ἀνάγνωσις ἦν ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου πρὸς Τιμόθεον καὶ Τίτον, ἐν αἷς λέγει ὁποῖον εἶναι δεῖ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον· καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν ἡρμοσμένος τῷ τόπῳ, ὡς
30 πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὅτι μηδὲν ἐνδέοι αὐτῷ ὧν ὁ Παῦλος ἀξιοῖ ἔχειν τὸν ἐκκλησίας ἐπιμελούμενον. ὡς οὖν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων διδαχὴν καὶ πρεσβυτέρων ὁμιλίαν ἐπέμφθησαν εἰς τὸ λαϊκὸν διάκονοι, ὥστε πυθέσθαι τίνα βούλονται, οἱ δὲ ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἶπον·
35 Πολύκαρπος ἔστω ἡμῶν ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλος. συνεπινεύσαντος οὖν καὶ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ παντός, ἀνέστησαν αὐτὸν πολλὰ ἱκετεύοντα καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι θέλοντα.

- XXIII. Οἱ οὖν διάκονοι προσήγαγον πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἐπισκόπων κατὰ τὸ ἔθος γινομένην χειρο-
40 θεσίαν. καθεσθεῖς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πρῶτοις δάκρυσιν εὐλαβείας καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης ἔβρεξε καὶ ἤλειψε τὸν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τῷ πνεύματι ἔβλεπεν πόδας ἐστῶτας τοῦ Χριστοῦ συμπρόντος αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τῆς ἱερατείας χρίσιν. ὅπου γὰρ οἱ λειτουργοί, ἱερεῖς τε καὶ λευῖται, ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ὁ τὸν μέγαν
45 ποδῆρην περικείμενος ἀρχιερεὺς. καὶ δὴ προέτρεπον αὐτὸν

λάμπων] περιλάμπων p.

22 κοκκινοβαφῇ] κογχυλιοβαφῇ H.

30 αὐτῷ]

αὐτὸν p.

39 χειρῶν] χρεῶν p.

40 καθεσθεῖς] κατασταθεῖς H.

43 χρίσιν] χρίσιν H; χρήσιν pDF.

44 μέγαν] μέγα pDF.

we should treat *χρήσιν*, the reading of the MS, as an itacism and substitute *χρίσιν*. Unction however was not a part of the consecration of bishops in the East (see: Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Ant.* I. p. 222 s.v. Bishop); and the word, if adopted, should probably be interpreted of a spiritual anointing. This interpretation would accord with the figurative character of the context. For the consecration

of the high-priest by anointing, see Exod. xxix. 7, Levit. vii. 25, viii. 12. On the accent of *χρίσις* see Lipsius *Grammatische Untersuchungen* p. 40. 44. ὁ τὸν μέγαν ποδῆρην περικείμενος] i.e. the Great High-priest; comp. especially Rev. i. 13 ὁμοιον νῖφ ἀνθρώπου ἐνδεδυμένον ποδῆρην. For the ποδῆρης as the high-priest's robe see Exod. xxviii. 4, 27, xxix. 5.

οἱ συμπαρόντες, ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἔθος, προσλαλήσαι· τὸ μέρος γὰρ πλείστον τῆς κοινωνίας καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασαν τὸ ἔργον τῆς διδασκαλίας. ἀνοίξας οὖν τὸ στόμα ἀπεφθέγγετο, τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ σημαινούσης τὸν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ φόβον, καὶ φησιν·

5

Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀρχιερέως καὶ ποιμένος καὶ διδασκάλου καὶ βασιλέως αἰωνίου Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ὁ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡμᾶς δοκιμάζων καὶ διὰ πάντων ἐτάζων τὰς καρδίας, καθὰ καὶ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀγίων, οἷς προσέτασσε 10 προστάγματα καὶ δικαιώματα ὑπὲρ τοῦ γνωρίσαι τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς πίστιν τοῖς λοιποῖς· ὡς καὶ νῦν τὴν σμικρότητα τὴν ἐμὴν διὰ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐμὲ λειτουργίας, ἣν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο καλῶς ἄνθρωπος ἐπιτελεῖν μὴ πρότερον λαβὼν παρὰ Κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὡς καὶ ὁ μακάριος 15 ἀπόστολος Παῦλος διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δεδήλωκεν, καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ ῥήματι τὴν πᾶσαν πολιτείαν τοῦ καθισταμένου δηλώσας ἐν τῷ εἰπεῖν ἀνεπίληπτον· ὅπερ οἶμαι μηδενὸς τὰς ἀκοὰς παραδεδραμῆκεναι, ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν εἴσω ὅλην δι' ὅλης ἐνεστηρίχθαι τὴν ψυχὴν. διὸ δέον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, ἀγαπητοί, τὴν ὑπὲρ 20 ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον ποιήσασθαι δέησιν, ἵνα αὐτὸς παράσχη εὐαρέστως ὑπηρετῆσαι τῇ ἀμώμῳ νύμφῃ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς συνδούλοις μου καὶ λειτουργοῖς, οἷς καὶ παράκλησιν ἀναγκαῖον ποιήσασθαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν, ὥστε συναθλίψαί μοι καὶ ὑπουργῆσαι ἐκ 25 πάσης προθυμίας καὶ ἀγάπης ἀνυποκρίτου εἰς τὸν προκειμένον μοι ἀγῶνα, εἰδότας ὅτι δεῖ πάντας συντρέχειν, ἵνα

10 προσέτασσε] conj.; προσέτασε p; προσέταξε DF.

ἀνεπίλειπτον p.

24 ἀναγκαῖον] F; ἀναγκαῖαν pD.

18 ἀνεπίληπτον]

38 ἐπαρήεσαν]

6. ἀρχιερέως...αἰωνίου] A favourite expression of Polycarp's, *Polyc. Phil.* 12, *Mart. Polyc.* 14: see the note above, p. 345.

9. ἐτάζων τὰς καρδίας] From Ps. vii. 10.

18. ἀνεπίληπτον] A reference to 1 Tim. iii. 2; comp. Tit. i. 6, 7, ἀνέγκλητος, ἀνέγκλητον.

25. συναθλήσασθαι κ.τ.λ.] For the resemblance in the passage which follows to the injunctions given to

πάντες βραβεῖον λάβωμεν, καθ' ὅτι πᾶσιν ἴσος πρόκειται ὁ
 τῆς ἀφθαρσίας στέφανος, ἀπροσωπολήπτως στεφανοῦντος
 30 τὸν καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενον καὶ νικήσαντα χάριτι τοῦ παντο-
 κράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ τῷ
 ἀοράτῳ καὶ ἀμετρήτῳ μόνῳ ἀθανάτῳ πατρὶ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ
 παρακλήτῳ πνεύματι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ κράτος καὶ ἦν καὶ ἔστι
 καὶ ἔσται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

35 Τότε δὴ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς δεούσας παρακλήσεις καὶ
 παραμυθίας ἐν τε τῷ σαββάτῳ καὶ τῇ κυριακῇ ποιησάμενοι,
 προσφοράς τε καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ἀγαλλιασάμενοι καὶ μετα-
 λαβόντες τροφῆς ἐπανήεσαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ,
 μεγάλη χαρὰ δοξάζοντες ἐπὶ τῷ κεκοινωνηκέναι Πολυκάρπῳ
 40 Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν Κύριον, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν.

XXIV. Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ σαββάτῳ ἔλεγεν· Ἀκούσατέ
 μου τῆς παρακλήσεως, ἀγαπητὰ τέκνα Θεοῦ. ἐγὼ καὶ τῶν
 ἐπισκόπων παρόντων διεμαρτυράμην καὶ νῦν παρακαλῶ
 πάντας κοσμίως καὶ ἀξίως περιπατεῖν τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου,
 45 εἰδότας ὅτι ἐν διακονίᾳ τῇ πρεσβυτέρων ὧν τοσαύτην κατὰ
 τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν εἰσενεγκάμην ἐπιμέλειαν, νῦν μᾶλλον ὅτε
 πλείστος ἐπικεῖταί μοι ἀμελήσαντι κίνδυνος. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν
 ἐκ τῆς κρίσεως φόβον, αἰσχυρὸν ἂν εἶη καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους
 καθεῖλαί τι καὶ καταλύσαι καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον προσοικοδο-
 50 μῆσαι τὴν φθάνουσαν εἰς τοῦτο προθυμίαν. ὑμέτερον οὖν
 ἔστι τὸ στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ πάσης ἀταξίας ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖ-
 κας, ἵνα μὴ τις δόξῃ με μὴ κατ' εὐλάβειαν ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν
 ἀνθρωπίνην ὑπερηφανίαν κατὰ τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων ποιεῖσθαι
 ἐκδικίαν. καὶ γὰρ συμβέβηκεν ἐνίοις τῶν καθισταμένων εἰς

ἐπανεῖσαν pDF.

41 ἐχομένῳ] Zahn; ἐρχομένῳ pDF.

50 ὑμέτερον]

D; ἡμέτερον pF.

Polycarp by Ignatius, see above, p. 425.

26. ἀγάπης ἀνποκρίτου] An expression taken from 2 Cor. vi. 6.

37. προσφοράς] See the note on § 26 προσφορὰν ἐποίησεν.

49. καθεῖλαι] For the aorist εἶλα,

εἰλάμην, see Veitch *Greek Verbs* s. v. αἱρέω, Winer *Gramm.* § xiii. p. 86 sq.

51. στέλλεσθαι κ.τ.λ.] 2 Thess. iii. 6 στέλλεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντος.

τόπους, ὅτε δεῖ μᾶλλον, ὥς ἂν εἴποι τις, ἐπιτείνειν τὸν δρόμον, τότε ὑπεκλύεσθαι ἐπιλαθομένους ὅτι, ὅσῳ τις πλείω τετιμῆσθαι δοκεῖ, πλείονα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην ὀφείλει εἰσφέρεισθαι εὐνοίαν, μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων Κυρίου ὅτι αὐτός εἶπεν· ὦ τὸ πλεῖον παρεθέμην, περισσότερον ἀπαι- 5 τήσωσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν τῶν πιστευθέντων τὰ τάλαντα παραβολήν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ γρηγοροῦντος δούλου μακαρισμόν, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἀμελησάντων ἐλθεῖν εἰς τοὺς γάμους μέμψιν, καὶ τὴν καταδίκην τοῦ μὴ ἔχοντος ἐπάξιον τὸ ἔνδυμα τῆς χαρᾶς τοῦ γάμου, καὶ τὴν τῶν φρονίμων παρθένων 10 εἴσοδον, τὸ γρηγορεῖτε, τὸ ἔτοιμοι γίνεσθε, μὴ βαρνηθῶσιν αἱ καρδαίαι ἡμῶν, τὴν περὶ τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπης καὶνὴν ἐντολήν, τὴν κατὰ δὴλον ἑξαπίνης ὡς ἀστραπῆς ἀθροῦς αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, τὴν μεγάλην διὰ πυρὸς κρίσιν, τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν, τὴν ἀφθαρτον αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν. καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα θεοδίδακτοι 15 ὄντες οἶδατε ἐρευνῶντες τὰς θεοπνεύστους γραφάς, τῇ γραφίδι τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἐγγράφετε εἰς τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ἵνα μένωσιν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀνεξάλειπτοι αἱ ἐντολαί.

XXV. Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ αἰὲ λέγων, ἐπιμένων τε τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ, ὥκοδόμει τε καὶ ἔσωζεν ἑαυτόν τε καὶ τοὺς 20 ἀκούοντας αὐτοῦ. ὅσα δὲ τῶν δι' αὐτοῦ γενομένων μεγα-

1 δέ] δὴ p. 2 ἐπιλαθομένους] ἐπιλαθομένοις p. 5 παρεθέμην] pF; παρέθεντο D (comp. Luke xii. 48). 11 τὸ p[ri.] τοῦ p. 23 τοῖς

4. μνημονεύειν τε κ.τ.λ.] Acts xx. 35; see the note on Polyc. *Phil.* 2 (see above, p. 325).

5. ὦ τὸ πλεῖον κ.τ.λ.] Luke xii. 48 ὦ παρέθεντο πολύ, περισσότερον αἰτήσουσιν αὐτόν.

11. γρηγορεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] Matt. xxv. 13, xxiv. 44. The following quotation μὴ βαρνηθῶσιν is from Luke xxi. 34

15. θεοδίδακτοι ὄντες] 1 Thess. iv. 9 αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὑμεῖς θεοδίδακτοὶ ἔστε : comp. John vi. 45, Is. liv. 13.

20. ἔσωζεν ἑαυτόν κ.τ.λ.] 1 Tim. iv. 16; comp. [Clem. Rom.] ii. § 15 ἑαυτόν σώσει καὶ τὸν συμβουλευσάντα,

ib. 19 ἑαυτοὺς σώσητε καὶ τὸν ἀναγνώσκοντα ἐν ὑμῖν : comp. ib. 10.

23. εἰς τὴν Τέω κ.τ.λ.] It is difficult to explain this reference. Teos and Lebedus are distant 120 stades (Strabo xiv. i. 29, p. 643, Τέως δὲ Λεβέδου διέχει ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι) or 15 miles (Chandler *Travels in Asia Minor* p. 104). There were famous hot springs at both places (Pausan. vii. 5. 5 Λεβεδίους δὲ τὰ λουτρά ἐν τῇ γῇ θαῦμα ἀνθρώποις ὁμοῦ καὶ ὠφέλεια γίνεται· ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τηίοις ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ λουτρά τῇ Μακρίᾳ, τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐν πέτρᾳ χηραμῷ τὰ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν

λείων ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς, νῦν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. ἦκέν ποτε
 Πολύκαρπος εἰς τὴν Τέω τὴν πρὸς τοῖς θερμοῖς [τοῖς παρὰ]
 πᾶσι καλουμένοις Λεβαδίοις πρὸς Δάφνον τινὰ ἐπίσκοπον,
 25 ὃς μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι διηγεῖτο αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἔν-
 δειαν καὶ ὅτι ὀλίγας γεώργηκε τροφάς. ὁ δέ, ἐπιδεικνυμένου
 αὐτοῦ τὰ πιθάρια σχεδὸν κενά, ἐπιθεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας
 εἶπεν· Ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, χρῶ. ὥστε ἀπ' ἐκείνης
 τῆς ὥρας τοσοῦτον πλήθος πληθυνθῆναι [ὥς] μετὰ τὸ κατα-
 30 σπείραι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀδεῶς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον θρέψαι καὶ
 ἑτέροις δυνηθῆναι παρασχεῖν.

XXVI. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἦλθε πάλιν πρὸς τὸν
 Δάφνον· ὁ δὲ εὐχαριστῶν ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ χάριτι παρόντος
 αὐτοῦ προσφορὰν ἐποίησεν εἰς πλήθος ἀδελφῶν. ἔθηκεν δὲ
 35 μέσον πιθάριον ἔχον οἶνον. τοῦ δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις λέγοντος
 ὥστε ἐπιβάλλειν κομίσαντας ἔνδοθεν οἶνον, εἰπεῖν τὸν Πολύ-
 καρπον· Ἄφες οὕτως, ὅτι οὐκ ἐκλείψει. ἀντλούντων δὲ
 αὐτῶν καὶ πινόντων τὸν οἶνον καὶ τοῦ οἶνου μᾶλλον πληθυ-
 νομένου, ἐπιστᾶσα οἰκέτις παιδίσκη, οὐκ ἐν φόβῳ ἀλλ' ἐν
 40 παιδιᾷ καὶ γελῳτι, ἀνεβόησε λέγουσα· Ὡ πιθάριον ἀνεξ-
 ἄντλητον· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἀποστάντος τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ σημεῖον
 τῆς δυνάμεως ἀγγέλου, συνέβη καὶ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα οἶνον

παρὰ] conj.; om. pDF.

29 ὥς] DF; om. p.

35 ἔχον] ἔχων p.

40 παιδιᾷ]

παιδεία p.

πλούτου πεποιημένα). For those of Lebedos, which were the more famous, see also Pausan. vii. 3. 2 λουτρά... θερμὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ ᾗδιστα, Aristid. *Or.* i. p. 490. The springs at Teos may have been called Lebadian, because they possessed the same qualities as those of Lebedos or from some local connexion. The name of this city however seems to be always written Λέβεδος, not Λέβαδος; and perhaps the solution is to be sought in the meaning of the word λέβεδος or λέβαδος 'meadows with springs' (see Benseler-Pape *Wörterbuch* s.v.), unless indeed it is

a sheer blunder of our biographer. There was a Λεβάδεια in Boeotia.

24. Δάφνον] In *Smyrn.* 13 Ignatius salutes among the leading Christians at Smyrna Δάφνον τὸν ἀσύγκριτον. This is not improbably the person meant here. See above, i. p. 368, II. p. 326.

34. προσφορὰν ἐποίησεν] See above, § 23 προσφορὰς τε καὶ εὐχαριστίας, and below, § 27 χρῆσασθαι αὐτῷ εἰς προσφορὰν. Not only the eucharistic elements, but gifts for the maintenance of the clergy, contributions to an agape, alms and food for the relief of the poor, etc., were regarded as

ἀφανῇ γενέσθαι, ὡς εἰπεῖν τὸν Πολύκαρπον· Καλὸν γὰρ τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ Δανείδ· Δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ.

XXVII. Κατέστησε δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος καὶ ἄλλους μὲν διακόνους, ἓνα δὲ ᾧ ὄνομα Καμέριος, ὃς καὶ τρίτος ἀπ' 5 αὐτοῦ μετὰ Παπίριον ἐπίσκοπος γεγένηται· τοῦτον παραλαβὼν ἀπῆλθεν εἰς ἀγρόν. μέλον γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἐκκλησιῶν φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι. ἐπανιόντι δὲ αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν πόλιν προσδραμοῦσα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔκ τινος ἀγροῦ χήρα αὐτῷ ἐν δοκιμῇ πολλῇ προσήνεγκεν ὀρνί- 10 θιον ἔτι μικρόν· τοῦ δὲ μὴ βουλομένου λαβεῖν, ἔπειθεν λέγουσα χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ εἰς προσφοράν. ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτουργῷ ἐχρήτο τὰ πλεῖστα ὁδοιπορία, κεκοπιακῶς διέγνω μετὰ τοῦ Καμερίου κατανῆσαι εἰς τι πανδοχεῖον, ἐπεὶ ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος ἔτι τῆς χάριτος ἀνευαγ- 15 γέλιστος ἦν. ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀναπασαμένῳ αὐτῷ ταχέως εἰς ὕπνον τρέπεσθαι· αἱ γὰρ ἐκούσιοι βάσανοι τοῦ σώματος ἀνάπασιν ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις παρασκευάζουσι. καὶ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμισυ προκοποῦσης παραστὰς αὐτῷ ἄγγελος Κυρίου καὶ πατάξας τὴν πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ φησι· 20 Πολύκαρπε. ὁ δέ· Τί ἐστίν; καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος· Ἀναστὰς ἔξελθε τοῦ πανδοχείου· μέλλει γὰρ πίπτειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνεγρήγορέν τε καὶ τὸν Καμέριον ἐκάλει. ὁ δὲ ὕπνῳ ἅμα καὶ καμάτῳ βαρούμενος μόλις μὲν ἀλλ' ὁμῶς ὑπήκουσεν· καὶ

4 Κατέστησε] κατάρτισε H.

6 Παπίριον] Παπύριον H.

7 μέλον] μέλλον p.

9 προσδραμοῦσα] προδραμοῦσα pDF.

14 κατανῆσαι] conj.; καταρτίσαι pDF.

16 ἀναπασαμένῳ] ἀναπασωμένῳ p.

35 ἀνεπήδησεν] conj.; ἀπεπήδησεν pDF.

'offerings'; *Apost. Const.* ii. 25, 27, 34, etc. Here an agape given at the expense of Daphnus seems to be meant; and again in § 27 the little bird seems intended as a contribution to such an entertainment.

2. Δουλεύσατε κ.τ.λ.] From Ps. ii. 11.

5. ἓνα δὲ ᾧ ὄνομα κ.τ.λ.] Camerius

is here represented as standing in the same relation to Polycarp at Smyrna, in which his contemporary Eleutherus stood to Anicetus at Rome. He was in fact his archdeacon. And just as Eleutherus is raised to the Roman episcopate next but one in succession, so in like manner is Camerius to the Smyrnan. See

25 διηγησάμενος αὐτῷ ἔπειθεν ἀναστῆναι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν·
 Πρῶτος ὕπνος οὐπω παρήλθεν, μακάριε πάπα, καὶ ποῦ
 ὑπάγομεν; σὺ αἰετὰς γραφὰς μελετῶν ἀγρυπνεῖς διὰ
 τοῦτο, καὶ οὐ κοιμᾶσαι. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίει ἀγρυπνεῖν· ὁ δὲ
 ἡσύχασεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ δεύτερον παραστὰς ὁ ἄγγελος τὸ
 30 αὐτὸ εἶπεν, πάλιν ἐγείρεσθαι τῷ Καμερίῳ παρεκελεύετο. τοῦ
 δὲ εἰπόντος πάλιν· Πιστεύω τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι σοῦ ἐνθάδε ὄντος
 ὁ τοίχος οὐ μὴ πέσῃ, εἶπεν ὁ Πολύκαρπος· Καγὼ τῷ Θεῷ
 πιστεύω, ἀλλὰ τῷ τοίχῳ οὐ πιστεύω. τρίτον δὲ κατέδραθεν,
 καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου ἐλέχθη λόγος. ὁ δὲ μὴ μελλήσας
 35 πρῶτος ἀνέστη, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ λοιπὸν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀνεπή-
 δησεν. ἐξελθόντες δὲ καὶ μικρὸν προελθόντες ἀνεμνήσθησαν
 ὅτι τὸ ὀρνίθιον κατέλιπον ἐν τῷ πανδοχείῳ. [ἀπόντων] οὖν
 αὐτῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ διάστημα ὥσπερ λίθου βολήν, Μὴ ὀκνή-
 σης, φησί, ἐπεὶ ἡ μακαρία χήρα εἰς προσφορὰν αὐτὸ ἐπωνό-
 40 μασεν. καὶ ὑποστρέψας ἔλαβεν αὐτό· καὶ ὥς ἐξῆλθεν
 ὅσον ὀλίγον, τὸ πανδοχεῖον πᾶν σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς θεμελίοις
 εἰς ἔδαφος ἦλθεν κάτω, ὥστε μηδένα σωθῆναι τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ.
 σταθεῖς δὲ ὁ Πολύκαρπος καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν
 εἶπεν· Θεὲ δέσποτα καὶ Κύριε παντοκράτωρ, ὁ τοῦ εὐ-
 45 λογημένου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ παιδὸς ἀγίου σου πατὴρ, ὁ
 τὴν Νινευϊτῶν καταστροφὴν διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου προφήτου
 προσημάνας Ἰωνᾶ καὶ δούς ἐκφυγεῖν τῶν κινδύνων, ἀληθῶς
 εὐλογῶ σε ὅτι ἐρρύσω ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κινδύνου τούτου διὰ

36 προελθόντες] D; προσελθόντες pF.

38 βολήν] conj.; βολή pDF.

37 ἀπόντων] conj.; τῶν p; ὄντων DF.

44 παντοκράτωρ] F; παντοκράτωρ pD.

Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22
 Ἀνικήτου, οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεύτερος· καὶ
 παρὰ Ἀνικήτου διαδέχεται Σωτήρ, μεθ'
 ὃν Ἐλεύτερος.

6. μετὰ Παπίριον] On this person
 see above, I. p. 464.

10. ἐν δοκιμῇ πολλῇ] Does this
 mean 'in a great trial of affliction,' as
 in 2 Cor. viii. 2 ἐν πολλῇ δοκιμῇ θλί-
 ψεως ἢ περισσεΐα κ.τ.λ., where, as here,

there is reference to a liberal gift un-
 der straitened circumstances?

14. κατατηγῆσαι] It is difficult to
 give any adequate sense to κατα-
 τίσαι, and I have therefore made a
 slight alteration.

33. κατέδραθεν] For the use of this
 poetic form in later prose writers see
 Veitch *Greek Verbs* s.v. *δαρθάνω*.

χειρὸς ἀγγέλου, δι' οὗ ἐγνώρισάς μοι τὸ μέλλον ἀποβήσεσθαι.

XXVIII. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἕτερον μεγαλεῖον δι' αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον. ἤδη τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὕπνον τραπέντων καὶ σχεδὸν μεσούσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ τῶν ἀρτοκόπων σιτοποιουμένων, συνέβη πῦρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ σύνεγγυς φρύγανα ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ ἐργαστήριον, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπινεμηθὲν πλείστον μέρος καταλαβεῖν τῆς πόλεως. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους παντὸς συνδραμόντος καὶ κραυγῆς καὶ ταραχῶν πολλοῦ ὄντος, ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσεν τὰ πρὸς τοῦτο ὄργανα ἡτοιμασμένα κομίζεσθαι. ἐφέροντο οὖν οἱ σίφωνες καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ πᾶσα τέχνης ἐπίνοια, κατήεσαν δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι προφάσει τοῦ δύνασθαι κατασβευννῆναι, ἀεὶ ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐπιδιδόντες ἐκουσίως· φάσκουσι γὰρ μὴ ἂν ἄλλως δύνασθαι ἐμπρησμοὺς παύεσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐπισταῖεν· τέχνη δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ διαρπάζειν τὰ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. κινδυνευούσης οὖν τῆς πόλεως, ἔφη ὁ στρατηγός· ὦ ἄνδρες οἱ συμπαρόντες ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν ὥραν τῆς πικρᾶς θεᾶς ταύτης, ὁρᾶτε ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν τὸ ὄφελος διὰ τὸ τὸν ἄνεμον εἶναι ἐναντίον· μιᾶς δὲ οὔσης ἐλπίδος τὸ παρῆναι Ἰουδαίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης ἡστοχῆσαμεν. τί οὖν ἐστὶν ὃ λέγω; ἀκούσατε. πρῶην ἐν τῷ στρατηγίῳ νύκτωρ ἀναστάντι ἐμῷ οἰκέτῃ περιέπεσέν τι δαιμόνιον, ἐκεκράγει τε καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤψαμεν φῶτα, εὗρομεν αὐτὸν ἐνθουσιῶντα καὶ κατεσθίοντα πάντα. ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἦλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπάδειν αὐτῷ θέλουντες· ὁ δὲ πλείστους αὐτοὺς ὄντας εἰς ὧν μικροῦ δεῖν παίων ἀπέκτεινεν, περιρρήξας τε αὐτῶν τὰς ἐσθῆτας γυμνοὺς καὶ πλήρεις αἱμάτων ἀπέπεμψεν. εἰς οὖν τις ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου ὧν Χριστιανὸς ἔφη· Εἰ κελεύεις, καλέσω τὸν δυνάμενον

1 ἀποβήσεσθαι F; ἀποβλήσεσθαι psD.

6 ἐμπεσὼν] ἐμπεσὼν p.

10. ὁ στρατηγός] The chief magistrates of a colony, the *duumviri*, were called in Greek στρατηγοί; e.g. Acts xvi. 20, 22, 36 (see *Philippians* p. 51), and this may be the magis-

tracy intended. Possibly the officer here meant may be the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης (e.g. in a Smyrναean inscription, *C. I. G.* 3151), who should probably be identified with the iren-

30 περιγενέσθαι αὐτοῦ. ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐπιτρέψαντος, ἦλθεν ὁ τῶν Χριστιανῶν διδάσκαλος ὃν λέγουσι Πολύκαρπον. ἔτι δὲ αὐτοῦ μακρὰν πολὺν ἀπέχοντος, ἔκεκράγει ὁ νεανίας μέγα· Ἔρχεται μοι Πολύκαρπος, καὶ μέλλω φεύγειν· ἐπιστάντος δὲ τοῦ.....

35 XXIX.τὰ εἰθισμένα ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας μηδὲν ἀνύοντες ἐπαύσαντο τότε· καὶ μόλις τῶν τὴν βουλευτικὴν ἐχόντων τιμὴν συνηγμένων, καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φάσκοντος μήτε ἔχειν σῖτον μηδ' ὅθεν πρίαίτο εὐρίσκειν, ἐτοίμως ἔχοντα ἀργύριον ἀριθμεῖν, ἀναστάς τις ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν
40 ἤδη πρέσβυς εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες ὅσοι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον συμπαρόντες ἦτε ὅτε νυκτὸς μεσοῦσης ἐμπρήσμοῦ γενομένου ἢ πόλις ἐκινδύνευσεν, διαμέμνησθε ὡς μήτε ἡμῶν μήτε Ἰουδαίων ἰσχυσάντων κατασβέσαι τὸ πῦρ κληθεῖς τις ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀνὴρ ταῖς ἀληθείαις θεοπρεπής, ὁ τῶν λεγομένων
45 Χριστιανῶν ἱερεὺς, στας ἔμπροσθε πάντων ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπέν τινα ποτε ῥήματα, καὶ παραχρῆμα σφαιρωθεῖσα ἢ φλόξ, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τὴν ἐκείνου ἐντραπέῖσα φωνήν, αὐτὴ συνέπεσεν εἰς ἑαυτήν· καί με πολ-
50 λάκις ὑπεισηλθεν ὡς ἄρα τις θεὸς ἐστίν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκεῖνος. ἵστε δὲ ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ ἡμῶν καὶ συγγραφεῖς φασιν οὐρανοὺς καταπέμπεσθαι θεοὺς ὡμοιουμένους ἀνθρώποις, τιμωρίας τε ἕνεκεν τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων ἐκδικίας τε αὐτὴν πάλιν τῶν ἀδικουμένων. XXX. Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐβόων ἐκκλησίαν πάν-
55 δημον ἀξιοῦντες γενέσθαι. καὶ μὴ μελλήσαντες πάντες ἀθρόοι ἀπήεσαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον· λιμῶ γὰρ πιεζόμενοι τὴν παρὰ πόδας ἀνάγκην ἔβλεπον, ὅτε καὶ ἓνα Θεὸν εἶναι διὰ μόνης κραυγῆς ἐκφωνεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο. ἀποστειλάντων οὖν πρὸς τὸν Πολύκαρπον καὶ ἀξιωσάντων, ἤχθη εὐρεθείς. καὶ

12 κατήεσαν] κατέλεσαν pDF.

20 παρῆναι] παρήναι p.

34 τοῦ] A

leaf is here wanting in p.

arch or captain of the police (see above, III. p. 371); but the functions assigned to him seem to be too comprehensive for this.

30. ὁ τῶν Χριστιανῶν κ.τ.λ.] Comp. *Mart. Polyc.* 12 ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας διδάσκαλος, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν.

εἰσήχθη, καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐβόα, οἱ δὲ πρῶτοι τῆς πόλεως εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν· Πολύκαρπε, ὅρῃς ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐν στενοῖς ἐστίν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ σὺ κατοικεῖς, καὶ αὐτὸς συμμετέχων ἡμῖν καὶ συναπολαύων, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐθῶν, ἀλλὰ γε ἐνδείας τῆς νῦν διὰ τὴν ἀβροχίαν ὑπαρχούσης. ἀξιούσιν 5 οὖν οἱ Σμυρναῖοι αἰτῆσαί σε παρὰ Θεοῦ σου ὑετόν, ἵνα λαβοῦσα ἡ γῆ ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῇ σπέρματα ἀποδῶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς. τοῦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἡρυθαίνετο, πᾶν δὲ τὸ σῶμα κρουνηδὸν ἰδρώτος πλήθει ἐστάζετο, ἡ δὲ καρδιά αὐτοῦ τοῖς παλμοῖς πηδῶσα δι' εὐχῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν 10 ἦλατο. καὶ δὴ βραδέως μὲν ἀλλ' ὅμως κεκριμένως ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· Ἄνδρες οἱ τῇσδε τῆς περικαλλοῦς πόλεως κάτοικοι, ἐπακούσατέ μου τοῦ παροίκου καὶ παρεπιδήμου, ᾧ πᾶσα πόλις ξένη διὰ τὴν ἐπουράνιον πολιτείαν καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος πόλις διὰ τὴν τοῦ κτίσαντος τὰ πάντα Θεοῦ δωρεάν. 15 οὐ γάρ, ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε, τοσοῦτον ἑμαυτὸν δεδόκηκα ὡς δύνασθαι ἔθνους ὅλου διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐνδίκως παιδενομένου πληγὰς ἀποδύεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνατὸν ὑποδείξω. εἰσὶ γὰρ συναγόμενοι σὺν ἐμοὶ πρεσβῦται θεοπρεπεῖς, οἷς καὶ γὰρ, ἐπειδὴν δεοίμην αἰτῆσαι παρὰ Θεοῦ, προσαναφέρω, 20 πρέσβεις αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ γενέσθαι· τούτοις οὖν προσανοίσω, ὅπως αὐτοὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρεσβεύσωσι πρὸς

4 ἡμετέρων] ὑμετέρων p. 6 Σμυρναῖοι αἰτῆσαί σε] conj.; Σμυρναῖοι αἰτῆσαι pDF; Σμυρναῖοι· αἰτῆσαι Zahn. My conjecture which is simply a repetition of the last syllable (σαι=σε) seems simpler and less awkward. 13 ᾧ] ὡς p.

16 δεδόκηκα] conj.; δέδωκα pDF, but this can hardly stand. Possibly it should be δεδήλωκα. 23 αὐτόν] conj.; τὸν pDF, but DF suppose a lacuna after

12. τῆς περικαλλοῦς πόλεως] The Smyrnæans were proud of the beauty of their city; C. I. G. 3204 ἡ πρώτη τῆς Ἀσίας κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ...καὶ κόσμος τῆς Ἰωνίας Σμυρναίων πόλις. So again *ib.* 3191, 3202, 3205, 3206, where the same titles are given to it. Similarly Strabo xiv. i. 37 (p. 646) εἶτα ἀνηγείρειν αὐτὴν [τὴν Σμύρναν] Ἀντίγονος, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Λυσίμαχος, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ καλλίστη τῶν

πασῶν. So too Aristides *Or.* xli (*Or.* i. pp. 762, 763) Σμύρνα τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄγαλμα ἡ πρὸς θεῶν ὀρασιότατή πόλεωσιν καὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἐπώνυμος. See also this orator's description, *Or.* i. p. 374 sq, p. 424 sq, p. 429 sq, p. 439 sq, and esp. p. 375 κάλλεσιν αὐτοφύεσι καὶ χειροποιήτοις ἀμιλλωμένοις, p. 425 προσιόντι μὲν εὐθὺς ἀστραπὴ κάλλους, p. 427 κάλλει καὶ μούσαις ἀπάσας πόλεις ἀποκρύπτουσα ('eclipsing'), p. 435 πό-

αὐτὸν διὰ προσευχῆς· ὑμῖν δὲ παραινῶ εὐθύμους γενέσθαι,
καὶ παντὶ τῷ δήμῳ παρακελεύεσθαι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μὲν
25 τῇσδε τῆς συντριβῆς, τὰ δὲ κρείττω ἐλπίζειν· μακρόθυμος
γὰρ ὢν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιδίδωσιν εἰς μετάνοιαν χρόνους τῷ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων γένει. τότε ὁ στρατηγὸς ἔλαβεν θάρσος ἔκ τε
τῶν αὐτοῦ Πολυκάρπου προγεγονότων σημείων καὶ ἔκ τῶν
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεχθέντων, καὶ φησιν· Ἴστε δὴ πάντες ἀστικοί
30 τε καὶ ξένοι, ὡς ἡμεῖς μὲν ἰδίους ἔθεσί τε καὶ νόμοις τὸ
θεῖον ἐκμειλισσόμεθα, ἱερουργίας τε καὶ θυσίας καὶ βωμῶν
ἀνάψεις καὶ λιβανωτῶν καύσεις ποιούμενοι· οὗτος δέ, καὶ
οὓς φησιν ἔχειν σὺν αὐτῷ συνιερεῖς τε καὶ συνθερά-
ποντας, ἐξαναχωροῦντες ἰδία σχολαιότερον ποιοῦνται τὰς
35 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν εὐχάς. ἀπολυώμεθα οὖν αὐτοί τε καὶ
ἡμεῖς, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκπέμπωμεν ἄδειαν αὐτῷ δόντες ὅπως,
μεθεὶς τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θορύβου γεγονὸς αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
δεῖμα, ἀταράχῳ τῷ νῷ καὶ εὐσταθεῖ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰς ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν ἱερουργίας ἐπιτελῇ. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε τὸν
40 δῆμον.

XXXI. Ὁ δὲ μηδὲν μελλήσας ἔδραμεν εἰς τὸν κυρια-
κὸν οἶκον, ἔνθα συνάγεσθαι ἔθος ἦν τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις ἐκέλευσε παραγγέλλειν πάν-
τας σπουδῇ πάλιν χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ μίαν ἐκ πολλῶν

προσευχῆς.

24 ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι] ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι p.

25 συντριβῆς]

conj.; συγγραφῆς pDF.

34 ἐξαναχωροῦντες] ἐξαναχωροῦντας p.

35 ἀπο-

λυώμεθα] ἀπολυώμεθα p.

37 μεθεὶς] DF; μεθ' ἧς p.

39 ἡμῶν]

ὑμῶν p.

λεως παράδειγμα κάλλους, p. 443 καὶ δὴ
τῇ τε Ἰωνίᾳ καλῶς ὁ στέφανος σέσω-
σται ἢ τε Ἀσίᾳ τὸ πρόσχημα κεκόμισται.
Again Lucian *Imag.* 2 τοιαῦτα μέντοι,
ἔφη, τὰ Σμυρναϊκὰ κάλλη κ.τ.λ.

13. κάτοικοι κ.τ.λ.] On the distinc-
tion of κάτοικοι, πάροικοι, and on the
language of the following sentence
generally, see the note on § 6, above.

25. συντριβῆς] '*calamity, afflic-
tion.*' Zahn (*G.G.A.* p. 299) has seen

that συγγραφῆς cannot stand, and that
some such word as *συνοχή* is needed.
The emendation which I have sug-
gested involves a slighter deviation
from the MS. Duchesne justifies the
reading of the MS, saying 'si codicem
integrum haberemus [referring to the
lacuna between §§ 28, 29], in eo
mentionem aliquam inveniremus de
συγγραφῇ illa ad quam paulo infra
alludit Polycarpus.'

ἀνενεχθῆναι δέησιν. οἱ δὲ προητοιμακότες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωθινῆς διὰ τὸ εἰσῆχθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, καὶ ὅτι παρασκευὴ ἦν (ἐδεδίεσαν γὰρ μή τι πάθῃ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου), ἀκούσαντες οὖν συνέδραμον. ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν· Μνημονεύσωμεν, ἀδελφοί, τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν 5 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὃς εἶπεν· Αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν. ἐὰν γὰρ συμφωνήσωσι δύο ἐξ ὑμῶν περὶ παντός πράγματος ὃ ἔάν αἰτήσωνται, γενήσεται αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. πιστεύοντες οὖν αἰτήσωμεν καὶ μὴ διακρινόμενοι ταῖς διανοίαις· τοῦ γὰρ 10 αἰτοῦντος ἢ προσευχῇ τρόπον τινὰ ζυγοστατεῖται ὡς ἐπὶ πλάστιγγος καὶ ταλαντεύεται ὁ νοῦς ὅποι κλίνει. δῆλον δὲ ἡμῖν τοῦτό γε ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιβῆναι τὸν Πέτρον τοῖς κύμασι· πιστεύων μὲν γὰρ περιεπάτει, φοβηθεὶς δὲ τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ ἀνέμου κατεποντίζετο, εἰς ἡμέτερον ὑπόδειγμα, 15 ἵνα γινώμεν τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάτερον ῥοπήν. τοιαύτην πεποιθήσιν ἔχων ὁ θεράπων τοῦ Θεοῦ Μωϋσῆς ἀποδειλιῶντι τῷ λαῷ ἔλεγεν· ΣΤΗΤΕ καὶ ὄψεσθε τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Κυρίου. στήναι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς δεῖ ἐδραίους ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν, ἵνα ἀκλινεῖς ὄντες ἀπερίτρεπτοι καὶ ἄπτωτοι διὰ πίστεως τῆς εἰς 20 τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν μέινωμεν· ὅστις καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ προφῆτῃ Ἠλία ἔδωκεν αἰτήσαντι ὑετόν, ὅτε ἐκλείσθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. XXXII. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, πρῶτος κλίνας τὰ γόνατα σὺν πᾶσιν, ἐπὶ πλείστον προσηύξατο οὕτως·

25

Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν· ᾧ λειτουργοῦσιν ἀρχάγγελοι, δόξαι καὶ

24 σὺν πᾶσιν] συμπᾶσιν p.

6. Αἰτεῖτε κ.τ.λ.] Matt. vii. 7 αἰτεῖτε κ.τ.λ., and Matt. xviii. 19 ἐὰν δύο συμφωνήσωσιν κ.τ.λ.

18. Στήτε κ.τ.λ.] Exod. xiv. 13 στήτε καὶ ὁράτε τὴν σωτηρίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

19. ἐδραίους κ.τ.λ.] Ign. Polyc. 1 ἡδρασμένην ὡς ἐπὶ πέτραν, *ib.* 2 στήθι ἐδραῖος.

28. ἀρχάγγελοι κ.τ.λ.] See the notes on Col. i. 16 for the gradations of angels.

δυνάμεις ἐπουράνιοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, σεραφίμ, χερουβίμ.
 30 ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν
 καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὁ πλάσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα
 καὶ ὁμοίωσιν, δι' ὃν καὶ εὐδόκησας πέμψαι τὸν λόγον σου
 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἵνα σαρκωθῇς ἐκ παρθένου καὶ πνεύματος
 ἁγίου σώσῃ καὶ ἀναστήσῃ διὰ πάθους τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν
 35 ἁμαρτίαν πεπτωκότα ἄνθρωπον· εἰσάκουσον, Κύριε, εἰσβλε-
 ψον, ἅγιε, ἐνώτισαι τὰς προσευχὰς τῆς ἁγίας σου καθο-
 λικῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ δὸς ὑετὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς
 καὶ σπέρματα τῷ σπείροντι καὶ ἄρτον εἰς βρῶσιν· διότι
 ἐν ἡμέραις ἀνάγκης γνόντα τὰ ἔθνη, ὅτι ἐσμὲν δοῦλοί
 40 σου, ζητοῦσι παρ' ἡμῶν δικαιοσύνην. καὶ νῦν, Κύριε,
 γνώτωσαν πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι ἡμῖν.

Ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εὐξαμένον ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔδωκεν ὑετόν, καὶ
 πάντες τὸν Θεὸν ἐδόξαζον τὸν ποιοῦντα θαυμάσια διὰ τῶν
 αὐτοῦ θεραπόντων· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος καὶ νῦν καὶ
 45 εἰς ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ
 ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ἀμήν.

38 σπέρματα] σπέρματι p.

σπείροντι] F; σπείραντι psD.

30. ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν κ.τ.λ.] Exod.
 xx. 11; comp. Ps. cxlv (cxlvi). 6,
 Acts xiv. 15.

31. ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα κ.τ.λ.] From
 Gen. i. 26.

Supplementary Notes by Professor J. E. B. Mayor.

- P. 435, l. 32. ῥοίζῳ] Schäfer on Dionys. de comp. p. 156.
- P. 435, l. 44. ἐκ γειτόνων] Lucian Icaromen. 8. 16. bis acc. 9 f. 31 f. Alciphron 2. 2. Aristaen. 15 and 19. Schäfer on Bos ellips. 296—297.
- P. 436, l. 14. πολυσχιδεῖς] Nonnus Dionys. xxx 78. XLV 337. parâphr. Σ 24.
- P. 436, l. 18. μεγαλουργίας] Ioseph. ant. xv 11 5. On μεγαλούργημα see Cotel. patr. apost. i 814 12 and 13.
- P. 437, l. 40. καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ῥίζης] The order requires the construction 'and he bore, as a sample of his eastern root, a flower, so to speak, of good fruit to come.'
- P. 437, l. 47. πᾶς ὁ κόσμος κ.τ.λ.] See J. B. Mayor's note on Cic. n.d. II § 154 ad fin. p. 282. Not unlike Perikles' saying ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος.
- P. 438, l. 3. ὅλον δι' ὅλου] cf. p. 454, l. 19. See two exx. of this combination in HSt. s. v. ὅλος col. 1910 pr. ed. Didot.; and comp. vita Polycarpi 6 (II 1020 3) and 23 (1036 19). cf. Chrys. hom. 1 in Tit. 1 1—4 (XI 731^b) καὶ ὅλη δι' ὅλης ἡ ἐπιστολὴ αὐτῇ μάλιστα τοιαύτη τυγχάνει.
- P. 438, l. 22. προσπαθείας] Also in Porphy. ad Marcell. 32.
- P. 439, l. 34. περιύστατο] So Lucian soloec. 5. Galen III 837 K.
- P. 439, l. 43. ἄπρακτα] Here (unless indeed ἀπρακία be thought to come nearer the *ductus litterarum*) it is plain that we must read ἀπρατα for ἀπρακτα. In Wytttenbach's index to Plutarch, among many examples of ἄπρακτος, two (I 1060^d. II 107^b) have the note 'f <orte> ἄπρατος.' The latter passage seems to have been misplaced, for under ἄπρατος we read only 'f. leg. I 1060^d.'

This reference is to the life of Galba 17 § 3, where Plutarch says of Tigellinus :

ὁ δὲ καὶ ποιήσας ἄξιον θανάτου Νέρωνα καὶ γενόμενον τοιοῦτον ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ προδοὺς περιῆν, μέγα δίδαγμα τοῦ μηδὲν ἄπρακτον [read, with Wyt., ἄπρατον] εἶναι παρὰ Οὐνίῳ μηδὲ ἀνέλπιστον τοῖς διδοῦσιν.

The words τοῖς διδοῦσι (compared with § 1, also of Tigellinus: ἐφθάκει δὲ ὁ γενναῖος προειληφώς ἀρραβῶσι μεγάλοις τὸν Οὐνίον) establish Wytttenbach's emendation beyond all question.

Suid. s. u. Ζήνων (I 728 1 ed. Bernhardt = Malchus in script. hist. Byz. XIII 8 ed. Bonn): καπηλεύων ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἅπαντα καὶ μηδὲν ἄπρατον ἐὼν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐλῇ διαπράττεσθαι.

The following examples of ἄπρατος are taken from an interleaved copy of Scapula (Lugd. 1663 fol.), which bears on the title the autograph, singularly clear and neat, 'Christoph. Noltenius. 1739. Brem.' He was, I suppose, of

the same family as Johann Friedrich Noltén (1694—1754), a meritorious Latin lexicographer. The quotations are most exact, by page, or section, or line.

Ael. h. a. II 44 ἤδη δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀλιεῖς ἡμιβρώτῳ καρδίᾳ περιτυχόντες, καὶ ἀξιώσαντες τὸ θήραμα ἄπρατον¹ ὄν, εἰ ἀπογεύσονται αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ πενίας, κλονοῦνται τὴν γαστέρα καὶ στρέφονται.

Luc. uit. auct. 12 fin. ἄπρατος ἔοικεν ὧ Ζεῦ οὗτος ἡμῖν μένειν. ib. 14 fin. ἄπρατοι καὶ οὗτοι μένουσιν.

Achill. Tat. V 18 § 4 διὰ σὲ πέπραμαι...καὶ ἐμαστιγώθην... § 5 σὺ δὲ ἄπρατος², ἀμαστιγώτως γαμῆς.

Noltén also cites 'Heliod.' without adding a reference. I have searched through the Aethiopica in vain.

I think that fuller inquiry will prove that ἄπρατος is a very rare, ἄπρακτος a common, word; and that the latter must give place to the former, whatever the testimony of MSS may be, where the context suggests the correction.

P. 439, l. 50. ἀδούλωτον] Basil. ep. 223. Hierocl. in aur. carm. pp. 148. 158.

P. 440, l. 18. ἀναστροφῆς] 'behaviour,' 'conversation' makes good sense.

P. 441, l. 25. ἀφηνιάν] [Ignat.] Philip. II fin. cf. Wernsdorf on Himer. p. 719.

P. 441, l. 27. ἀναχαίτσει] For ἀναχαίτσω comp. Maussac on Harpocr. p. 97 ed. Lips. Dio LX II 3. LXIII 26 2. Euthym. Zyg. on Io. euang. II 33. Bekker anecd. 393 20.

P. 441, l. 28. ἀνακόψει] Ios. bell. Iud. II 16 § 4 τῶν Δακῶν ὁρμάς. Luc. hist. inscr. 49 τὴν ἀνάβασιν.

P. 441, l. 31. περισπαρῇ] ? περισπάσῃ see HSt.

P. 442, l. 5. ὑπεξαναχωρῶν] Not in lexx.

P. 442, l. 19. τοῖς εὐλογίστοις] εὐλογίστοις is a less alteration.

P. 443, l. 42. ἱκανὸς] ἱκανῶς will do, if you have a colon after ἀπόκρυφα. ἐδόθη...κανών, ἐρμηνεύσαι τε ἱκανῶς.

¹ Jacobs vol. II 'ἄπρατον in *m* ex corr. ἄπρακτον fuisse uidetur. ...eadem est uarietas supra p. 41 31.' The reference is to h. a. II 26 fin. where he says the eagle which can gaze at the sun τοῖς γυνήσιος ἐγγέγραπται, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ πῦρ τὸ οὐράνιον ἢ τοῦ γένους ἀδέκαστος τε καὶ ἄπρατος ἀληθῶς ἐστὶν ἐγγραφή. On this Jacobs (vol. II p. 76 l. 1) notes: 'ante Gronov. ἄπρακτος. ἄπρατος quod dedi ex coniectura Pauwii ad Phil. c. I v. 16 firmavit Toup [em. Suid. tom. I p. 357] e loco Suidae Κορνοῦτος, ubi est ὁ χρόνος δὲ ὁ ἄπρατος τε καὶ ἀδέκαστος, quem Aeliani esse suspicatur. [vid. fragm. p.

351 ed. C. G. Kühn (=n. 83 p. 227 Hercher)]. SCHNEIDER. ἄπρατος h. l. emendare voluisse T. Hemsterhusium, apparet ex eius anecdotis I p. 55. ἄπρατος et ἄπρακτος confusae apud Polluc. IV 34.' See the commentators there (p. 365), where Jungermann refers to IV 37 and VII 10, passages in which ἄπρατος is read without v. l.

² Jacobs ad loc. (vol. II p. 803): 'ἄπρατος. ἄπρακτος Mon. Thuan. quem librarii errorem Bodenus adoptavit, et inepte explicat. ap. Aeschin. de fals. leg. p. 209 s. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἄπρατον ἔχων μέρος τοῦ σώματος. ante H. Wolfium legebatur ἄπρακτον.'

P. 444, l. 8. ἀναλλοιώτου] For ἀναλλοιώτος comp. (-ως Dionys. Areop. diu. n. 2 10. cael. hier. III 3 11 and 13). -ος id. diu. n. II 3.

P. 445, l. 28. Εὐνουχίας] Renan (l'église chrét. 436 n. 6) cites some of these passages.

P. 445, l. 29. ἀξιῶν] ἄξιον may stand.

P. 445, l. 45. φιλενπρόσωπον] only this ex. (after Halloix) and one from Bas. given in HSt. ed. Didot.

P. 446, l. 18. οὗτος] οὐπω seems quite right and δυσχερές (cf. c. 15 pr.).

'The second form of chastity is that of widowhood, surpassing the former. For the first (monogamy) did not yet seem hard, until there came forward (widow and widower) who could cease in regard to what had once been allowed (could forego after the consort's death an enjoyment once allowed).' οὐπω seems to me to be required by μέχρις. Monogamy seemed easy, until there arose those who construed it strictly, as forbidding second marriage.

P. 446, l. 23. ἀπαγκωνισάμενος] παραγκωνίζομαι will shew that this word ἀπαγκ. must mean 'submoueo.'

P. 447, l. 25. διαβήματι] a LXX word.

P. 447, l. 26. τοῦ γὰρ ἡ ἐνὶ κ.τ.λ.] lines 26—30 are involved. I take it: It (virginity) proved that while the purpose of its votaries (τοῦ ἐλ.) was greater than either monogamy (being contented with one) or widowhood (ceasing from what it had enjoyed), yet the power of God that bestowed it exceeded all; for what is voluntary is of the man that proposed and a gift of God who has the power.

P. 447, l. 34. γήρους] So p. 449, l. 45.

P. 448, l. 6. αὐταρκες] ? -άρκης.

P. 448, l. 24. τοῦ αὐτοῦ] αὐτοῦ τοῦ would be less change.

P. 451, l. 29. τὸ δὲ νῦν ἔχον] cf. p. 434, l. 16. acts 24 25. Kypke obss. II 124. Hermann on Viger p. 9. 888. Liddell & Scott and Rost & Palm know nothing of it.

P. 452, l. 22. κοκκινοβαφῆ] The v. l. κογχυλιοβαφής is not in lexx.

P. 453, l. 44. λευῖται] 'deacons.' So in Latin conc. Rom. (386) c. 9. conc. Carth. 387 (? 390) c. 2. conc. Turon. (461) c. 1 and 2. conc. Agath. (506) c. 16. Hier. ep. 108 28 fin. (ib. 14. Leuiticus). Ambr. off. I §§ 246. 249. Paulin. v. Ambr. 41. Greg. Tur. glor. mart. I 25 fin. 34 p. 759^c. 760^{de}. 90 pr. Coripp. Iustin. III 42. Baron. 636 14 fin. 676 4. Leuiticus Greg. Tur. glor. mart. I 105. Boniface (ed. Jaffé) p. 99 f. 189. 224. 464. Leuitissa 'a deaconess' Thomae thesaurus p. 306.

P. 458, l. 7. μέλον ἦν] cf. p. 445, l. 28.

P. 458, l. 15. ἀνευαγγέλιστος] Not in lexx.

P. 460, l. 23. οὐκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἦν] cf. Xen. anab. I 5 17 ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο. So ἐντός, ἔξω, ἐκτός ἑαυτοῦ.

P. 461, l. 55. θέατρον] See my note on Iuv. x 128 moderantem frena theatri.

P. 463, l. 25. συντριβῆς] Would συναγωγῆς do?

TRANSLATIONS.

1. *EPISTLE OF POLYCARP.*
2. *LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS.*
3. *LIFE OF POLYCARP.*

EPISTLE OF POLYCARP.

POLYCARP and the presbyters that are with him unto the Church of God which sojourneth at Philippi; mercy unto you and peace from God Almighty and Jesus Christ our Saviour be multiplied.

1. I rejoiced with you greatly in our Lord Jesus Christ, for that ye received the followers of the true Love and escorted them on their way, as befitted you—those men encircled in saintly bonds which are the diadems of them that be truly chosen of God and our Lord; and that the stedfast root of your faith which was famed from primitive times abideth until now and beareth fruit unto our Lord Jesus Christ, who endured to face even death for our sins, *whom God raised, having loosed the pangs of Hades; on whom, though ye saw Him not, ye believe with joy unutterable and full of glory;* unto which joy many desire to enter in; forasmuch as ye know that it is *by grace ye are saved, not of works,* but by the will of God through Jesus Christ.

2. *Wherefore gird up your loins and serve God in fear and truth, forsaking the vain and empty talking and the error of the many, for that ye have believed on Him that raised our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead and gave unto Him glory and a throne on His right hand; unto whom all things were made*

subject that are in heaven and that are on the earth ; to whom every creature that hath breath doeth service ; who cometh as *judge of quick and dead* ; whose blood God will require of them that are disobedient unto Him. Now *He that raised Him* from the dead *will raise us also* ; if we do His will and walk in His commandments and love the things which He loved, abstaining from all unrighteousness, covetousness, love of money, evil speaking, false witness ; *not rendering evil for evil or railing for railing* or blow for blow or cursing for cursing ; but remembering the words which the Lord spake, as He taught ; *Judge not that ye be not judged. Forgive, and it shall be forgiven to you. Have mercy that ye may receive mercy. With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again ; and again, Blessed are the poor and they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God.*

3. These things, brethren, I write unto you concerning righteousness, not because I laid this charge upon myself, but because ye invited me. For neither am I, nor is any other like unto me, able to follow the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul, who when he came among you taught face to face with the men of that day the word which concerneth truth carefully and surely ; who also, when he was absent, wrote a letter unto you, into the which if ye look diligently, ye shall be able to be builded up unto the faith given to you, *which is the mother of us all*, while hope followeth after and love goeth before—love toward God and Christ and toward our neighbour. For if any man be occupied with these, he hath fulfilled the commandment of righteousness ; for he that hath love is far from all sin.

4. *But the love of money is the beginning of all troubles.* Knowing therefore that *we brought nothing into the world neither can we carry anything out*, let us arm ourselves with the armour of righteousness, and let us teach ourselves first to walk in the commandment of the Lord ; and then your wives also, to walk in the faith that hath been given unto them and in love and purity, cherishing their own husbands in all truth and loving all men equally in all chastity, and to train their children in the

training of the fear of God. Our widows must be sober-minded as touching the faith of the Lord, making intercession without ceasing for all men, abstaining from all calumny, evil speaking, false witness, love of money, and every evil thing, knowing that they are God's altar, and that all sacrifices are carefully inspected, and nothing escapeth Him either of their thoughts or intents or any of *the secret things of the heart*.

5. Knowing then that *God is not mocked*, we ought to walk worthily of His commandment and His glory. In like manner deacons should be blameless in the presence of His righteousness, as deacons of God and Christ and not of men; not calumniators, not double-tongued, not lovers of money, temperate in all things, compassionate, diligent, walking according to the truth of the Lord who became *a minister (deacon) of all*. For if we be well pleasing unto Him in this present world, we shall receive the future world also, according as He promised us to raise us from the dead, and that if we conduct ourselves worthily of Him *we shall also reign with Him*, if indeed we have faith. In like manner also the younger men must be blameless in all things, caring for purity before everything and curbing themselves from every evil. For it is a good thing to refrain from lusts in the world, for every *lust warreth against the Spirit*, and *neither whoremongers nor effeminate persons nor defilers of themselves with men shall inherit the kingdom of God*, neither they that do untoward things. Wherefore it is right to abstain from all these things, submitting yourselves to the presbyters and deacons as to God and Christ. The virgins must walk in a blameless and pure conscience.

6. And the presbyters also must be compassionate, merciful towards all men, turning back the sheep that are gone astray, visiting all the infirm, not neglecting a widow or an orphan or a poor man: but *providing always for that which is honorable in the sight of God and of men*, abstaining from all anger, respect of persons, unrighteous judgment, being far from all love of money, not quick to believe anything against any man, not hasty in judgment, knowing that we all are debtors of sin. If then we

entreat the Lord that He would forgive us, we also ought to forgive: for we are before the eyes of our Lord and God, and we must *all stand at the judgment-seat of Christ, and each man must give an account of himself*. Let us therefore so serve Him with fear and all reverence, as He himself gave commandment and the Apostles who preached the Gospel to us and the prophets who proclaimed beforehand the coming of our Lord; being zealous as touching that which is good, abstaining from offences and from the false brethren and from them that bear the name of the Lord in hypocrisy, who lead foolish men astray.

7. For every one *who shall not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist*: and whosoever shall not confess the testimony of the Cross, is of the devil; and whosoever shall pervert the oracles of the Lord to his own lusts and say that there is neither resurrection nor judgment, that man is the first-born of Satan. Wherefore let us forsake the vain doing of the many and their false teachings, and turn unto the word which was delivered unto us from the beginning, *being sober unto prayer* and constant in fastings, entreating the all-seeing God with supplications that He *bring us not into temptation*, according as the Lord said, *The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak*.

8. Let us therefore without ceasing hold fast by our hope and by the earnest of our righteousness, which is Jesus Christ *who took up our sins in His own body upon the tree, who did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth*, but for our sakes He endured all things, that we might live in Him. Let us therefore become imitators of His endurance; and if we should suffer for His name's sake, let us glorify Him. For He gave this example to us in His own person, and we believed this.

9. I exhort you all therefore to be obedient unto the word of righteousness and to practise all endurance, which also ye saw with your own eyes in the blessed Ignatius and Zosimus and Rufus, yea and in others also who came from among yourselves, as well as in Paul himself and the rest of the Apostles; being persuaded that all these *ran not in vain* but in

faith and righteousness, and that they are in their due place in the presence of the Lord, with whom also they suffered. For they *loved not the present world*, but Him that died for our sakes and was raised by God for us.

10. Stand fast therefore in these things and follow the example of the Lord, being firm in the faith and immovable, *in love of the brotherhood kindly affectioned one to another*, partners with the truth, *forestalling one another* in the gentleness of the Lord, despising no man. *When ye are able to do good*, defer it not, for *Pitifulness delivereth from death*. *Be ye all subject one to another, having your conversation unblameable among the Gentiles, that from your good works* both ye may receive praise and the Lord may not be blasphemed in you. But *woe to him through whom the name of the Lord is blasphemed*. Therefore teach all men soberness, in which ye yourselves also walk.

11. I was exceedingly grieved for Valens, who aforetime was a presbyter among you, because he is so ignorant of the office which was given unto him. I warn you therefore that ye refrain from covetousness, and that ye be pure and truthful. Refrain from all evil. But he who cannot govern himself in these things, how doth he enjoin this upon another? If a man refrain not from covetousness, he shall be defiled by idolatry, and shall be judged as one of the Gentiles who *know not the judgment of the Lord*. *Nay, know we not, that the saints shall judge the world*, as Paul teacheth? But I have not found any such thing in you, neither have heard thereof, among whom the blessed Paul laboured, who were his *letters* in the beginning. For *he boasteth of you in all those churches* which alone at that time knew the Lord; for we knew Him not as yet. Therefore, brethren, I am exceedingly grieved for him and for his wife, unto whom may the Lord grant true repentance. Be ye therefore yourselves also sober herein, *and hold not such as enemies*, but restore them as frail and erring members, that ye may save the whole body of you. For so doing, ye do edify one another.

12. For I am persuaded that ye are well trained in the sacred writings, and nothing is hidden from you. But to myself

this is not granted. Only, as it is said in these scriptures, *Be ye angry and sin not*, and *Let not the sun set on your wrath*. Blessed is he that remembereth this; and I trust that this is in you. Now may the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the eternal High priest Himself, the [Son of] God Jesus Christ, build you up in faith and truth, and in all gentleness and in all avoidance of wrath and in forbearance and long suffering and in patient endurance and in purity; and may He grant unto you a lot and portion among His saints, and to us with you, and to all that are under heaven, who shall believe on our Lord and God Jesus Christ and on His Father *that raised Him from the dead*. *Pray for all the saints*. Pray also for kings and powers and princes, and for them that persecute and hate you, and for the enemies of the cross, that your fruit may be manifest among all men, that ye may be perfect in Him.

13. Ye wrote to me, both ye yourselves and Ignatius, asking that if any one should go to Syria he might carry thither the letters from you. And this I will do, if I get a fit opportunity, either I myself, or he whom I shall send to be ambassador on your behalf also. The letters of Ignatius which were sent to us by him, and others as many as we had by us, we send unto you, according as ye gave charge; the which are subjoined to this letter; from which ye will be able to gain great advantage. For they comprise faith and endurance and every kind of edification, which pertaineth unto our Lord. Moreover concerning Ignatius himself and those that were with him, if ye have any sure tidings, certify us.

14. I write these things to you by Crescens, whom I commended to you recently and now commend unto you: for he hath walked blamelessly with us; and I believe also with you in like manner. But ye shall have his sister commended, when she shall come to you. Fare ye well in the Lord Jesus Christ in grace, ye and all yours. Amen.

LETTER OF THE SMYRNÆANS.

THE CHURCH OF GOD which sojourneth at Smyrna to the Church of God which sojourneth in Philomelium and to all the brotherhoods of the holy and universal Church sojourning in every place; mercy and peace and love from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied.

1. We write unto you, brethren, an account of what befel those that suffered martyrdom and especially the blessed Polycarp, who stayed the persecution, having as it were set his seal upon it by his martyrdom. For nearly all the foregoing events came to pass that the Lord might show us once more an example of martyrdom which is conformable to the Gospel. For he lingered that he might be delivered up, even as the Lord did, to the end that we too might be imitators of him, not looking only to that which concerneth ourselves, but also to that which concerneth our neighbours. For it is the office of true and stedfast love, not only to desire that oneself be saved, but all the brethren also.

2. Blessed therefore and noble are all the martyrdoms which have taken place according to the will of God (for it becometh us to be very scrupulous and to assign to God the power over all things). For who could fail to admire their nobleness and patient endurance and loyalty to the Master? seeing that

when they were so torn by lashes that the mechanism of their flesh was visible even as far as the inward veins and arteries, they endured patiently, so that the very bystanders had pity and wept; while they themselves reached such a pitch of bravery that none of them uttered a cry or a groan, thus showing to us all that at that hour the martyrs of Christ being tortured were absent from the flesh, or rather that the Lord was standing by and conversing with them. And giving heed unto the grace of Christ they despised the tortures of this world, purchasing at the cost of one hour a release from eternal punishment. And they found the fire of their inhuman torturers cold: for they set before their eyes the escape from the eternal fire which is never quenched; while with the eyes of their heart they gazed upon the good things which are reserved for those that endure patiently, things *which neither ear hath heard nor eye hath seen, neither have they entered into the heart of man*, but were shown by the Lord to them, for they were no longer men but angels already. And in like manner also those that were condemned to the wild beasts endured fearful punishments, being made to lie on sharp shells and buffeted with other forms of manifold tortures, that the devil might, if possible, by the persistence of the punishment bring them to a denial; for he tried many wiles against them.

3. But thanks be to God; for He verily prevailed against all. For the right noble Germanicus encouraged their timorousness through the constancy which was in him; and he fought with the wild beasts in a signal way. For when the proconsul wished to prevail upon him and bade him have pity on his youth, he used violence and dragged the wild beast towards him, desiring the more speedily to obtain a release from their unrighteous and lawless life. So after this all the multitude, marvelling at the bravery of the God-beloved and God-fearing people of the Christians, raised a cry, 'Away with the atheists; let search be made for Polycarp.'

4. But one man, Quintus by name, a Phrygian newly arrived from Phrygia, when he saw the wild beasts, turned

coward. He it was who had forced himself and some others to come forward of their own free will. This man the proconsul by much entreaty persuaded to swear the oath and to offer incense. For this cause therefore, brethren, we praise not those who deliver themselves up, since the Gospel doth not so teach us.

5. Now the glorious Polycarp at the first, when he heard it, so far from being dismayed, was desirous of remaining in town; but the greater part persuaded him to withdraw. So he withdrew to a farm not far distant from the city; and there he stayed with a few companions, doing nothing else night and day but praying for all men and for the churches throughout the world; for this was his constant habit. And while praying he falleth into a trance three days before his apprehension; and he saw his pillow burning with fire. And he turned and said unto those that were with him: 'It must needs be that I shall be burned alive.'

6. And as those that were in search of him persisted, he departed to another farm; and forthwith they that were in search of him came up; and not finding him, they seized two slave lads, one of whom confessed under torture; for it was impossible for him to lie concealed, seeing that the very persons who betrayed him were people of his own household. And the captain of the police, who chanced to have the very name, being called Herod, was eager to bring him into the stadium, that he himself might fulfil his appointed lot, being made a partaker with Christ, while they—his betrayers—underwent the punishment of Judas himself.

7. So taking the lad with them, on the Friday about the supper hour, the gendarmes and horsemen went forth with their accustomed arms, hastening *as against a robber*. And coming up in a body late in the evening, they found the man himself in bed in an upper chamber in a certain cottage; and though he might have departed thence to another place, he would not, saying, *The will of God be done*. So when he heard that they were come, he went down and conversed with them, the bystanders marvelling at his age and his constancy, and wondering

how there should be so much eagerness for the apprehension of an old man like him. Thereupon forthwith he gave orders that a table should be spread for them to eat and drink at that hour, as much as they desired. And he persuaded them to grant him an hour that he might pray unmolested; and on their consenting, he stood up and prayed, being so full of the grace of God, that for two hours he could not hold his peace, and those that heard were amazed, and many repented that they had come against such a venerable old man.

8. But when at length he brought his prayer to an end, after remembering all who at any time had come in his way, small and great, high and low, and all the universal Church throughout the world, the hour of departure being come, they seated him on an ass and brought him into the city, it being a high sabbath. And he was met by Herod the captain of police and his father Nicetes, who also removed him to their carriage and tried to prevail upon him, seating themselves by his side and saying, 'Why what harm is there in saying, Cæsar is Lord, and offering incense', with more to this effect, 'and saving thyself?' But he at first gave them no answer. When however they persisted, he said, 'I am not going to do what ye counsel me.' Then they, failing to persuade him, uttered threatening words and made him dismount with speed, so that he bruised his shin, as he got down from the carriage. And without even turning round, he went on his way promptly and with speed, as if nothing had happened to him, being taken to the stadium; there being such a tumult in the stadium that no man's voice could be so much as heard.

9. But as Polycarp entered into the stadium, a voice came to him from heaven; 'Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man.' And no one saw the speaker, but those of our people who were present heard the voice. And at length, when he was brought up, there was a great tumult, for they heard that Polycarp had been apprehended. When then he was brought before him, the proconsul enquired whether he were the man. And on his confessing that he was, he tried to persuade him to a denial,

saying, 'Have respect to thine age,' and other things in accordance therewith, as it is their wont to say; 'Swear by the genius of Cæsar; repent and say, Away with the atheists.' Then Polycarp with solemn countenance looked upon the whole multitude of lawless heathen that were in the stadium, and waved his hand to them; and groaning and looking up to heaven he said, 'Away with the atheists.' But when the magistrate pressed him hard and said, 'Swear the oath, and I will release thee; revile the Christ,' Polycarp said, 'Fourscore and six years have I been His servant, and He hath done me no wrong. How then can I blaspheme my King who saved me?'

10. But on his persisting again and saying, 'Swear by the genius of Cæsar,' he answered, 'If thou supposest vainly that I will swear by the genius of Cæsar, as thou sayest, and feignest that thou art ignorant who I am, hear thou plainly, I am a Christian. But if thou wouldest learn the doctrine of Christianity, assign a day and give me a hearing.' The proconsul said, 'Prevail upon the people.' But Polycarp said, 'As for thyself, I should have held thee worthy of discourse; for we have been taught to render, as is meet, to princes and authorities appointed by God such honour as does us no harm; but as for these, I do not hold them worthy, that I should defend myself before them.'

11. Whereupon the proconsul said, 'I have wild beasts here and I will throw thee to them, except thou repent.' But he said, 'Call for them: for the repentance from better to worse is a change not permitted to us; but it is a noble thing to change from untowardness to righteousness.' Then he said to him again, 'I will cause thee to be consumed by fire, if thou despisest the wild beasts, unless thou repent.' But Polycarp said; 'Thou threatenest that fire which burneth for a season and after a little while is quenched: for thou art ignorant of the fire of the future judgment and eternal punishment, which is reserved for the ungodly. But why delayest thou? Come, do what thou wilt.'

12. Saying these things and more besides, he was inspired with courage and joy, and his countenance was filled with grace, so that not only did it not drop in dismay at the things which were said to him, but on the contrary the proconsul was astounded and sent his own herald to proclaim three times in the midst of the stadium, 'Polycarp hath confessed himself to be a Christian.' When this was proclaimed by the herald, the whole multitude both of Gentiles and of Jews who dwelt in Smyrna cried out with ungovernable wrath and with a loud shout, 'This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the puller down of our gods, who teacheth numbers not to sacrifice nor worship.' Saying these things, they shouted aloud and asked the Asiarch Philip to let a lion loose upon Polycarp. But he said that it was not lawful for him, since he had brought the sports to a close. Then they thought fit to shout out with one accord that Polycarp should be burned alive. For it must needs be that the matter of the vision should be fulfilled, which was shown him concerning his pillow, when he saw it on fire while praying, and turning round said prophetically to the faithful who were with him, 'I must needs be burned alive.'

13. These things then happened with so great speed, quicker than words could tell, the crowds forthwith collecting from the workshops and baths timber and faggots, and the Jews more especially assisting in this with zeal, as is their wont. But when the pile was made ready, divesting himself of all his upper garments and loosing his girdle, he endeavoured also to take off his shoes, though not in the habit of doing this before, because all the faithful at all times vied eagerly who should soonest touch his flesh. For he had been treated with all honour for his holy life even before his gray hairs came. Forthwith then the instruments that were prepared for the pile were placed about him; and as they were going likewise to nail him to the stake, he said, 'Leave me as I am; for He that hath granted me to endure the fire will grant me also to remain at the pile unmoved, even without the security which ye seek from the nails.'

14. So they did not nail him, but tied him. Then he, placing his hands behind him and being bound to the stake, like a noble ram out of a great flock for an offering, a burnt sacrifice made ready and acceptable to God, looking up to heaven said ; 'O Lord God Almighty, the Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received the knowledge of Thee, the God of angels and powers and of all creation and of the whole race of the righteous, who live in Thy presence; I bless thee for that Thou hast granted me this day and hour, that I might receive a portion amongst the number of martyrs in the cup of [Thy] Christ unto resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and of body, in the incorruptibility of the Holy Spirit. May I be received among these in Thy presence this day, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou didst prepare and reveal it beforehand, and hast accomplished it, Thou that art the faithful and true God. For this cause, yea and for all things, I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee, through the eternal and heavenly High-priest Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom with Him and the Holy Spirit be glory to Thee both now [and ever] and for the ages to come. Amen.'

15. When he had offered up the Amen and finished his prayer, the firemen lighted the fire. And, a mighty flame flashing forth, we to whom it was given to see, saw a marvel, yea and we were preserved that we might relate what happened to the rest. The fire, making the appearance of a vault, like the sail of a vessel filled by the wind, made a wall round about the body of the martyr; and it was there in the midst, not like flesh burning, but like [a loaf in the oven or like] gold and silver refined in a furnace. For we perceived such a fragrant smell, as if it were the wafted odour of frankincense or some other precious spice.

16. So at length the lawless men, seeing that his body could not be consumed by the fire, ordered an executioner to go up to him and stab him with a dagger. And when he had done this, there came forth [a dove and] a quantity of blood, so that it extinguished the fire; and all the multitude marvelled that

there should be so great a difference between the unbelievers and the elect. In the number of these was this man, the glorious martyr Polycarp, who was found an apostolic and prophetic teacher in our own time, a bishop of the holy Church which is in Smyrna. For every word which he uttered from his mouth was accomplished and will be accomplished.

17. But the jealous and envious Evil One, the adversary of the family of the righteous, having seen the greatness of his martyrdom and his blameless life from the beginning, and how he was crowned with the crown of immortality and had won a reward which none could gainsay, managed that not even his poor body should be taken away by us, although many desired to do this and to touch his holy flesh. So he put forward Nicetes the father of Herod and brother of Alce to plead with the magistrate not to give up his body, 'lest', so it was said, 'they should abandon the crucified one and begin to worship this man'—this being done at the instigation and urgent entreaty of the Jews, who also watched when we were about to take it from the fire, not knowing that it will be impossible for us either to forsake at any time the Christ who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of those that are saved—suffered though faultless for sinners—nor to worship any other. For Him, being the Son of God, we adore, but the martyrs as disciples and imitators of the Lord we cherish as they deserve for their matchless affection towards their own King and teacher. May it be our lot also to be found partakers and fellow-disciples with them.

18. The centurion therefore, seeing the opposition raised on the part of the Jews, set him in the midst and burnt him after their custom. And so we afterwards took up his bones which are more valuable than precious stones and finer than refined gold and laid them in a suitable place; where the Lord will permit us to gather ourselves together, as we are able, in gladness and joy, and to celebrate the birth-day of his martyrdom for the commemoration of those that have already fought in the contest

and for the training and preparation of those that shall do so hereafter.

19. So it befel the blessed Polycarp, who having with those from Philadelphia suffered martyrdom in Smyrna—twelve in all—is especially remembered more than the others by all men, so that he is talked of even by the heathen in every place: for he showed himself not only a notable teacher, but also a distinguished martyr, whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, seeing that it was after the pattern of the Gospel. Having by his endurance overcome the unrighteous ruler in the conflict and so received the crown of immortality, he rejoiceth in company with the Apostles and all righteous men, and glorifieth the Almighty God and Father, and blesseth our Lord Jesus Christ, the saviour of our souls and helmsman of our bodies and shepherd of the universal Church which is throughout the world.

20. Ye indeed required that the things which happened should be shown unto you at greater length: but we for the present have certified you as it were in a summary through our brother Marcianus. When then ye have informed yourselves of these things, send the letter about likewise to the brethren which are farther off, that they also may glorify the Lord, who maketh election from His own servants. Now unto Him that is able to bring us all by His grace and bounty unto His eternal kingdom, through His only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, be glory, honour, power, and greatness for ever. Salute all the saints. They that are with us salute you, and Euarestus, who wrote the letter, with his whole house.

21. Now the blessed Polycarp was martyred on the second day of the first part of the month Xanthicus, on the seventh before the kalends of March, on a great sabbath, at the eighth hour. He was apprehended by Herodes, when Philip of Tralles was high-priest, in the proconsulship of Statius Quadratus, but in the reign of the Eternal King Jesus Christ. To whom be the glory, honour, greatness, and eternal throne, from generation to generation. Amen.

22. (1) We bid you God speed, brethren, while ye walk by the word of Jesus Christ according to the Gospel; with whom be glory to God for the salvation of His holy elect; even as the blessed Polycarp suffered martyrdom, in whose footsteps may it be our lot to be found in the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

(2) This account Gaius copied from the papers of Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp. The same also lived with Irenæus.

(3) And I Socrates wrote it down in Corinth from the copy of Gaius. Grace be with all men.

(4) And I Pionius again wrote it down from the aforementioned copy, having searched it out (for the blessed Polycarp showed me in a revelation, as I will declare in the sequel), gathering it together when it was now well nigh worn out by age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may gather me also with His elect into His heavenly kingdom; to whom be the glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

The three preceding paragraphs as read in the Moscow MS.

(2) This account Gaius copied from the papers of Irenæus. The same lived with Irenæus who had been a disciple of the holy Polycarp. For this Irenæus, being in Rome at the time of the martyrdom of the bishop Polycarp, instructed many; and many most excellent and orthodox treatises by him are in circulation. In these he makes mention of Polycarp, saying that he was taught by him. And he ably refuted every heresy, and handed down the catholic rule of the Church just as he had received it from the saint. He mentions this fact also, that when Marcion, after whom the Marcionites are called, met the holy Polycarp on one occasion, and said, 'Recognize us, Polycarp,' he said in reply to Marcion, 'Yes indeed, I recognize the first-born of Satan.' The following statement also is made in the writings of Irenæus; that on the very day and hour when Polycarp was martyred in Smyrna, Irenæus being in the city of

the Romans heard a voice as of a trumpet saying, 'Polycarp is martyred.'

(3) From these papers of Irenæus then, as has been stated already, Gaius made a copy, and from the copy of Gaius Isocrates made another in Corinth.

(4) And I Pionius again wrote it down from the copy of Isocrates, having searched for it in obedience to a revelation of the holy Polycarp, gathering it together, when it was well nigh worn out by age, that the Lord Jesus Christ may gather me also with His elect into His heavenly kingdom; to whom be the glory with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.

LIFE OF POLYCARP.

1. **T**RACING my steps farther back and beginning with the visit of the blessed Paul to Smyrna, as I have found it in ancient copies, I will give the narration in order, thus coming down to the history of the blessed Polycarp.

2. In the days of unleavened bread Paul, coming down from Galatia, arrived in Asia, considering the repose among the faithful in Smyrna to be a great refreshment in Christ Jesus after his severe toil, and intending afterwards to depart to Jerusalem. So in Smyrna he went to visit Strataëas, who had been his hearer in Pamphylia, being a son of Eunice the daughter of Lois. These are they of whom he makes mention when writing to Timothy, saying ; *Of the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois and in thy mother Eunice* ; whence we find that Strataëas was a brother of Timothy. Paul then, entering his house and gathering together the faithful there, speaks to them concerning the Passover and the Pentecost, reminding them of the New Covenant of the offering of bread and the cup ; how that they ought most assuredly to celebrate it during the days of unleavened bread, but to hold fast the new mystery of the Passion and Resurrection. For here the Apostle plainly teaches that we ought neither to keep it outside the season of unleavened bread, as the heretics do, especially the Phrygians, nor yet on the other hand of necessity on the fourteenth day : for he said nothing about the fourteenth day, but named the days of unleavened bread, the Passover, and the Pentecost, thus ratifying the Gospel.

3. But after the departure of the Apostle, Strataëas succeeded to his teaching, and certain of those after him, whose names, so far as it is

possible to discover who and what manner of men they were, I will set down. But for the present let us proceed at once to Polycarp.

One whose name was Bucolus being bishop in Smyrna at that time, there was in those days a certain lady, devout and fearing God, conversant in good works, whose name was Callisto. An angel sent from the Lord stood by her and said to her in a vision of the night; 'Callisto, rise up and go to the gate called the Ephesian, and when thou hast gone forward a little in front of it, two men shall meet thee, having with them a little lad named Polycarp. Ask them, if he is for sale; and when they say "Yes," give them the price that they shall demand, and take and keep him with thee. This child is a native of the East.' Then she, the voice still ringing in her ears and her heart bounding with fear and joy, sat up and arose with haste, and without delay did as she was ordered. And with hurry and flurry she came to the aforesaid gate, and found as the angel told her, and she took him and brought him to her house and delighted in rearing him decently and nurturing him in the nurture of the Lord. And she was amazed, when she saw his intelligence and seemly behaviour and his aptitude for piety. And in point of affection she treated him as a son, while as regards promotion over the servants, gradually as he advanced in age he was made manager of her property. And further she gave into his hand the keys of the storehouses.

4. But when at length it befel that she went away from home for a time, she left Polycarp keeper of her house. And as he went in to measure out rations of food for the servants, he would be followed by widows and orphans and by many of the neighbourhood—all the destitute poor among the faithful—and they would ask to have given them, one corn, and others wine, others oil, and whatsoever each desired. But he, having from a child learnt the lesson of well-doing and having the commandments of God inscribed on the tablet of his soul and on the pages of his heart by the finger of God, even the Holy Spirit, fulfilled the precept, *Give to him that asketh thee*; and so he emptied all the store-rooms, bestowing lavishly on all that were in need.

5. But when at length Callisto returned after a long time, one of the domestics ran to her and said; 'You, my lady, setting at nought all your servants born in the house, placed everything in the hands of this young lad though he came from the East; and he during your absence from home plundered everything that there was and left nothing.' Then she, being disturbed by the harsh words of the accuser (for the charge was enough to ruffle even a tranquil soul, especially when it conjures up a semblance of pecuniary loss), swelled with indignation in her heart and overflowed with wrath, especially because she held it a very great

disaster that one befriended by God and given to her by Him should have squandered everything recklessly; for she did not yet know for what purpose he had employed these goods. Wherefore also very divided thoughts sprang up in her mind. So forthwith she called Polycarp by name, saying, 'Polycarp'; and on his obeying her summons she said, 'Bring me the keys of the closets.' And when he brought them and opened the doors, she went in and began to look round; and a miracle of the mighty working of the Lord Jesus Christ was wrought. For he, when he went in, groaned and prayed saying; 'O Lord God, the Father of Thy beloved Son, that in the presence of Thy prophet Elijah didst fill the vessels of the widow of Zarephath, give ear unto me, that in the name of Christ they all may be found filled.' Accordingly they were all found filled, so that she, thinking the slave had lied, was angry and ordered certain of the domestics [to beat him]. But Polycarp came forward and set himself straight, saying; 'Nay do not ill-treat another for my sake; but rather lay on me the blows intended for him; for he told no lie, but deserveth praise for his affection towards his mistress. But as for me, seeing that I did not spend with an evil intent but on the poor, the God and Father of the blessed Jesus Christ hath both filled the hungry and hath sent His angel to restore to thee thine own, that thou also mayest have to give still to the poor according to the custom which thou followest.' Having heard and seen these things, Callisto was filled with fear, advancing still more in faith and in good works, so that Polycarp became as a son to her; and departing this life in faith she left him her substance.

6. Now after the death of Callisto Polycarp advanced greatly in the faith that is in Christ and that pursues a virtuous life. And in his untiring diligence, he from his Eastern stock bore (if one may so say) blossom as a token of good fruit hereafter to come. For the men who dwell in the East are distinguished before all others for their love of learning and their attachment to the divine Scriptures. So having been brought to Asia and having come by the will of God to live in Smyrna, after making himself fully acquainted with the ways of the people of the country and distinguishing himself far beyond them, he discerned that for every servant of God, while the whole world is [his city], the heavenly Jerusalem is his true father-land; and that here on earth we are bidden to sojourn for a while and not to settle; for we are *strangers and visitors*. Thus reflecting on this with a godly delight he offered himself day and night wholly and entirely as a consecrated sacrifice to God, exercising himself in the oracles contained in the divine Scriptures and in continual services of prayer and in devotion to all those who

needed either attention or relief and in contentment of living. For he ate such food as came to hand, meagre and simple though it was, and he wore such clothing only as absolute necessity required, for the sake of warmth and of the modest and seemly covering of the body.

7. And for the most part he withdrew into retirement, not appearing in public or conspicuous places, nor where he might reap praise from the spectators. But he spent his time chiefly at home, though sometimes in the suburbs, where he could most easily disregard and escape the turmoil of a great crowd; for he knew that the soul needs tranquillity of sight and hearing free from contamination with evil things. And in consequence of this he was staid alike in his mental thoughts and in his bodily gestures; for even in youth he had the gait of an elderly man, and his look was manly and unembarrassed by any passion directed towards objects of sight in outward life. But if any of those who met him looked into his face, he would be suffused with a blush, and through his innate respect he made himself respected by others. For the souls of the wise are discerned through the body, as through a mirror, by their blushes. And of those also who came to see him and desired his conversation, he was wont to shun and avoid, if he possibly could, the garrulous and foolish talkers, on the plea that he was intent on some important business and had not noticed the person who met him; but if he happened to get entangled with him, he would answer him briefly just not to seem to be haughty, and then would keep silence. Such was his behaviour towards those from whom no benefit could be got. But bad men he avoided as mad dogs or wild beasts or venomous serpents; for he remembered the Scripture which says, *With the innocent thou shalt be innocent, and with the elect thou shalt be elect, and with the perverse thou shalt use perverseness*. With those however from whom he could derive benefit he associated very freely, especially in cases where he could reap benefit not only from their words but also from their actions.

8. And as he returned from the suburbs to the city, if at any time he fell in with wood-carriers, especially when they were old men, he had compassion on them for their heavy burden and would attach himself to them and enquire of them if they sold their load as soon as they entered the city; and on their answering that sometimes evening came and they had not succeeded in doing so, he would give them the price and would carry the wood to the widows living near the gate. Thus he gratified the widows with the benefit of the wood, and the woodmen with the enjoyment of their meal at its proper time.

9. Now when he came to man's estate he was more enamoured

than ever of godliness ; and he discerned that freedom was the proper reward of self-discipline, but that it is attained by few and chiefly by those who have received from God the power of keeping the plumage of their soul unenslaved and unencumbered—men who are privileged to enjoy the free supermundane life through not being dragged down upon the earth by the fetters of marriage. For not one of us can dispense with the necessities of life ; but those persons can least of all dispense with them who harbour in their house an expensive wife that is fond of dress. And he would recount the distractions and annoyances that come from such a wife, rendering it altogether impossible to lead a peaceable and quiet life. For should she be profligate, as Solomon says, *the rage of the husband is full of envy* ; but if she is chaste, she is filled with vanity and is elated in her mind ; so that *it is better to live in a desert rather than with a contentious and loquacious woman*. And altogether no charm of life thrust his soul away from heavenly things ; and he was wont to say that the words of Christ and of the prophets and apostles were beautiful to him : *Thou art beautiful in thy loveliness beyond the sons of men ; grace is shed on thy lips* ; and again, *How beautiful are the feet of those who bring glad tidings of good things*. And for the rearing of children and the care for one's offspring and the arrangements at home consequent thereupon, he used to explain how much a man who entangles himself in these matters must necessarily want, and what distractions and occupations he must have, and what anxieties about their good behaviour, and what burdens fall upon parents when their children sicken and what griefs when they die, and all the other risks which attend the training of their whole life. For at each successive stage of life the young undergo a change of disposition also, the heat natural to their age fermenting like new wine, and seething and purging the material part more and more, like a colt endeavouring to throw off the reins and yoke, until the controlling and superintending mind, by reason and reflexion, as by a bridle, shall pull him back and rein him in and shall put a stop to the neighing, reducing the disorderly and irrational impulse to order. The mind however only then effects this and prevails, when it is penetrated with a certain divine sense and presence of the Holy Spirit. Wherefore also the inspired David supplicated saying, *Renew a right spirit in my inmost parts ; stablish me with a commanding spirit, and take not Thy Holy Spirit from me* ; and the Apostle says, *Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh*.

10. Our next business after this is to recount also the career of his episcopate, what was his conduct in it and how he attained to it ; that by these lessons we may also learn to imitate those who are chosen by God

as His ministers. Bucolus then, who was bishop before him, cherished him and set great store by him from his childhood. And being sanguine he entertained great hopes of him, as the fathers of good sons rejoice in having steady successors. And he in turn requited Bucolus, cherishing him as he would a parent, yet not with feigned language but inobtrusively and without forcing himself always upon him ; and acting with reserve he observed the opportunities which occurred from time to time, so as not to appear to be officious nor yet neglectful. For he was not eager to give him a present or gift when he could supply his own wants, nor was Bucolus on his part eager to receive one ; for the latter regarded the young man's alacrity in relieving those in want as his own personal gain, while the former duly fulfilled the command of the Lord Jesus by giving to those who were not able to pay him back ; whereas some persons artfully pursue honour and are ever coveting some other greater honour. While then Polycarp, like Jacob, being a simple and *plain man*, acted in all things without vanity or ostentation, by the labours of his own hands supplying the poor with bodily ministrations as regards food and other necessities of life, he gained renown by his actual deeds ; and Bucolus was informed of this not by the doer, but by the recipients. For as good men regard the conferring of benefits as imperative, so likewise with reasonable men thankfulness on receiving benefits is indispensable. Moreover he rejoiced to see that many persons who were sick and afflicted with devils were restored to sound health through the grace given to him from God, and so the Lord Jesus Christ was glorified. And he beheld many things also concerning him in visions.

11. He perceived therefore that he was worthy ; and for the present, owing to his youthfulness, he enrolled him in the order of deacons with the approval of the whole Church. Blessed indeed was he in being permitted to cover such a head with his hand and to bless so noble a soul with his voice. For the approved and discreet advancement of those who are appointed to an office in the sacred ministry through faith in God is a source of confidence and joy to those who have made the good selection, provoking no blame before men and causing no secret reproaches to the conscience.

12. As a deacon then he approved himself among his own contemporaries, as Stephen did among those of the Apostles ; for being well-equipped in speech and adorned with good deeds, he boldly confuted Greeks and Jews and the heretics. And many a time did Bucolus, by exhortation and encouragement, with difficulty persuade him to allow himself to be disciplined by the Lord and to give catechetical discourses in church. Thus there was given him

by Christ in the first place an ecclesiastical and catholic rule of correct instruction; and being able to interpret mysteries which were hidden from the multitude he expounded them so clearly that the hearers attested that they not only heard but saw the things described. He wrote also many treatises and sermons and letters, but in the persecution which arose on his account, when he was martyred, certain lawless heathen carried them off. Their character however is evident from those still extant, among which the Epistle to the Philippians was the most adequate. This we will include in its proper place.

13. But in his teaching his chief point was that his hearers should know concerning God Almighty, invisible, immutable, immeasurable, and that He was well pleased to send down from heaven His own Word and Son, that the Word, thus taking Man upon Himself and being truly incarnate, might save His own creation; and that He, according to the prophecy which had been uttered, being born of an undefiled and spotless virgin and of the Holy Ghost, accomplished that mystery of generation which is difficult of comprehension to most men. And He consented to suffer for the salvation of men, according as Christ Himself declared beforehand by the law and the prophets concerning Himself, as also the Father respecting the Son; whom also God raised from the dead, and His disciples saw Him in the body such as He had been before His passion; and they beheld Him taken up in a cloud of light into the heavens in the same body in which He created Adam before his transgression. But as concerning the Holy Spirit and the gift of the Paraclete and all the other spiritual graces, he would demonstrate that they could not be possessed outside the Catholic Church, just as a limb cut off from a body has no power, proving this from all the Scriptures; such as the saying by the mouth of Daniel, *And His kingdom shall not be left to another people*, and in the Gospel, *Mary hath chosen the good part, and it shall not be taken away from her*, and other passages similar to these.

14. But in the matter of continence and virginity he was careful to make hortatory discourses, and he would urge that men ought not of compulsion or by commandment of others, even though they might be parents or masters, but by individual choice and desire, to carry it through as a voluntary effort. And he used to say that chastity was the forerunner of the future incorruptible kingdom, and that it received its name of continence (ἐννοχίαν) because it had much affection (ἐννοίαν ἔχειν) towards the Master, and of virginity (παρθενίαν) because the idea of such self-restraint is with God (παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ); for those who discipline themselves to such a life deaden the carnal fire. And he would

demonstrate monogamy from the fact of the creation, pointing out that one woman was created for one man ; wherefore also the virgin that is brought to her husband bears her name appropriately : the commencement of the name, he said, signified that she was from God (*παρὰ Θεοῦ*) and the termination describes her as belonging to one (*ἑνός*), that is one husband. And he observed that Lamech, being descended from Cain, was the first to *take to himself two wives* ; and by *taking to himself* is meant doing it not according to the will of God. He said then that, though polygamy was called by the name of marriage, yet it was a specious fornication.

15. And on certain Greeks remarking to him that it was difficult and irksome among the Christians to be able to master the desires, he replied ; ‘ It is foolish to suppose that whatsoever things seem impossible to men are really impossible ; but understand that the Lord bringeth about all things, and the Master of the universe subjecteth them to His mighty chariot-reins.’ For after setting forth three kinds of chastity, he banished and exterminated fornication from the faithful, and established the rule and sovereignty of chastity ; for while the rest of mankind have unbalanced and vague and irregular impulses, and *like horses rage and neigh after their neighbours’ wives*, only those who wait in fear to be judged by the heavenly law and the word of God, which is the avenger and champion of all, are satisfied with a single marriage that exists for the procreation of children. Women in like manner are taught to look only to the husband of their virginity.

16. The second kind of chastity is that of widowhood, transcending the one already mentioned. For the latter seemed to be difficult at first until it was surpassed by that which is able to desist from concessions previously allowed. But the third kind which practises a chastity victorious in every feat—what superiority has it not over the others ! What desirable and laudable honour does not belong to the kind of continence and virginity, which shakes off and (so to speak) casts away all the shackles of the lower life, and with light bound and agile step outruns and overleaps the feats already described ! For it evinces greater determination in the person who adopts it, than the being content with one alone or the desisting after experience, and it proclaims superior power in God who bestowed it. For that it is voluntary on the part of the man who so chooses, and that it is a gift of God whose is the power, our Saviour showed when He said that men *made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven’s sake*, and that *all men could not receive this word*.

17. But as from that time forward he advanced daily in years also,

and the flower of a hoary head, the forerunner of old age, appeared, and here and there a white hair began to smile above his temples—for human nature asserts itself not fortuitously, but by a divine providence, and puts forward each development at the proper season as a reminder to the race, and with much grace of wisdom calls the man to perfection by deeds and words; as for instance when it says, *How long, thou sluggard, dost thou lie down; and when wilt thou arise out of sleep?* or again, *Prepare thy works for thy departure*; so also by these means methinks it reminds every one of us of the end before it arrives, that the whiter a man's head becomes by time, the brighter his soul may grow by the Word. Bucolus therefore, seeing that Polycarp's age was adequate and that the propriety of his conduct throughout all his life was even more adequate than the number of his years, perceived that he was most excellent as a fellow-counsellor to him in questions relating to the Church and as a fellow-minister in teaching; while the Lord set His seal on and ratified his design, giving him commandment in a vision. Accordingly he appointed him to an office in the presbyterate, the whole Church with one accord welcoming him with great joy, although he himself shrunk from such an undertaking. For he said that it was enough in itself to give account of one office and one ministration, let alone of several. And he went on to say; 'If a man being unworthy dareth to lay hold of such an honorable office, he bringeth judgment on himself; but if he be worthy, he has the full reward of his former works, receiving the order of the priesthood as in a manner a reward.' Seeing then that it was impossible to gainsay the counsel and appeal of God, he receives the order of the presbyterate, whereupon he saw a vision and received much comfort.

18. From that time forward therefore, much progress being made in the word of teaching through him, all men glorified our Lord Jesus Christ. For he would extend his discourse to great length on diverse subjects; and from the actual Scripture which was read he would furnish edification with all demonstration and conviction, so that the things spoken were presented to the hearers as if exhibited to the eye. For he was wont to say that the speaker must first believe what he says; seeing that in this way he sets them forth, not as the relation of others, but as achievements of his own. And his voice was grave and manly, with look and gesture corresponding thereto, having sweetness and melody and being pervaded with the fear of God. And on one occasion a person said to him..... for when holding discourse with Jews and Gentiles and with the sects, he would speak loudly, so that some of those standing below could hear him: and for the purpose of

showing what things ought to be said with kindliness and not with heat, he would proceed thus; 'How think ye that the Lord spoke such words as these to him that had his hand withered? as the Scripture saith *And looking round upon them He said in anger, Stretch out thine hand*; or that saying? *O faithless and perverse generation*, and other words such as these; or the Apostle Peter? *Why did ye conspire among yourselves to tempt the Spirit of the Lord*? Or Paul? *I would that they would cut themselves off that disturb you*. On the other hand when administering comfort, the Lord spoke in gentle language and loving tones; *Come, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden*. And again with sympathy towards the city of Jerusalem saying, *How often would I have gathered thy children*, and other words of a like kind. Again Peter with John at the Beautiful Gate addressed the paralytic with pity, and Paul writing to the Galatians says, *My children with whom I am in travail again*, when the moment for comforting demands it.

19. So also he pursued the reading of the Scriptures from childhood to old age, himself reading in church; and he recommended it to others, saying that the reading of the law and the prophets was the forerunner of grace, preparing and making *straight the ways of the Lord*, that is the hearts, which are like tablets whereon certain harsh beliefs and conceptions that were written before perfect knowledge came, are through the inculcation of the Old Testament, and the correct interpretation following thereupon, first smoothed and levelled, that, when the Holy Spirit comes as a pen, the grace and joy of the voice of the Gospel and of the doctrine of the immortal and heavenly Christ may be inscribed on them. And he said that they could not otherwise receive the impression of the seal which is given by baptism and engrave and exhibit the form conveyed in it, unless the wax were first softened and filled the deep parts. So also he thought that the hearts of the hearers ought to be softened and yield to the impress of the Word. For he said that it unfolded and opened, like closed doors, the minds of recent comers; and accordingly the prophet was bidden by God, *Cry out mightily and spare not, Raise thy voice as a trumpet*. What must one say, when even He that was gentler than all men so appeals and cries out at the feast of Tabernacles? For it is written; *And on the last day, the great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried saying, If any man thirsteth, let him come to Me and drink*. Yes, for when He is teaching He will cry out, but if He is spitted upon and brought to trial and is tempted and suffers, He will be silent, when *He is led as a sheep to the slaughter and as a lamb before the shearer is dumb*. For I, it is said, *like a deaf man heard not, and I became as a man that heareth not and hath no reproofs in his mouth*.

20. The wealth of the grace given by Christ to Polycarp has led us on, while recording his course of life, to explain in turn the character of his teaching likewise. How he used to interpret the Scriptures, we will defer relating till another time, setting it forth in order and showing our successors also how to minister correct instruction in the holy and inspired Scriptures. But for the present we will proceed to speak of the episcopate conferred upon him, and what great things he did when he found himself in this position, running the race of godliness successfully. Bucolus then, forasmuch as the Lord had often signified to him beforehand in visions that he had a man of this kind for his successor, in joy and gladness at leaving as it were a prudent heir, when he went to his rest fell asleep in this manner. At the season of his departure he took hold of Polycarp's hand, and pressed it first upon his own breast, then on his face, signifying that whatsoever graces are ministered through these organs of sense (the heart that understands and the eyes that see and the ears that hear and the nostril that inhales the odour of Christ and the mouth that by speech preaches God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ) will all be committed to him. He then having done this and said, 'Glory be to thee, O Lord,' fell asleep. But Polycarp for the present took no account of any of these things, for his hope and longing was always set on things future. But the believers who were present and standing round, when they saw this, compared notes one with another privately, being hopeful of getting such a man for their pastor. So having taken the body of the blessed Bucolus to Smyrna to the cemetery in front of the Ephesian Royal gate, and placed it where recently a myrtle tree sprung up after the burial of the body of Thraseas the martyr, when all was over, they offered bread for Bucolus and the rest. Now they were all of one mind that Polycarp should offer it; but as he was always scrupulous and desired to yield honour to his superiors, they prevented its happening otherwise. And so he was persuaded and performed the service.

21. And without any delay, not many days after, gathering together bishops from the cities round about and making preparations for the reception of the visitors, they took measures for the appointment of a successor to preside over the Church. When they arrived, great crowds gathered from the cities and villages and fields, some knowing Polycarp, others desiring from what they had heard of him to behold him. So when they were assembled together and the church was filled, the glory of a heavenly light shone among them all, and certain brethren saw marvellous visions. One saw hovering over Polycarp's head a white dove encircled in light. Another beheld him, before he had sat

down, as if already seated in his chair of office. A third saw him in the guise of a soldier girdled with a crimson belt. To another again he appeared arrayed in purple, and a sort of light shining about his face; while another, a faithful and reverend virgin, saw him twice his proper size, and a scarlet robe on his right shoulder, and his neck glistening like snow, and a seal upon it.

22. And on the sabbath, when prayer had been made long time on bended knee, he, as was his custom, got up to read; and every eye was fixed upon him. Now the lesson was the Epistles of Paul to Timothy and to Titus, in which he says what manner of man a bishop ought to be. And he was so well fitted for the office that the hearers said one to another that he lacked none of those qualities which Paul requires in one who has the care of a church. When then, after the reading and the instruction of the bishops and the discourses of the presbyters, the deacons were sent to the laity to enquire whom they would have, they said with one accord, 'Let Polycarp be our pastor and teacher.' The whole priesthood then having assented, they appointed him notwithstanding his earnest entreaties and his desire to decline.

23. Accordingly the deacons led him up for ordination by the hands of the bishops according to custom. And being placed in his chair by them, he moistened and anointed first with tears of piety and humility the place where in the spirit he saw standing the feet of Christ who was present with him for the anointing to the priestly office. For where the ministers are—the priests and Levites—there in the midst is also the High-priest arrayed in the great flowing robe. Then the company present urged him, since this was the custom, to address them. For they said that this work of teaching was the most important part of the communion. So opening his mouth he spoke out, his voice betraying the fear in his heart, and said;

'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord, the High-priest and shepherd and teacher and king eternal, even Christ to whom be the glory for ever and ever—the God who proveth us in all things and *searcheth our hearts* by all means, as He did those of our fathers and of His holy prophets to whom He gave commandments and ordinances that they should make known to the rest the faith that was in them; as even now He hath proved my meanness through the greatness of this office which exceeds my powers; for I well know that no man could fulfil it well, except he hath first received it from the Lord from heaven, as the blessed Apostle Paul hath shown in his epistles, showing in a single word the whole life of one who is appointed to office, when he speaks of it as *blameless*. This I think cannot have escaped the ears

of any one, but must have been impressed upon his inmost soul wholly and completely. Wherefore it is necessary for you, my beloved, to make supplication on my behalf to the Lord, that He will himself grant me to minister acceptably to His spotless bride, the Church. The same also is the duty of all my fellow-servants and ministers, to whom it is needful to make exhortation in the presence of God and of you, that they labour with me and assist with all readiness and with *love unfeigned* in the struggle that lies before me, knowing that all must run together so that we all may receive the prize, forasmuch as the crown of immortality is offered to all alike, the Omnipotent God and our Lord Jesus Christ crowning without respect of persons him that has fought well and conquered by grace; through whom to the Invisible and Immeasurable, the one only Immortal Father in the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, glory, honour, and power both was and is and shall be for ever. Amen.'

After this the others also, having made the proper exhortations and appeals on the Sabbath and on the Lord's Day, and offerings and eucharists, rejoicing and partaking of food, returned each to his own home rejoicing greatly at having communicated with Polycarp, and glorifying Christ Jesus the Lord for it, to whom is the glory for ever. Amen.

24. And on the following sabbath he said; 'Hear ye my exhortation, beloved children of God. I adjured you when the bishops were present, and now again I exhort you all to walk decorously and worthily in the way of the Lord, knowing that, when I was in the ministry of the presbyters, I applied so great diligence according to my power, and shall do this the more now when the greatest peril awaits me if I am negligent. For after the fear of the judgment, it were shameful to abate and relax anything having regard to men, and not rather to build up higher the zeal which has reached thus far. It pertaineth to you therefore to hold back from all unruliness, both men and women; and let no one imagine that I exact punishment from offenders not from conscientiousness but from human pride. For it has happened that some of those who were put into offices, when they ought all the more, as one might say, to strain every nerve in the race, just then relax their efforts, forgetting that, the greater honour a man appeareth to receive, the greater the loyalty which he ought to pay towards the Master, and to *remember the words of the Lord* how He himself said, *On whom I conferred the more, from him let them demand the more abundantly in return*; and the parable of those who had the talents committed to them, and the blessing pronounced upon the servant that watches, and

the reproof of those who refused to come to the marriage feast, and the condemnation of him whose garment was not befitting the marriage festivity, and the entering in of the wise virgins, the saying *Watch ye*, and again *Be ye ready, Let not your hearts be weighed down*, the new commandment concerning love one towards another, His advent suddenly manifest as of rapid lightning, the great judgment by fire, the eternal life, His immortal kingdom. And all things whatsoever being taught of God ye know, when ye search the inspired Scriptures, engrave with the pen of the Holy Spirit on your hearts, that the commandments may abide in you indelible.'

25. Thus speaking in this way from time to time, and being persistent in his teaching, he edified and *saved both himself and his hearers*.

But I will now record such of the miracles wrought by his hands as have been handed down to us. Once upon a time Polycarp went to Teos, which is near the warm baths commonly called Lebadia, to visit a certain bishop Daphnus by name, who after supper informed him of the scantiness of his means of subsistence, telling him how meagre a supply of food he had reaped from his husbandry. But he, when Daphnus showed him the barrels nearly empty, laid his hands on them and said; 'In the name of Jesus Christ use them freely.' Whence from that hour such abundance was multiplied that, after sowing the land, and providing without stint for his own household, he was able to give to others also.

26. Now after a lapse of time he came again to visit Daphnus; and Daphnus in thanksgiving for this great favour made an offering in his presence to a number of brethren. Accordingly he set a little cask full of wine in the midst of them. But when he told the servants to bring wine from the house and pour it in, Polycarp said; 'Let it be as it is, for it will not fail.' And as they drew and drank the wine, while yet the wine only abounded the more, a servant girl standing by shouted out not in fear, but in merriment and laughter, saying 'Inexhaustible little cask.' At this the angel who was appointed over the miracle of power retired, and the result was that even the wine that was there vanished, whereupon Polycarp said: 'Ay, well was it said by the mouth of David, *Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice before Him in trembling*.'

27. Now among others whom Polycarp appointed deacons was one named Camerius, who also became bishop the third in succession from him and next after Papirius. This man Polycarp took with him and went into the country, for he was careful to superintend the

churches scattered through the villages also. And as he was returning to the city, a widow from a certain field ran up to him in the road and being in great straits brought him a little bird still young; and on his declining to take it, she prevailed upon him, telling him to treat it as an offering. But when evening came, as he generally travelled on his own legs, being tired he decided to put up at a certain inn with Camerius, since the place in question had not yet received the Gospel of grace. Well, it came to pass after supper that when he retired to rest he fell asleep quickly; for voluntary distresses of the body induce rest in solitary places. And when night was nearly half past, an angel of the Lord stood by him and smote his side and said, 'Polycarp.' And he said, 'What is it?' The angel replied, 'Rise and go out of the inn: for it is on the point of falling.' So he woke up and called Camerius. But he, being weighed down with sleep and fatigue together, answered him but not without difficulty: and explaining to him, he tried to induce him to rise. But Camerius replied to him, 'The first sleep is not yet passed, blessed father, and where are we going? Thou art always studying the Scriptures and wakeful. So thou fallest not asleep.' And Polycarp tried to awake him; but he lay still. And when the angel stood by him a second time and said the same thing, again he told Camerius to get up. And on his saying in reply, 'I have trust in God that, while thou art here, the wall will never fall,' Polycarp said, 'I too have trust in God, but I have no trust in the wall.' So he fell asleep the third time, and the same word was spoken by the angel. Then he without delay rose first, and Camerius afterwards leapt up hastily. But when they had gone out and had made a little progress on their way, they remembered that they had left the little bird in the inn. When they were distant about a stone's throw, 'Hesitate not,' said he, 'for the blessed widow designated it for an offering.' And he returned and took it: and when he had gone forward a little distance the inn fell entirely to the ground, foundations and all, so that not one of the inmates was saved. Then Polycarp standing and looking up to heaven said; 'O God our Master and Lord Omnipotent, the Father of Thy blessed and holy Son Jesus Christ, who didst foretell the overthrow of the Ninevites by Thy great prophet Jonah, and didst grant him to escape from the dangers, verily I bless Thee that Thou didst rescue us from this danger by the hand of an angel, through whom Thou didst make known unto me that which was about to happen.'

28. And another miracle also was wrought by his hands as fol-

lows. When all the men in the city had gone to sleep and it was near midnight, and the bakers were making bread, it happened that fire falling on the faggots near at hand set the shop in flames, and spreading thence got hold of a very considerable part of the city. But when the people had run together and there was much shouting and confusion, the mayor ordered the engines which were prepared for this purpose to be brought up. So the hose and water and every contrivance of art was brought. The Jews also came down under pretence of being able to extinguish it, since they always present themselves uninvited at a fire: for they assert that conflagrations cannot possibly be stopped in any other way but by their presence. This is an artifice of theirs to plunder the property in the houses. As the city then was in danger, the mayor said; ‘Sirs, ye who are here with us at the season of this dire spectacle, you see that it is of no use, because the wind is contrary: and when our only hope was in the presence of the Jews, we have failed even in this. What then do I advise? Listen to me. The other day in the mayor’s lodging a strange seizure overtook a servant of mine getting up at night, and he cried out and lost his senses. And when we kindled lights, we found him in a phrenzy devouring everything. Now at break of day the Jews came, wanting to cure him by charms: but he, single handed, struck them and was within an ace of killing them, numerous as they were; and tearing off their clothes, he drove them away naked and covered with blood. Then a certain person in my house, who was a Christian, said; “If you bid me, I will summon one who is able to master him.” I gave permission, and the teacher of the Christians, whom they call Polycarp, came. But while he was still a very long way off the young man cried out loudly, “Polycarp is coming to me, and I shall fly.” And as he approached...’

29.as was wont, making no progress for several days, they stopped at length. And when after some trouble those who held the office of councillors were brought together, and the mayor stated that he neither had corn nor could discover whence to buy it, though ready to pay down the money, a certain person, a man advanced in years, rose up from the midst of them and said; ‘Sirs, all of you who were present at that season, when the city was endangered from a conflagration which broke out at midnight, remember distinctly how, when neither we nor the Jews were able to extinguish the fire, a man divinely gifted in the lessons of truth, the priest of those who are called Christians, being invited by you, standing before us all and looking up to heaven said some words or other, and forthwith the flame gathering

into a ball and paying respect, I know not how, to his voice sunk down into itself; and the thought has often crossed my mind that that man is some god or other. Now you know that our poets and historians say that the heavens send down their gods in the likeness of men, both to punish wrong-doers and likewise also to avenge those who suffer wrong.'

30. But they, when they heard him, shouted out and demanded that a general assembly should be called. So, without delay, they all went off in a body to the theatre; for being distressed by famine they looked to their immediate necessity, since they were compelled to declare, if only by their shout, that there was one God. When therefore they sent for Polycarp and urged him to come, he was found and brought. Then he was conducted to them; and, while the people shouted aloud, the chief men of the city said to him: 'Polycarp, thou seest that the city of which thou also art an inhabitant is in straits, and thou thyself sharest with us and dost participate, if not in our customs, at all events in the scarcity which now exists owing to the drought. The Smyrnæans therefore urge thee to ask rain of thy God, that the earth receiving water from heaven may return to the husbandmen the seed committed to it.' But his face was covered with blushes, and his whole body dripped like a fountain with profuse sweat, while his heart leaping and throbbing bounded to heaven in prayer. Then slowly, but yet decidedly, he answered saying; 'Sirs, ye who inhabit this most beautiful city, give ear to me a sojourner and a stranger, to whom every city is foreign by reason of my heavenly citizenship and all the world is a city by reason of the gift of God who created all things. For I have not, as ye suppose, so high an opinion of myself that I am able, when a whole nation is justly chastised for its sins, to divest it of its scourges; but how much is possible, I will explain. Gathered together with me are certain venerable old men with whom I myself confer, when I want to ask a thing of God, urging them to be ambassadors on my behalf. With these then I will confer, that they may also be ambassadors on your behalf with Him through prayer; but to you my advice is, that ye be of good courage and order all the people to throw off this distress and to hope for better things. For God, being long-suffering, giveth times for repentance to the race of men.' Then the mayor took courage, as well from the miracles previously wrought by Polycarp himself, as from the words spoken by him, and said; 'Assuredly ye know all of you, citizens and strangers, that while we strive to propitiate the divine being with our own customs and institutions, performing sacred rites and sacrifices and kindlings of altars and burnings of incense, this man and those whom he says he has with

him as fellow priests and fellow ministers, retire apart and offer their prayers to their God more leisurely. Let us then separate—we and they—and let us send this man away, offering him security, that dismissing the fear for his life which has overtaken him from this tumult, he may perform his sacred rites on our behalf with his mind undisturbed and his thoughts calmed.' And with these words he dismissed the people.

31. Then he without delay ran to the Lord's house, where it was customary for the Church of Christ to assemble; and he ordered the deacons to charge them all to take care again that one prayer might be offered up by many. But they, having already prepared themselves from day-break, because of his being taken into the theatre, and because it was Friday (for they were apprehensive lest he should suffer some harm from the people), when they heard it gathered quickly together. Then said he to them; 'Let us remember, brethren, the promises of our Lord Jesus Christ who said, *Ask, and it shall be given to you; for if two of you shall agree concerning any thing whatsoever that ye may ask, it shall be done unto them of My Father which is in heaven.* Let us therefore ask in faith and without wavering in our minds, for the prayer of the suppliant is in a manner weighed as in a balance, and is swayed on whichever side the mind inclines. This indeed is evident from Peter's walking on the waves: for so long as he had faith he walked, but when he was alarmed at the violence of the wind, he sunk into the deep, as an example to us, that we may understand the inclination on either side. Possessed with such confidence, Moses the servant of God said to the people, when they failed from fear; *Stand, and ye shall see the glory of the Lord.* For of a very truth we need to stand firm upon the rock, that nothing wavering we may continue unmoved and unscared through faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ; who also gave rain to the blessed prophet Elijah in answer to his prayer, when the heaven was shut three years and six months.'

32. And with these words, kneeling down first with them all, he prayed at great length as follows;

'O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, O God Omnipotent, that art blessed for ever and ever, Amen; unto whom archangels, glories, and heavenly powers, thrones, dominations, seraphim, and cherubim, do service; Thou God who *madest the heaven and the earth and sea and all things that are therein*, that fashionedst *man after Thine image and likeness*, for whom also Thou wast well pleased to send Thy Word upon earth, that being incarnate of a Virgin and the Holy Ghost,

He might save and raise up through His passion man who had fallen under the dominion of sin ; Give ear, O Lord, look upon us, Thou Holy One, listen to the prayers of Thy holy Catholic Church, and give rain upon the face of the earth, and seed for the sower and bread for food. For in the days of necessity the heathen, perceiving that we are Thy servants, seek righteousness from us. And now, Lord, let all our adversaries perceive it.'

When he had offered this prayer, the heaven gave rain, and all glorified God that worketh marvellous things through His servants ; to whom be the glory and the power both now and to endless ages with the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

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